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THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE CAPE NGUNI

Part 4 Personal and general

By

E. M. SHAW & N. J. VAN WARMELO

Cape Town Kaapstad

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Department of Development Aid, Pretoria

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(With 57 plates and 5 text-figures)

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ABSTRACT

This fourth and final part of the study records the use to which Cape Nguni technology, as described in the second part of the volume, is put in making objects of personal use, and in activities not directly connected with subsistence. These are clothing, costume, ornament, toilet and personal accessories, the use of hemp and tobacco, medicine, religion, music, games, currency and transport. An attempt is made to isolate artistic production.

The starting point of this section, as of the whole work, was the Xhosa terminology and the recording of all objects for which names exist. To achieve this the literature was searched, museum specimens were recorded in South Africa and elsewhere, and fieldwork was undertaken in Transkei and Ciskei between 1948 and 1971. The study concentrates on the period up to 1948, with some reference to the great changes that have taken place since then, and as a result of which much of what is recorded here no longer exists.

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INTRODUCTION

This is the fourth and final part of a volume in which the material culture of the southern Nguni people is described (see Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972, 1974, 1981). This part deals with various personal aspects and some public aspects that are not directly connected with subsistence.

Recent discoveries and identifications of wreck sites on the Transkei and Ciskei coasts have changed some of the localities hitherto accepted in historical sources. Notable is the placing near the Msikaba River, just within the present northern border of the Transkei, of the wreck of the *S. Bento* in 1554, previously thought to have been north of the Bashee River (Auret & Maggs 1982). The people seen there were evidently Cape Nguni, and their presence in that locality is not inconsistent with the view expressed in the historical introduction (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972).

The numbering of figures and plates is continuous throughout the four parts of this volume; the reference list at the end of this part covers all four parts of the volume.

SOURCES

It should be noted that the spelling in the sources is as in the publications themselves. Von Winkelman's (1788–9) text is particularly rich in spelling errors.

The dates preceding the names of authors in the sources given for each chapter are preferably those of the author's stay in that part of the country. Sometimes the author dated his narrative as it went along, and in that case the exact date is used. If the work was published while the author was still in the country, the period between the date of arrival and the date of publication has been taken. Where no dates of sojourn are known the date of publication is given in parentheses. The object of this arrangement is to keep the sources as far as possible in chronological order.

Since this study was begun it has come to light that the figures of Xhosa people usually referred to as 'the Gordon drawings' were in fact sketched by the artist J. Schumacher, who accompanied Colonel Gordon on his visit to the eastern Cape.

TERMS

In the sections on terms, the names of authors with single publications are given without reference to date, for the sake of brevity; the full details may be found in the list of references. In the case of Soga, however, it should be noted that unless otherwise stated, J. H. Soga (1932) is referred to. The convention (X–Soga), for example, means that the word or meaning is taken from a source other than verbally from an informant in the field. The latter case is indicated by the abbreviation of the tribal name, for example X (see list of abbreviations). The starting point of the study was the *Kafir-English Dictionary* by Kropf (1915—Godfrey *ed.*), which is indicated by D. Terms gathered in the field or elsewhere and not in the *Dictionary* are marked nD.

The terms are numbered in bold type as one series throughout the four parts of the volume, to facilitate indexing. Where a term appears in more than one place, its other numbers are given as well, in parentheses.

Hlonipha is a custom that requires a female to avoid as taboo, words identical with or similar in sound to the names of her chief's and husband's relatives, especially her father-in-law, and to substitute for them others, which together constitute a whole *hlonipha* vocabulary for the use of those needing one or other item from it.

ABBREVIATIONS

Afr.	Afrikaans
Alb.	Albany Museum, Grahamstown
AM	Africana Museum, Johannesburg

Beukes	Dr W. T. Beukes, formerly ethnologist, Transvaal Museum, Pretoria: catalogue entries
Bh	Bhaca
BM	British Museum, London
Bo	Bomvana
cl.	class
coll.	collection; collected by
corresp.	in correspondence
D	Kropf (1915) (*A Kafir-English Dictionary*—Godfrey *ed.*)
EL	East London Museum
Em	Mbo
Eng.	English
Fgo	Fingo
FH	F. S. Malan Museum, Fort Hare
fig.	figure; figuratively
Hlu	Hlubi
Kirby	P. R. Kirby, formerly professor of music at the University of the Witwatersrand
KM	Kaffrarian Museum, King William's Town
lit.	literally
MM	McGregor Museum, Kimberley
Mp	Mpondo
Mpm	Mpondomise
Mrs Goodwin	collection of beadwork at the South African Museum, Cape Town, named by Mrs Goodwin
Mzamane	G. Mzamane, formerly lecturer at University College of Fort Hare (now Fort Hare University)
nD	not in Kropf (1915)
PEM	Port Elizabeth Museum
pers. comm.	personal communication
pl.	plural
pron.	pronunciation; pronounced
SAM	South African Museum, Cape Town
sing.	singular
T	Thembu
TM	Transvaal Museum, Pretoria; collection now in National Cultural History and Open-Air Museum, Pretoria
UCT	University of Cape Town ethnological collection; now at South African Museum, Cape Town
X	Xhosa
Xes	Xesibe
Zu	Zulu

CLOTHING

SOURCES

1554 Perestrello p. 156 Bashee R.* northwards: no clothing

'. . . de modo que nenhuma outra informaçaõ pudemos ter mais que serem Cafres de cor bem negra, a cabello revolto, que andavaõ nus, com mais apparencia de salvagens, que de homens racionaes.'

*Now thought to be Msikaba R. (Auret & Maggs 1982) (see p. 448)

(p. 223. '. . . so that we could learn nothing but that they were Kaffirs, very black in colour, with woolly hair, and went naked, having more the appearance of savages than of rational men.')

1593 Lavanha (1597) p. 234 South of Umtata R.: cloak, sandals

'Era o vestido destes Cafres hum mantaõ de pèlles de bezerro, com o cabello para fóra, as quaes untaõ com grassa para serem brandas: o calçado de duas e tres solas de couro crù, pegadas humas nas outras, de forma redonda, nas quaes anda o pè atado com correyas, e com elle correm com grande ligeireza;'

(p. 293. 'The dress of these Kaffirs is a mantle of ox-hide, with the hair outwards, which they rub with grease to make it soft. They are shod with two or three soles of raw leather fastened together in a round shape, and secured to the feet with straps; in these they run with great lightness;')

1622 Almada (1625) p. 28 South of Bashee R. or Kei R.: cloaks, penis-sheath

'Todos estes Cafres usaõ de capas, que lhe daõ por bayxo do quadril de pelles muy bem adobadas de animaes pequenos de fermoso pelo, & segundo a qualidade do Cafre se vestem com melhores pelles huns que outros, & nisto tem muyto ponto; & não trazem mais vestido, que estas capas, & hũa pelle mais galante, com que cobrem as vergonhas, & eu vi a hum Cafre grave huma capa toda de Martas Zebelinas, & perguntando-lhe onde havia aquelles animaes, disse, que pela terra dentro havia tanta quantidade delles, que todos em geral se vestião de suas pelles.'

(p. 96. 'All these Kaffirs wear cloaks of very well-dressed skins, which hang below their hips. The skins are those of small animals with very beautiful fur, and these furs are better or worse according to the rank of the wearer, and they are very punctilious about this. They wear nothing but these capes and a more ludicrous covering of skin over the privy part. I saw a grave Kaffir with a cloak of sable skins, and when I asked him where these animals were to be found he said that there were so many of them in the interior that their skins were generally worn.')

1647 Feyo (1650) p. 252 12 days north-east of R. Infante: cloaks, caps

'. . . & trazião hũas pelles, com que se cobrião pelas costas, & o mais corpo nù, assim homens como mulheres, que so se differençavão, em trazerem as mulheres a cabeça cuberta com barretes do mesmo couro, ...'

(p. 314. 'They wore skins, with which they covered their backs, and the rest of the body was naked, both of men and women, the only difference between them being that the women had their heads covered with caps of the same hide, ...')

1686 'Stavenisse' (Cape Archives) p. 35 ?Xhosa: clothing

'. . . sij vallen in haar dragt kleding en ommegang veel geschikter als de Caabsche Hottentots.'

1686 'Stavenisse' (Godée Molsbergen 1922) p. 58 ?Xhosa: clothing

The same as above.

1687–8 'Centaurus' (Cape Archives) pp. 444, 445 Xhosa: clothing, mourning

p. 444 Xhosa: clothing, aprons

'Sij gebruijcken de smeerighe mutsen, gelijck de Hottentots van Natal, en

hunne kleijding komt met de Caepsche over een, uitgesonderd dat de dogters wel met enighe nettjes vernunft vercierd zijn. Gelijck de natalsche Hottentots het ijser soo konnen sij het metael tot armringen versmelten, en souden ook wel kennisse van enige mineraelen hebben.'

p. 445 Xhosa: mourning

'Komt hunnen Coninck te sterven, dan mogen sij den tijd van een jaar geen mutzen dragen, met eene de koopere hals en armringen door (hun) tot een Ciraat gebruijckt, afleggende, . . .'

1687–8 'Centaurus' (Sutherland 1845) p. 306 Xhosa: general description

Nothing more.

1687–8 'Centaurus' (Bird 1888) pp. 42, 43 Xhosa: general description

Nothing more.

1687–8 'Centaurus' (Godée Molsbergen 1922) p. 94 Xhosa: caps

The same as original.

1752 Beutler pp. 298, 307, 315 Xhosa, Thembu: clothing

p. 298 Xhosa: cloak

'. . . syne kleeding bestond gelijk doorgaans by de Caffres gebruykelijk is in een caros van een beestevel hetgeen swart en ruyg als camoesleer bereyt was;'

p. 307 Xhosa: general description

'De kleeding der mannen bestaat uyt een enkeld caros of vel dat so swart en wel bereyd is als camoes leer, 't welk se alleen met haare tandige assagaayen weeten so klaar te maken, de haarige zeyde daarvan draagen se teegens het lijf en de gladde zyde buyten, die caros waaraan den hals een soort van een omslag is, draagen sy dan voor dan agter en ook wel somtijds op zeyde; als se die op de rugge hebben, dan sijn se van vooren in 't geheel naakt, het hooft van de roede enkeld en alleen gedekt sijnde met een dopje van darmen gemaakt, dat met een riemtje aan haare lighaamen vastgemaakt is; de vrouwen draagen een onderrok met een korte mantelje en een soort van een muts waarvan vier bysondere slippen op de schouders hangen op het hoofd, van hetselfde leer gemaakt, dog in huys lopen mannen en vrouwen sonder schaamte moeder nackt.'

p. 315 Thembu: like Xhosa

'Deese Tamboegiesen komen in haare kleedinge, levenswyse en inborst met de Caffers waar voor se ook kunnen passeeren overeen, alleen sijn se wat besadiger en so onbeschaamt niet in haaren omgang, ook staan se alle onder een algemeen opperhooft by haarluyden Tzeba genaamt.'

1772–6 Sparrman (1785) **2** pp. 7–9 Xhosa, Gonaqua: clothing

p. 7 Xhosa, Gonaqua: cloaks

'The cloaks of the Gonaquas are likewise made of dressed cowhides, like those of the Caffres. These cloaks are very supple; a quality that proceeds partly from being rubbed a good deal, which I myself saw performed with stones on the inside of them; and partly from the great quantity of grease, which, being mixed up with bucku-powder, is rubbed into them.'

p. 8 Gonaqua (and Xhosa): women's apron

'The Gonaquas women make use of almost the same kind of apron or veil as the Hottentot females do.' (**1** p. 197 describes Hottentot women as wearing two or sometimes three aprons. The outermost is about 15–30 cm wide and reaches to about middle of thigh. It is decorated with designs in beadwork. The second apron is about a third or a half less and the third apron 'scarcely larger than one's hand'. The two latter are not beaded.)

pp. 8–9 Gonaqua: penis-sheath

'The men are much more naked and less covered about this part than the males among the Hottentots, inasmuch as they cover with a little cap, or case, made of the skin of an animal the extremities only of what modesty should teach them to conceal entirely. This socket, resembling the extremity of the thumb of a glove, is sometimes fastened with a small thong, or the sinew of an animal, to some strings of beads of leathern belts, which they wear for ornament's sake round their waists.'

1776 Swellengrebel p. 12 Xhosa: cloak, cap, apron, penis-sheath

'Zy droegen een caros, dog niet gesmeerd; ook gaven zy geen zodanigen viesen lugt van zig, gelijk de Hottentots; over de teeldeelen hadden zy een lap vel, 't geen zeer smal, maar lang en los tusschen de dyen hing, zodat het die deelen by de minste beweeginge niet zeer bedekte. Er waren ook die zonder zodanigen lap liepen, daarenboven hadden ze over de kop van die roede nog getrokken een stukje leeder, evenals een vinger van een handschoen, gemaakt van een vlies in 't zakje van de calvers.'

1776 Hallema (1932) pp. 132–133 Xhosa: men's and women's dress

'Op den eenen schouder droegen zij een karos, die bij sommigen over en bij anderen onder den anderen schouder met een riem over de borst was vastgemaakt en hen langs den rug tot even boven de kuit hing. De karossen scheenen met haar er aan zeer wel bereid te zijn en waren van runderbeesten, leeuwen, tijger[2] of andere vellen.' (Note 2: 'Bedoeld wordt natuurlijk de luipard *(Felis pardus)* of panter.') 'Hunne Genitalia bedekken ze door een lap vel, het geen wel lang, doch smal en los tusschen de beenen hangt, zoodat die door de minste beweeging bloot hangen; er waren ook, die zonder zoodanige lap liepen; maar over de kop der penis hadden ze nog getrokken een stukje leder als een vinger van een handschoen, gemaakt van het vliesje, het geen in 't zakje der kalveren om iedere testis zit; daar dit stukje leder werd toegetrokken, hadden sommigen tot een versiersel eene kopere knoop zitten. . . .

De vrouwen waren klein van gestalte en gansch niet fraai: Zij hadden de konen sterk uitpuilende, de moeders hangende borsten en de meesten dikke lompe beenen. Op het hoofd eene kap van een vel gemaakt, met vier hangende slippen, twee van voren en twee van agteren; om het lijf een karos, die zoo ruim is, dat zij zoowel het onderlijf gelijk eene rok tot op de kuiten als 't bovenlijf bedekt: gemeenlijk ééne schouder bloot, en om de beenen een band even als de mans.'

1776–7 Gordon (1776–95) Xhosa: men's and women's dress

Figures by J. Schumacher.

1777–9 Paterson (1789) p. 93 Xhosa: penis-sheath
Nothing more.

1778 Van Plettenberg pl. 3, p. 48 Xhosa: cloaks, apron
pl. 3 Xhosa: men's and women's clothing
Figures
p. 48 Xhosa: cloak, apron
'Hunne kleeding is de vagt van 't een of ander beest, dewelke met riempjes, by de mans om de hals, dog by de vrouwen onder de armen over de borsten, toegebonden gedragen werd. De mannen zo wel als de vrouwen gebruyken een smalle tabeljé van een stuk vel of eene franje van vellen die om den middel gebonden is en de schaamte bedekt: . . .'

(1782) Sonnerat **2** pl. 85 'Cafre': clothing
Figure.

1782 Carter pp. 14, 37, 38, 70 Mpondomise, Mpondo, Thembu: clothing, hair-style
p. 14 Mpondomise or Mpondo: hair-style
'They soon after were met by a party of the natives consisting of about thirty, whose hair was made up in the form of sugar-loaves, and their faces painted red.'
p. 37 Mpondomise or Mpondo: hair-style
'Let me here describe the form and dress of the first nation they had passed through. The complexion of the natives was of a dark copper colour, and they had longish woolly hair, which they wore drawn up in the form of a cone, upon the top of the head.'
p. 38 Mpondomise or Mpondo: cloak, apron
'When they go a hunting, or upon the appearance of bad weather, they wear the skin of some wild beast, a lion, tyger, &c. This covers them by night, and protects them by day, either from the heat or the rain. If the weather is hot, they wear the skin side inwards; if it rains, the hairy side. One of their principal qualifications is, that they are extremely swift of foot.

The women, who are likewise well proportioned, and their countenances not unpleasing, go nearly naked. They wear no manner of cloathing, except a kind of net round the middle, which reaches half way down their thighs; but the meshes of these nets are so wide, that it can be scarcely called a covering.'
p. 70 Thembu: sandals
'After having travelled two days more, they fell in with a hunting party of the natives, on the sea shore. These men were distinguished from any they had seen before, by wearing on the right foot a kind of shoe, which they used in hunting. When they took a leap, they bounded from that foot, and in doing this they shewed great dexterity.'

1782 Dalrymple (1785) pp. 19, 23, appendix p. 13 Mpondo: hair-style, sandals
p. 19 Mpondo: hair-style
'The natives dress their heads high with a hollow in the middle, and stuck

into their hair the brass nails, picked up from the trunks cast ashoar. They had very little cloathing.'

p. 23 Mpondo: sandals

Nothing more.

appendix p. 13 Tshomane: hair-style

'These were quite a different people from those where the ship was wrecked, their hair was curled in strings, with brick dust and grease.'

1782 Le Vaillant (1797–8) pls. 37–39, 41–42, pp. 282–283 Thembu, Xhosa: dress

pl. 37 Thembu: man's cloak

pls 38–39 Thembu: woman's cloak, cap

pls 41–42 Xhosa: woman's apron, cloak

Figures.

pp. 282–283 Xhosa: women's clothing

'. . . La peau que les Hottentots portent sur les reins par derrière, les femmes Caffres la font remonter jusqu'aux aisselles, et l'attachent au-dessus de la gorge qui en est couverte. Elles ont aussi, comme leurs maris, le kros ou manteau. . . . Quel que soit le temps, quelle que soit la saison, jamais les deux sexes ne couvrent leur tête d'un bonnet à la manière de Hottentots.'

1788 Von Winkelman (1788–9) pp. 64–69, 71, 76, 85, 89, 91 Xhosa: men's and women's dress

pp. 64–65 Xhosa: hairdressing

'Die Kaffern, männlichen und weiblichen Geschlechts haben etwas längeres Haar, als gewöhnlich Kreolische Völker. Sie ordnen es auf eine besondere art, die mir nicht missfiel und die ihnen auch ein gutes Aussehen gibt. Das zweite Geschlecht scheint diess werk zu übernehmen. Verschiedene Kaffern legten den Kopf in den Schoos der Frauen und Mädchen, welche alsdan ein Büschelgen Haar von der Dikke eines dünnen Strohhalmen strekten, ihre Hände mit Fett von Seekühen oder Rindsfett beschmierten, das fingerlange Büschelgen zwischen beiden Händen fest zusammen drehten, dann in der Mitte es fahsten und es wie eine scheur zusammen lauffen liessen, dass zuletzt ein Zoll langes Trottelgen dadurch entstand. Mit ausnehmender Mühe bringen sie so den natürlichen Kopfputz zu Stande, biss das ganze Haupthaar in lauter solche Trottelgen verwandelt ist, die sie so dann hernach mit einer Polus Erde, welche zwischen Steinen zu Staub gerieben wird, bestreuen. Oft vermischen sie aber auch diesen rothen Puder zugleich mit Fett, und geben dadurch schon beim Drehen des Haars demselben die rothe Farbe. Die Trottelgen erhalten durch das Fett und die Erde eine gewisse Schwere, nach welcher sie alle abgesondert rings um dem Kopf herum hängen. Diejenigen die ins Gesicht herniederhängen, machen der Nation eine schmale Stirne, ... Diese Zierde haben beide Geschlechter mit einander gemein.'

p. 66 Xhosa: women's cap

'*Kopfzierde der Frauen.* Das weibliche Geschlecht hingegen geht mit bedecktem Haupte. Frauen und Mädchen tragen fast immer eine Rinds- oder wildlederne

Müze auf dem Kopf. Sie wissen mit ihren Lanzen und mit scharfen Steinen, die Haare gut weg zu machen, breiten das Fell aus, schmieren es stark mit Fett und rother Erde, wodurch es gelinde und weich wird. Aus diesem wird denn die Müze geschnitten und zusammen geheftet, welches die Frauen selbst thun, sie bedienen sich hiebei einer Art selbst verfertigter eiserner Pfriemen. Damit stechen sie kleine Löcher darein, und ziehen dünne riemen oder Sehnen durch, und befestigen alles das auf eine geschickte und dauerhafte Art aneinander. Diese Müze besteht entweder aus 2 Haupttheilen oder noch 2 Seiten-Stükken, welche ohngefehr einen Fuss lang sind, und spitzig auslaufen. Vornen hängen zwei lange Riemen, die etliche Finger breit und bei zwei Fuss lang sind herunter, und hinten wieder zwei dergleichen. Der übrige spitzige Theil ligt, soweit er nicht dem Kopf zur Dekke dient, vorwärts flach auf demselben und ist mit Korallen von verschiedenen Farben und mit andern Zierrathen besezt, welche bald Blumen, bald Sterne und dergleichen vorstellen.'

pp. 67–68 Xhosa: cloaks of chiefs and commoners

'Die Kleidung beider Geschlechter gibt ihnen bei ihrer Grösse und schönen Bildung, ein freies muntres Aussehen. Hierinnen unterscheiden sie sich auch besonders von den Hottentotten, deren kurze ekelhafte Schaaffelle auf der Brust gebunden sind, beide Schultern und den ganzen Rükken bedekken. Die Kaffern männlichen Geschlechts hingegen tragen ein auf beschriebene Art zubereitetes Rindsfell ohne Haare, das denn vom Fett und der rothen Erde gelinde und röthlich wird. Sie nähen aber auch mehrere Felle nach Maasgabe Grösse und Stärke von erlegten Wildprett als Elensthieren; Springbökken Antilopen oder Kuttus und dergleichen zusammen, an denen sie meistens die Haare stehen lassen, weil sie an dem schönen Kolorit dieser Fellevergnügen finden. Dann tragen sie auch zusammen genähte Tigerhäute, die vorzügliche Lieblingsgegenstände ihrer Begierde sind. Sie scheinen vermutlich wegen grösserer Seltenheit, auch grössentheils nur die Tracht der Ersten und Reichsten des Volks zu seijn. Die haarigte Seite wird immer nach innen zu getragen. Diese Bedekkungen sind meistens sehr weit und öft so lang dass sie die Erde berühren. Sie werden über die linke Schulter gehängt und gehen unter dem rechten Arm durch, der völlig frei ist, um desto ungehinderter ihre Waffen gebrauchen zu können. Vornen gegen die linke Brust zu, ist diess Kross oder Fell gebunden, und erhällt auch die linke Seite frei, dass also eigentlich nur der vordre und hintre Theil des Leibes und die ganze rechte Seite damit bedekt werden.'

p. 68 Xhosa: sandals

'Im übrigen gehen sie gewöhnlich barfuss, wie wohl fast jeder für den Fall der Noth seine Sandalen oder Feldschuhe mit sich führt.'

p. 69 Xhosa: cloak or baby-sling

'Das weibliche Geschlecht trägt meistens ein gleiches Rindsfell um den Leib, das unter den Armen durchgeht, ihre Brüste bedeckt um den Leib gewikkelt und vornen viel kürzer als hinten ist, wo es oft zur Erde niederhängt. Den einen Zipfel stopfen sie dann zwischen das andere Ende hinein, oder sie binden ihn auch an den

andern Theil ihres Krosses fest. Haben sie kleine säugende Kinder, so stekken sie solche hinten in das Fell, und verrichten dabei eben so gut ihre arbeiten.'

p. 71 Xhosa: sandals

'Diese leztern bestehen aus rauhen Stucken von getrocknetem Leder nach Maasgabe der Fusssohle. Oben auf diese Sohle ist entweder ein ganzes Oberleder, wie bei Schuhen ringsum angenäht, oder es werden nur fingerbreite Riemen, woran—wie am ganzen die Haare noch stehen, nach der Dikke des Fusses übergezogen. Sie bedienen sich deren vorzüglich auf klippichten wegen. Diese Gattung von Schuhen ist under den Bauren sehr gemein, weil sie lange ausdauren, und jeder sie selbst machen kan.'

p. 76 Xhosa: cloak

Nothing more.

p. 85 Xhosa: straw hats

'Es giebt Kafferinnen, die jedes gegebene Muster von Vasen Arnen, selbst Hüte, nach ahmen,—und oft noch feiner als ihre Körbgen flechten. Wo sie hingehen, da nehmen sie auch diese Körbgen mit und verhandeln sie nebst ihren Matten ohne alle Bedenklichkeiten an Fremde.'

p. 89 Xhosa: penis-sheath

'Nach diesem Fest der Freude über Wiedergenesung und Mannbarkeit, legen sie ihre Schürzen ab, bekommen andere Krossen, und ziehen blos über das männliche Glied ein dünnes ledernes Futteral. Diess endigt sich oben spizig, indem es oben zusammen gebunden ist. Statt der ledernen Futterale nehmen sie auch einen Darm von benöthigter Weite. In beiden Fällen entsteht oben durchs zubinden, ein Büschgen, an das sie gewöhnlich ein Stückchen Messing oder eine grosse Koralle als Zierde befestigen. . . .'

p. 91 Xhosa: chief's clothing

Nothing more.

1790 Van Reenen (Kirby 1958) p. 3 'Hambona' (Bomvana): hair-style

'. . . we saw many kraals of the Hambona people, a race which differs from the Kaffers, they being quite yellowish and having longer hair, all of which is curled up like a turban.'

1796 Stout (*c.* 1810) pp. 12, 18 Thembu: skins used for cloaks

Nothing more.

1797 Barrow (1806) pp. 120, 126, 127, 151, 152, 163, 167 Xhosa: men's and women's dress

p. 120 Xhosa: women's caps

'. . . and their heads were covered with leather-caps ornamented with beads, with shells, and with pieces of polished copper and iron, that were disposed in a variety of forms; but the fashion of the cap was nearly the same in all.'

p. 126 Xhosa: cloak

Nothing more.

p. 127 Xhosa: women's caps

'Neither had the wives of the chiefs any distinction of dress from the rest of the women. They all wore caps, made of skins, sitting close to the head, and hanging behind, and down each side, in long divided flaps.'

p. 151 Xhosa: Ngqika's (Gaika's) cloak

'. . . his [Gaika's] cloak was faced with skins of leopards; but he threw this dress aside, and, like the rest of his people, appeared entirely naked.'

p. 152 Xhosa: women's dress

'The queen had nothing to distinguish her from the other women, except that her cloak seemed to have had more pains bestowed upon it in the dressing, and had three rows behind of brass-buttons extending from the hood to the bottom of skirts, and so close that they touched each other. The rest of the women were contented with a few of these ornaments straggling over different parts of the cloak. The weighty covering seems never laid aside by the females in the hottest weather; but they wear nothing whatsoever under it, except the little apron that the Hottentot women take such pains to decorate.'

p. 163 Xhosa: cloak

Nothing more.

p. 167 Xhosa: penis-sheath

'After the operation the boy adopts a small bag of leather which extends a little beyond the *glans penis*, fitted sufficiently tight to remain on without binding, though some wear a belt to which the covering is attached by a string. The projecting end of the purse or bag has a small shank about an inch in length, by which it may more conveniently be drawn off; this very slight and indecent covering, with the rings, and other ornamental appendages, constitute the whole of a Kaffer's summer dress.'

1800 Van der Kemp (1804) pp. 440, 441 Xhosa: men's and women's dress

p. 440 Xhosa: cloaks

'To protect themselves against the cold they wear a long robe or cloak, which hangs down from behind to the ground. This is commonly made of cow skins, so prepared as to be soft and flexible as our cloathes; it is then called *qoubo*, but *ouneba* if made of the skins of wild animals. The Captains almost uniformly wear one of tiger skins, the hair being tanned [*sic*] inside. The colour of these cloaks is always brown.'

p. 440 Xhosa: women's dress, cap

'The women wear none of the forementioned ornaments, except those of the ears, the beads on their necks and the rings on their wrists. They always cover their heads with a cap, made of the skin of an animal, which they call *babala*, and the Colonists bush-buck. This cap is very long, and gradually growing narrower, terminates almost in a point; from this point are suspended eight or ten strings of metal beads about three inches long; the lower part of the cap has four projections (two on each side) about a yard long, and two fingers broad (four fingers where they expand into the cap): when this cap is placed on the head, its point with the strings lays on the forehead, and much resembles the epaulette which military

officers wear on their shoulders. The bands hang either loose down, or are tied up, by which the cap and its point are then secured in their position. The cap is commonly adorned with several rows of beads. The woman's cloak is in the middle fastened to the body by means of a girdle of leather, the upper part is reflected and hangs down, leaving the upper part of the body naked, but if the woman has a young child she places it on her back, and secures it there by drawing up this upper part of her cloak tight round the child and her body by means of another string. Both women and children wear an apron of the same stuff as their caps. Both sexes wear rings of metal on their fingers and great toes; . . . I never saw a woman wearing shoes; the genteeler sort sew to the back of their cloaks rows of buttons, and to each shoulder a bunch of tails of different animals, the most common of which are tygers and wild cats.'

pp. 440–441 Xhosa: sandals

'The men commonly carry their shoes in their hands fastened to a stick, in order to put them on when their feet are in danger of being wounded by the length or roughness of the road. They are no other than soles of thick leather two or three inches longer and broader than the foot. They are fastened to the foot by means of two strings and a piece of leather four inches broad, which covers the foot.

Men always, but women never, walk with a stick five feet long in their hands, and two or three assegais and a club. I never saw a woman wearing shoes.'

1803 Howen Three paintings Xhosa: women's cloaks, caps, men's cloaks
Figures.

1803 Paravicini di Capelli pp. 81, 124, 125, 132 Gqunukhwebe, Xhosa: dress

p. 81 Gqunukhwebe: chief's cloak

'. . . t'Nacabanée . . . is . . . Heemraad by de Kapitein Congo, ... Zyne kleeding bestaat in een tigervelle Kros, op de eene schouder te samen geknoopt, en agter langs zyn rug onder de anderen arm naar beneden afhangende. Hy had agt zeer schoone yvoore ringen (uyt een stuk ieder) boven den elboog van de linke arm. Aan de rechter had hy boven de hand een kopere ring en een anderen boven de elboog. Om zyne lendenen twee snoeren kleine ronde kopere oogen van kopere platen in klein regeltjes gesneden en dan in 't formaat van kralen opgerold.'

p. 124 Xhosa: clothing

'De kleding zoo van deze vrouw als van den Koning verschilde in niets van de overige Kaffers, aleenlyk had Gaicka eenige lange snoeren fyne witte Coralen omhangen, welke by uitsluyting het optooysel en teeken van opperhoofd of koning zyn.'

p. 125 Xhosa: chief's dress

'Koning Gaicka . . . in zyn koninglyke tygerhuyd met alle zyne koralen omhangen en een kroon van witte koralen op het hoofd in de tent trad, ...'

p. 132 Xhosa: clothing

'Eene dierenhuyd om den hals boven de schouder met een pees vastgemaakt en tot op de waden afhangende, is hun gantsche dekking. Des zomers dragen zy de hairige zyde buyten, en des winters binnenwaerts, keerende deze mantel of

Kross voor, agter of ter zyde, naar mate de wind tegens een deel van hun lichaam is wayende; overigens zyn zy moedernaakt.'

p. 132 Xhosa: women's clothing

'De vrouwen zyn in hun tooyzel niet veel van de mans verschillende, dan alleenlyk dat hun kross of mantel rondsom hun lichaam tot boven den boezem vastgemaakt en hunne hoofden met een soort van ledere mutsen zyn bedekt; de yvoire armbanden dragen zy niet.'

1802–6 Alberti (1810*a*) pp. 49, 55–59, 63–66, 201, 202, 204 Xhosa: dress

p. 49 Xhosa: cloak as blanket

'Eene lange Mat, van 3 tot 4 Voeten breed en omtrent 6 Voeten lang, uit dun riet vervaardigd en aan het hoofdeinde rond, verstrekt tot een nachtleger, en de Mantel, van eene dieren-huid zamengesteld, tot dekking. . . .'

p. 55 Xhosa: cloaks

'De voornaamste kleeding is in beide Sekse een Mantel, welks verscheidenheid van form de eene van de andere onderscheidt. De Buiten- of harige zijde wordt binnenwaarts gedragen. Die van den Man heeft geene meerdere wijdte, dan noodig is, om, des gevorderd, te kunnen worden toegevouwen; dezelve hangt benedenwaarts tot op de kuit en wordt uitwendig om den hals geworpen, en vormt aldaar eenen kraag, die van achteren in de hoogte rijst en den nek gansch en al bedekt. Deze mantel wordt bij koud en vogtig weder toegeslagen, bij goed weder daarentegen zoodanig open gelaten, dat onderlijf en dij geheel zigtbaar zijn. Bij groote zonne-hitte legt de Kaffer zijnen mantel wel eens af, en draagt dien, wanneer hij zich naar elders begeeft, op eenen stok op een zijner Schouders.'

pp. 55–56 Xhosa: men's breast-cloth

'Minder algemeen is de ontmoeting van Mannen, die eene soort van Monnikskap dragen, hangende van de borst tot op de helft der dij, zijnde omtrent 14 Duimen breed, van de huiden der Steenbokken vervaardigd en met een riem aan den hals vast gemaakt.'

p. 56 Xhosa: sandals

'Bij groote togten en jagtreisen schoeijen zij hunne voeten met zolen van Ossenhuid, welke met riemen vast gebonden worden om den enkel en den grooten teen, of ook door een bovenleder, dat den ganschen voet, uitgezonderd alleen de teenen, bedekt.'

p. 56 Xhosa: penis-sheath

'Van den tijd der manbaarheid af, bedekken de Kaffers de Schaamdeelen met een Schort, van Darmnet vervaardigd, waaraan eenige glaskoralen of kleinekoperen ringen hangen, die aan een riempje geregen worden.'

p. 56 Xhosa: woman's cloak

'De Mantels, door de Vrouwen gedragen, beschrijven bijna eenen volkomenen cirkel, hangen nederwaarts tot aan de kuiten, en zijn dus geschikt, om het gansche lijf te dekken. Langs den rug hangt over den mantel tot beneden toe een Kraag, die wel eenigzins gelijkt naar den Kap van enkele Mannen, doch daarin vooral verschilt, dat hij bovenaan met den mantel self verenigd is. Deze kraag is

in de lengte in stukken verdeeld van omtrent 2 duimen breed, die vervolgens wederom zamengenaaid worden. Op diezelve zijn aan beide kanten agter de schouders geheele vellen van wilde Katten, tot zelfs met het einde van den kop, vast gemaakt, welke aan lange riemen, met kleine koperen of ijzeren ringen, tot op den grond nederhangen, en ter afdrooginge van het zweet dienen. Behalwe dit Kattenvel hangt, ook nog langs den rechter schouder, aan eenen soortgelijken riem, de schaal van eenen kleinen Landschildpad, waarin fijn gewrevene roode aarde, met een stuk zagt leder ter inwrijvinge van deze verw, bewaard wordt; gelijkt dit laatste tevens ter sluitinge der schaal zelve dient. Voor het overige is gemelde Kraag, met de hairige zijde buitenwaarts gekeerd, van gewone metalen knoopen van vershillende soort ordelijk op eene rij voorzien.'

pp. 57–58 Xhosa: breast-cloth

'Zulk een Vrouwen-mantel wordt dubbeld om het lijf geslagen, en het uiterste einde door insteking dermate gehecht, dat het niet verder met de handen behoeft vast gehouden te worden. De Boezem is gewoonlijk daaronder geprangd, of, in geval de mantel onder denzelven wordt toegeworpen, alsdan op eene zonderlinge wijze gedekt met het darm-net van een rund in eene vierkante gedaante, met riemen op den rug vast gemaakt, en ook, naar de keuze der bezitster, met kleine glaskoralen voorzien, die het oog naar dit gedeelte des ligchaams lokken. Deze laaste wijze van borstdekking is tot behoud der schoonheid ongelijk voordeeliger dan wanneer de mantel boven denzelven wordt toegeslagen, daar dezelve, in het laatste geval, door den zwaren mantel zelf gedrukt, naar beneden hangt, en in de andere manier dadelijk ondersteund en om hoog geheven wordt, zonder dat echter hierbij dat gene plaats heeft, ...

Slechts zelden ontmoet men eene Kafferin met eenen geheel ontblootten boezem. Jonge Meisjens alleen, of ook wel bejaarde Vrouwen, welke geene aanvallen hebben te duchten, bekommeren zich weinig over deze bedekking.'

pp. 58–59 Xhosa: apron

'Ofschoon de Kafferinnen, bijkans alle zonder uitzondering, zich van den mantel ter dekkinge van het onderlijf zorgvuldiglijk bedienen, hebben zij daarenboven nog een ander bekleedsel der Schaamdeelen in een stuk leder, dat in fijne riempjes verdeeld en met eenen zwaarderen riem boven de heupen is vast gemaakt, waardoor het op zich self genoegzaam ter bereikinge van het oogmerk zoude dienen.'

p. 59 Xhosa: women's cap

'De Vrouwen gaan niet, zoo als de Mannen, met ontblooten hoofde, maar dragen Mutsen. Zulk een hoofddeksel wordt of van de Elandshuid, of doorgaans van het Steenbokken-vel bereid, met de hairige zijde buitenwaarts gekeerd. Het geheel bestaat uit een aantal kegelvormig gesnedene en daarna zamengenaaide stukken, waardoor het tevens eene spits toeloopende gedaante ontvangt. Boven op den top zijn 5 tot 7 Strengen, omtrent 2 Duimen lang, digt aan elkanderen gevoegd door koperen of ijzeren kleine ringen, die aan riempjes geregen zijn, waardoor zij veel gelijken naar de nestels, zoo als onze Officieren op de schouders dragen. Wanneer dit gedeelte der muts naar voren wordt overgeslagen, hangen zij

bijkans tot op de wenkbraauwen. Aan de opening der muts zijn vier lange Riemen, die omtrent even ver van elkanderen afstaan, na genoeg 2 Vingers breed en 3 Voeten lang, welke ter vasthoudinge om het hoofd geslingerd worden. Rijkere Kafferinnen versieren hare mutsen met kleine strengswijze verdeelde glaskoralen, waarmede zij de naden bedekken.'

p. 63 Xhosa: chief's cloak

'Noch kleeding, noch sieraden geven eenen onderscheidende rang te kennen. Zelfs ofschoon alle Tijgerhuiden, bij voorbeeld, aan de Opperhoofden der Horden moeten worden overgeleverd, ontmoet men de laatsten dikwerf met mantels van Runderhuiden, waarvan zich gemeene Kaffers even zeer bedienen, zonder dat bij dezelven uit dien hoofde eene bijzondere onderscheiding wordt in acht genomen.'

p. 63 Xhosa: children's dress

'De Kinders blijven geheel naakt, totdat zij beginnen te loopen, als wanneer zij eenvoudige mantels van de Elandshuiden ontvangen. Doorgaans, echter, gaan beide Seksen, bij droog en warm weder, tot op den tijd van huwbaarheid, naakt. De Meisjens, zelfs van de eerste jeugd af, houden de schaamdeelen bedekt. Tot op het 9de of 10de jaar, gaan dezelve altijd met ongedekten hoofde; alsdan ontvangen zij van de Grootmoeders of Moeijen oude mutzen ten geschenke. Huwbaar zijnde geworden, wonen zij de jagttogten bij, en worden bij deze gelegenheden door Broeders, Oomen of andere Bloedverwanten, met Elandshuiden begiftigd, ten einde zich daarvan, naar welgevallen, mutsen te vervaardigen.'

pp. 64–66 Xhosa: European dress

Discussion on liking for European clothing—partly against the weather.

p. 201 Xhosa: widow's apron

'Na verloop van dezen tijd, werpt zij hare kleederen weg, wascht haar gansche ligchaam, krabt zich borst, armen en beenen, met scherpe steenen open, gordt hare heupen met een uit gras gevlochten weefsel, en komt bij zonne-ondergang in hare woonplaats weder.'

p. 202 Xhosa: mourning

'Hij alleen vertoeft schlechts eene halve maand in het open veld, betrekt daarna zijne voormalige hut, reinigt zich even zoo, slacht een rund, eet zulks met zijne Bloedverwanten, laat zich uit de huid eenen nieuwen mantel maken, dien hij draagt, totdat dezelve versleten is, en kleedt zich dan eerst met eenen gewonen grooten mantel. Bovendien neemt de Weduwenaar eenige koperen kleene Ringen, en draagt dit snoer om den hals, totdat de hairen vergaan.'

p. 204 Xhosa: mourning

'Daarop heeft de gewone reiniging plaats; er worden zoo vele runderen geslacht en verteerd, als het getal der Weduwen bedraagt, de mantels uit derzelver huiden vervaardigd, en de melk-korven met die buidels, potten, lepels en ander huisraad, hetgeen door de Weduwen met den Afgestorvenen te voren gemeenschappelijk gebruikt, en onmiddelijk na zijn overlijden verbrand was, door nieuw gemaakte goederen vervangen.'

(See also Alberti 1810*b* (English edition): 30–32, 35, 94–96.)

1802–3 De Mist (1835) p. 115 Xhosa: caps

Nothing more (quoting Alberti).

1803–6 Lichtenstein (1811) pl. 3, pp. 422, 427, 451–453, 455 Xhosa: mourning and general description

Mostly repetition of Alberti.

pl. 3 Xhosa: dress

Figure.

p. 422 Xhosa: widow's skirt

Nothing more.

p. 427 Xhosa: penis-sheath

Nothing more.

pp. 451–452 Xhosa: cloak

Nothing more.

pp. 452–453 Xhosa: head-cloth

'Der Kopfputz der Weiber besteht in einer Art von Turban. Ein langes Stück feingegerbten Leders (sie nehmen gewöhnlich das Fell des Buschbocks dazu) wird in vielen Windungen um den Kopf geschlagen; die beiden Enden, die in lange Zipfel auslaufen, werden zwischen die Falten gesteckt und so befestigt. Dieses Leder ist wenigstens zwei Ellen lang und in der Mitte eine halbe Elle breit, bisweilen ist dieser mittlere Theil schon zu einer Mütze zusammengenäht, von welcher die Zipfel zu beiden Seiten ausgehen. Immer aber befindet sich gerade in der Mitte ein Quast von Korallenschnüren oder Troddeln von Leder mit Kupferstücken, die recht coquet ein wenig schief über die eine Seite der Stirn herabhängen. Ueberhaupt kleidet dieser einfache Kopfputz recht artig und sie scheinen das selbst zu wissen, indem sie alle Augenblicke etwas daran zu bessern und zurecht zu schieben haben.'

p. 455 Xhosa: apron, breast-cloth

'. . . Die Frauen aber sind von der Geburt an mit ledernen Schürzen bedeckt, die sie *Inkyo* nennen. Gewöhnlich werden deren mehrere über einander getragen, von denen die äussere und längste mit Knöpfen und Korallen reich verziert ist. Bei weitem die mehrsten bedecken auch den Busen mit einem breiten Streifen Leder, der über die ganze Brust hergeht und unter den Armen durch, auf dem Rücken zugebunden wird.'

1804–5 Daniell (1820) frontispiece, fig. 4 Xhosa: sandals, cap

Figures.

1809 Collins (1835) pp. 10, 26 Xhosa: chief's and women's garments

p. 10 Xhosa: women's cap

'. . . alwaar by ons kwamen twee vrouwen met hare gouvernante en twee bedienden; zy waren gekleed met een dun vel, hetwelk even als een doek om het hoofd was geslagen, waaruit eene koperen spits of punt stak, in de gedaante van eene kam;'

p. 26 Xhosa: Ngqika's dress

Nothing more.

1806–15 Carmichael (1831) pp. 287, 288 Xhosa: clothing

p. 287 Xhosa: cloak, girdle, apron, cap

'The mantle, or kaross, is usually made of calves' skins stitched together, and pared round the skirts, into the shape of a blanket. It is worn fixed round the neck, and descends as far as the calf of the leg. As it turns with ease round the neck, they can oppose it to the wind, whichever way it blows; and when they have occasion to throw their *Assagays*, they double it over their left arm, like the robe of the Belvidere Apollo. The women gird the mantle round their loins, and usually suffer the upper part to hang over: but when they are on a journey they tie it round the breast under the armpits, and in the bag formed between the two ligatures carry their youngest child, or their portable furniture. In addition to the mantle, they wear a small apron in front, and on the head a sort of turban made of the skin of the *Bushbock*, and shaped like the watering caps of our dragoons.'

p. 288 Xhosa: cloak flap

'Their supernumerary buttons are disposed upon the back of the mantle, with some degree of arrangement and taste;'

1812 Officer, 21st Lt. Dragoons (1822) pl. 8 Xhosa: chief's dress

Figure.

c. 1813 Campbell, J. (1815) p. 369 'Caffre': clothing

Nothing more.

1819–20 Stocker pp. 51, 52 Xhosa: men's and women's clothing

p. 51 Xhosa: undergarment

'The women independent of the Kaross wear an under skin garment tied under the arms and compressing the breasts, which though evincing great delicacy of conduct, deprives nature of the beauties of feminine contour by destroying the bosom's form. . . . Of skins . . . bullocks' and antelopes' are adapted to all purposes of clothing . . . which they . . . wear with the fur side inwards.'

p. 52 Xhosa: penis-sheaths

Nothing more.

1820 Anon. figs 3, 4 'Caffre': clothing

Nothing more (taken from Van der Kemp 1804).

1821–4 Thompson, G. (1827) **2** pp. 358, 359 Xhosa: general description

Nothing more.

1819–29 Moodie, J. W. D. (1835) p. 247 Xhosa: penis-sheath

Nothing more.

1824 Ross p. 215 Xhosa: cloaks, caps

'. . . You wish that I should let you know something about the Caffres. I will attempt to give some account of them. The men's karoses are cut into a square nearly [*sic*] folded over an inch about the neck and sewed down. Two thongs are attached to this part to tie on the karos. The women's karoses are made exactly like your cloak (?) but very wide at the bottom. Instead of Capes or hoods (?) they

have a narrow strip of skin with the hairy side out hanging from the neck to the heels. Along this from top to bottom are sewed three rows of buttons, each button touching another. Both men & women wear as many rings of brass, as they can get, on their arms from the wrist upwards towards the elbow. Some have iron rings over the left elbow & a string of beads, as big as a large pea hung at their ears. The women wear a cap made of the skin of the blue buck, with a turban front, rough side out. The crown has the inside turned out &, if they can, have it striped with blue, red, black & white beads, about the size of mustard seed. It looks very well. . . . The females must all have something about their head—were it but a piece of old skin, or clout.'

c. 1824–5 Smith pp. 64, 67, 96, 245, 271–272, 279–280, 307, 398 — Xhosa: clothing

p. 64 — Xhosa: woman's cap

Nothing more.

p. 67 — Xhosa: woman's cloak

'To make it hang regular the women particularly cut out angular portions and sew the opening together. In the women's karosses there is a great deal of work of this kind. To the kaross of the women is fixed a long stripe of hide which hangs from the middle of the shoulders to the skirt of the mantle and even sometimes below it and it is ornamented with buttons etc. often a tortoise shell hanging behind or in front of the kaross.'

p. 96 — Xhosa: mourning

Nothing more.

p. 245 — Xhosa: penis-sheath

'Gaika on seeing one of his Heemraad (Imguia) going about without the partial covering for the penis and appearing in that way amongst women ordered him to replace it. He refused in consequence of which he was stranguled.'

pp. 271–272 — Xhosa: penis-sheath

Nothing more.

p. 272 — Xhosa: apron

'For woman

Made by a bullock skin, an old Kaross or some sheeps skin and ornament with beads—form it into two laps by making an incision up the middle. It is just sufficient to cover the parts of generation and nothing more. Some have no beads tie it round the waist.'

pp. 279–280 — Xhosa: men's cloak, penis-sheath

'. . . In warm weather they either roll it in folds and bring it in a band round the back and over the left arm or allow it to fly loose behind but the first mode is generally that preferred. When a Caffer is about to make a journey which requires expedition they leave the large kaross at home and take a small one which they put round the middle, and with which they cover the buttocks and penis when they arrive at any kraal where they are strangers. . . . He has however his ornaments which will be found under that head and what may be considered an article of dress

is the covering for the penis (In'eba). This is a cylindrical bag shut at the extremity and sewed according to the parts which it is required to contain. It is of about an inch and a half or two inches in length and is made to cover the top of the penis as a substitute for the covering which nature furnished but what art destroyed or removed in the act of circumcision. Besides the bag there is generally a small piece of rim [*sic*] fixed to the shut extremity and on it is fixed whatever ornaments they can afford. The most common is rings of small brass wire closely set together and forming a body of 4 or 5 inches. This covering is [sowed] by the women and made of the pericardium of an ox which the men cut themselves into the proper shape and dimensions. They are extremely averse to removing this small covering and will on no account consent to do it when a woman is even in sight. . . .'

p. 307 Xhosa: belt

'The Kaffirs when hungry particularly during a journey use girdles which according to circumstances they tighten, they are made in a rude way of the skin of some animal and surround the lower part of the body.'

p. 398 Mpondo: hair-style

'. . . hair variously dressed very bushy men with ring or crown on top of bush smaller than Zulu (Ieme) Women with hair plastered down like a bowl and arranged in long strings. . . . Some old women have a sort of skin wrapper some of the womens hair reaching down to eyes and besmeared with red ochre.'

1820–31 Steedman (1835) **1** pp. 46, 71, 243, 259, 260; **2** pp. 262–263 Xhosa, Mpondo: clothing, cap, hair-style

1 p. 46 Xhosa: clothing

Nothing more.

p. 71 Xhosa: women's cap

Nothing more.

p. 243 Xhosa: women's cap

'The caps of the more wealthy, which were made from the skin of the little blauw-bok, as before described, and covered with a profusion of the choicest beads, formed by far the most important part of the dress of the more fashionable Caffer ladies, and were by no means inelegant.'

p. 259 Cape Nguni: cloak

Nothing more.

p. 260 Mpondo: breast-cloth

'. . . and over the bosom is a soft covering of leather, slightly ornamented in a similar manner.'

2 pp. 262–263 Mpondo: hair-style

(Quoting conversation with W. H. Shaw:) '. . . but the Amaponda nation, of which we saw a few kraals near the Umtata, are easily distinguished from other nations, by the singular manner in which they dress their hair. They suffer it to grow long, when, from its being curly, like the hair of all Africans, it assumes the appearance of a huge wig, and is frequently adjusted with great care, and dressed with grease and charcoal. Many of them cut out a part of the hair in a circular form

on the crown of the head; round the edge of this they stud a few red berries, which, together with some pretty feathers of various birds, complete this whimsical invention of human pride.'

1825 Phillips (1827) pp. 31, 32, 173–174, 192 Xhosa, Thembu: dress

pp. 31, 32 Xhosa: cloaks, cap

Nothing more.

pp. 173–174 Xhosa: chief's cloak

'At their head was a fine intrepid looking fellow, dressed in a superior manner to the rest, having his karosse ornamented with a border of tiger skin. We conversed for a few minutes, shook hands, and parted.'

Nothing more.

p. 192 Thembu, Xhosa: cap, cloak

'The Tambookies have a more becoming head-dress, made of the same materials, but with a broad band which goes round the forehead, and gives it a more dressy and turban-like appearance. . . . Their mantle was a robe of antelope or otter skins, rendered perfectly supple, with the hair outermost made fine and shining like silk, and reaching from the neck to the ancle. It had no particular ornament in front, but behind there are three rows of buttons,—the centre composed of round buttons, and the two outer rows, of flat; these are placed some distance from each other. On the right side, but hanging behind, they have a very small land tortoise shell, in which they keep a perfume.'

1815–37 Shaw, B. (1840) p. 57 Xhosa: garments worn

Nothing more.

1826 Shrewsbury (1869) p. 239 Xhosa: slaughtering of oxen

'They replied that they slaughtered them in this manner to preserve the skins entire for their karosses.'

1827 Hallbeck & Fritsch (1826) pp. 303, 304, 309 Thembu: dress

p. 303 Thembu: cloak, aprons

'These Tambookkies, like all men of this nation, as well as the Caffres, had little covering, except the kaross hanging over their shoulders, and a small apron, decorated with brass rings and beads, round their waists. . . .

The women dress decently, but the little girls have no clothing, except a small apron, decorated with beads. The boys go quite naked.'

p. 303 Thembu: hairdressing

'They understand how to curl their hair with a degree of elegance, such as would be difficult for the most expert friseur to imitate. With a species of pomatum made of fat and red clay, they contrive to dress their short hair in diminutive curls, about the size of a bean, so as to cover their whole head.'

pp. 303–304 Thembu: cap, cape

'The female head-dress is a piece of skin, thickly set with beads, but some wear kerchiefs procured from the colony. The most remarkable part of their dress is a kind of cape, reaching from the upper part of the kaross to their feet, and orna-

mented with five rows of yellow buttons, closely joined together, by which they are rendered very heavy. I counted on one of these capes, 246 buttons.'

p. 309 Thembu: chief's dress

'In the appearance of a Tambookkie Chief, both in his person and dress, there is no distinguishing mark, except that his kaross, and those of his counsellors, are made of tiger, or tiger-cat skins. Bowana's kaross was the worst and most ragged of all in the company.'

1825–9 Kay (1833) pp. 111–115, 194, 200, 373, 374 Xhosa, Mpondo: dress

pp. 111, 112 Xhosa: cloak, penis-sheath, sandals

Nothing more.

p. 112 Xhosa: men's apron

'I have been told by the old men that their ancestors were accustomed to wear a small apron when occasion required them to throw off the *ingubo*, or cloak; and that it is but of late years, comparatively, that this relic of decency has been entirely laid aside . . . some of the oldest Kaffers still wear the abovementioned covering.'

pp. 113–114 Xhosa: cloak

Nothing more.

p. 114 Xhosa: women's garments, cap

'Short leathern petticoats also are worn; and, when engaged in any kind of labour, such as gardening, &c., constitute their only habiliments; the *ingubo* is then laid aside, being too cumbersome. By many, however, amongst the higher classes especially, nothing more than a small apron, decorated with various coloured beads, is used under the cloak. This is but three or four inches broad, and might seem to be used more as an ornament than as a matter of decorum. . . .

Excepting cases of age, childhood, and mothers giving suck, it is accounted exceedingly unbecoming for a female to go about with her breasts uncovered. Over these, therefore she wears the *imbeka*, which is also ornamented with beads. Great taste is frequently displayed in their caps, or head-dresses, which are generally the most expensive part of their costume. They are made from the skin of a peculiar species of antelope, indigenous to the forest, and called by the native, *iputi*. This being cut to the shape required, a large quantity of variegated beads are stitched on with great regularity; and as white and light blue generally form the principal shades in this Kaffer turban, their contrast with the sable countenance of the wearer is far from being disagreeable. When complete, the weight is, of course, considerable; and the shape altogether too masculine to accord with European ideas of female delicacy. It is rare indeed to see a woman with anything on her feet, even when travelling: she almost invariably goes bare-foot, under all circumstances, and in all kinds of weather.'

p. 115 Xhosa: skins used for cloaks

'Their leathern mantles are usually renewed once a year; and choice cattle are then slaughtered for this purpose expressly. Black cows or oxen are generally selected, a decided preference being given to that colour

The robes of the principal Chieftains are generally made of panthers' skins, which give them a warlike and commanding appearance. These, however, are

frequently thrown aside, or placed on the shoulders of subordinates, while the Chief himself goes about in an old tattered garb, which would induce a stranger to conclude that he was the menial, rather than the monarch.'

pp. 194, 200 Xhosa: cloak, mourning

Nothing more.

p. 373 Mpondo: hair-style

'Many of the Amaponedae are much more particular in their mode of ornamenting themselves than the Amaxosae. Their hair is made up into various fantastic and artificial head-dresses; some of which very much resemble a counsellor's wig. On our way through a valley near the Umdoombi, we passed one of Fakoo's warriors, who, with his companion, had halted to rest and refresh himself at the brook. His hair, neatly wrought up into a tuft on the crown of the head, was powdered with sibilo instead of ochre, and ornamented with small feathers of the richest colour. Across his jet-black forehead were tied two or three strings of fine white beads, very tastefully arranged.'

p. 374 Mpondo: women naked

'Many of the females are here much more shameless than those of the lower tribes,—going perfectly naked. This circumstance may, perhaps, in many instances at least, be ascribed to their extreme poverty; having no cattle to kill, and consequently no skins wherewith to make themselves garments.'

(1829) Rose pp. 58, 85, 187 Xhosa: men's dress, caps

p. 58 Xhosa: men's dress

'It would have been difficult to prove to him that his large black mantle, varied necklace, girdle of brass wire, blue beaded anklet, and brass bracelet, formed a far more graceful costume than that which he admired.'

pp. 85, 187 Xhosa: caps

Nothing more.

(1829) Young pp. 202–203 Xhosa: mourning

Nothing more.

1829 Bain p. 103 and note 54, figs 8–10 Mpondo, Xhosa, Xesibe: dress

p. 103 and note 54, figs 8, 10 Mpondo: clothing, hair-style; Xhosa: woman, cloak

'The natives about this country began to assume a very different appearance from the Caffres, not only in their dress but in their general appearance. . . .

I will not here attempt to describe the dresses of the Amapondas[54]. . . .'

(Editor's footnote 54:) 'Extract from Bain's Account, *S.A.C. Advertiser* (Sept. 26th, 1829):

The Kaross of the Amapondo which, by the way, he hardly ever wears, though composed of the same materials as that of the Caffre is much smaller. . . . A Caffre lady is generally enveloped from the neck downward in the ample folds of a large ox-hide with a triple row of brass buttons down her back; on her head she wears a cap like a Grenadier's, the beads of which cost her husband several head of cattle, while the less wealthy Amapondo dame waddles about in a scanty unadorned cloak

of the same stuff and is content with the simple head dress which nature has bestowed upon her. . . . They differ from the Caffres by being all uncircumcised.'

fig. 9 Xesibe: hair-style

Figure.

1829 Boniface p. 21 Xhosa: hair-style, dress

p. 21 Xhosa: hair-style

'La coiffure des maris diffère essentiellement ici de celle de leurs épouses; en ce que celles-ci ne teignent point leur chevelure noire, et paraissent au contraire abandonner entièrement à la nature le soin de la faire croître ou de l'embellir; tandis que les hommes se graissent la tête avec une espèce de pâte d'un rouge très vif; et bouclent ou tortillent leurs cheveux en forme de boulettes de cire.'

p. 21 Xhosa: apron, cloak

Nothing more.

p. 21 Xhosa: penis-sheath

'Les hommes, du reste, sont absolument nus; mais nous avons observé chez ces derniers une singularité que nous n'avons plus retrouvée parmi les autres hordes que nous avons eu occasion de visiter depuis. C'est une espèce de chapeau ou capsule de boyau avec quoi ils se couvrent l'extrêmité des parties naturelles, et qui leur pend entre les jambes en se prolongeant comme un tuyau de près de deux pieds de long.'

1829 Holman (1834) p. 265 Xhosa: mourning

'All the clothes, ornaments, and weapons of the deceased, are buried with him.'

c. 1831–2 Smith pp. 103, 105–108, 120, 123, 124 Mpondo, Thembu: dress

p. 103 Manequa, Mpondo: penis-sheath

'They used the small nut for the penis that the Amapondas do, and circumcised.'

p. 103 Manequa, Mpondo: hair-style

'Behind they twist their hair into long strings like the Amapondas. Smear their heads with fat alone.'

pp. 105–106 Mpondo: hair-style

'The women have their hair in a mop, the outer surface twisted and studded with round [k]nobs like peas and covered thickly with red clay behind nearly as low as [the] neck. A string three or four times double of long black cylindrical tresses which extend round from one ear to the other and hang down upon the neck. The black is produced by charcoal mixed with fat. Before they are considered young women they have the hair all over the head alike and black.

The males dress differently. Some have a ring in front like the Zolas but more on [the] forehead and often smaller; behind that on [the] back and sides of head the hair grows very bushy and then the rows of tresses as in the women hang down on the neck behind from ear to ear. Some have the head outside of [the] ring close shaved as well as the centre of the ring and only the tresses behind; others have also the centre of [the] ring with bushy hair. Indeed, most of them have the hair

growing everywhere on the head. Some have the ring actually hanging down on the forehead. . . .

They stick the hair full of feathers, particularly round the ring and they attach a brush of feathers usually to the hindhead; the feathers are deprived of the shafts.

The wax ring is in many of them coloured with red clay. Some of the full grown men also have their hair in a sort of mass rounded at the edges and in appearance like a wig. It is never, however, red as in the women.

The old men wear their hair long and without any ring.

The quantity of grease on the hair causes it to shine very much. Sometimes they have the whole face without any regularity coloured yellowish white and red. On different parts of the head they place the seeds of the *Erythrina caffra*. . . .

Some of the women have the hair also black. . . .'

p. 106 Mpondo: skirt

'The old women generally have a more or less large kaross bound round the hips and hanging down to the knees or even further.'

p. 106 Mpondo: penis-sheath

'Some have sheaths of hide with the hair outside for the penis, and others wear small calabashes.'

p. 107 Mpondo: apron

'The young girls either wear in front of [the] private parts a series of small strings which conceal those parts or strings of beads made in the same way.'

p. 107 Mpondo: hair-style

'Some begin very young to form the ring on the head. They, however, appear never to use that till they have been circumcised, and then all do not directly; a good deal as to that seeming to depend upon caprice. . . . To the tresses behind are often appended the feet of fowls, domestic.'

p. 108 Mpondo: penis-sheath

'Some make the penis cover with the leaves that surround the head of Indian corn and have the extremity elongated and rounded, then surrounded with strings of beads. They have two kinds of nuts they wear. One [is] much larger than the other and includes the glans; the other is about the size of a hazel nut and admits only the extremity of the skin which is kept there by the glans pressing it forcibly against the cover.'

p. 120 Mpondo: mourning

'When a woman becomes a widow she must live in a sort of house a little way from the kraal for two or three days. . . . When time of mourning [is] over they kill for her and she gets a new kaross and the old one is used as a petticoat. Can only eat a portion of the neck of the animal killed to make the kaross. Cannot wear beads for some time after this. She cannot anoint herself during her mourning. When she returns to the kraal she cuts the hair off the top of her head.'

p. 123 Thembu: mourning

'On the death of Vosanie [Vusani] all the people, both men and women, shaved their heads and they continued to mourn for the space of one year.'

p. 124 Thembu: mourning

(After the death of Vusani:) 'Till three months ago no person painted with red clay and they kept their hair cut close to the head. All ornaments were taken off the body and carosses.'

c. 1831–2 Drège pp. 34–35 Thembu, Mpondo: dress

p. 34 Thembu: hair-style

'These Kaffers have short hair smeared with red like all the Kaffers we have seen previously.'

p. 34 Thembu: penis-sheath, belt, cloak, woman's cap

'The penis covering is made from the skin which surrounds the heart of an ox. The thin strip of leather which is fastened round the loins is decorated with small brass rings. One sees more karosses among the Kaffers here, and the women have many brass buttons on theirs and pretty leather caps on their heads trimmed with white and blue.'

p. 34 Mpondo: hair-style

'They wear their hair smeared with red and hanging down the back in long tassels.'

p. 34 Mpondo: penis-sheaths

'The penis coverings consist of small hard nuts.'

p. 35 Ntinde: penis-sheaths

'The little leather strips which are attached to their penis coverings are often decorated with brass rings to a length of 12 inches.'

(1832*a*) Anon. pp. 142, 161–162, 221–222 Xhosa: cloak, cap, apron, sandals, chief's dress

Nothing more.

1832 Genth (1831) p. 428 'Caffres': cloak, sandals

'24th Four Caffres came hither, to visit. . . . They wore karosses of sheepskin, and shoes of the same. . . . They had no hats,. . . .'

(1833) Morgan, N. pp. 37, 38 Xhosa: general description

Nothing more.

(1833) Anon. figs 3, 4 Xhosa: clothing

Nothing more (description based on Van der Kemp 1804).

1834 Bonatz (1834*b*) pp. 349–350 Thembu: clothing

'The clothing of the men consists merely of a kaross, formed of the skins of sheep or oxen; The chiefs are ordinarily distinguished by a kaross of panther skin. . . .

Coverings for the head, they have none, except occasionally a handkerchief in winter. They go for the most part bare-foot, but when engaged in a long journey, or in warfare, they make use of a kind of shoe or sandal. . . .'

p. 350 Thembu: women's clothing

Nothing more.

1834 Gardiner (1836) opp. p. 101, p. 286, opp p. 286 — Thembu, Mpondo: dress, hair-style

opp. p. 101 — Thembu: dress

Figure of man and women.

p. 286 — Mpondo, 'Hoash' (?Wushe (Mpondo)): hair-styles

'Having been so long accustomed to the close-shorn heads of the Zoolas, the ochred mobs of these women, and the nest-like perruques of the men, formed a striking contrast, and at first quite attracted my notice.'

opp. p. 286 — Mpondo, 'Hoash' (?Wushe (Mpondo)): hair-styles

Figures of men's and women's hair-styles.

1834–5 Godlonton (1835–6) p. 133 — Xhosa: hair-style

'By means of an iron pin, the short woolly hair which distinguishes the negro races, is tortured into minute curls, each about the dimensions of a pea, and is then deeply tinged with the argillaceous earth or ochre, which is found in abundance in this particular part of the country, and as far as we have heard, in this only.'

1835 Alexander (1835*a*) p. 318 — Fingo: men's and women's dress

'The Fingoes (or Wanderers) belong to various scattered tribes. . . . Their dress consists of a dressed ox-hide, worn with the hair inwards, rude sandals on their feet, and a skin sheath like the other tribes; their ornaments are bead earrings, tufts of jackals' tails on their heads, bead necklaces, generally blue and white, brass rings on their arms, and a belt of small brass rings, strung on leather, round their waist. The women wear a small turban of skin or cloth, not to defend the head from the sun, but to enable them better to carry burdens, a petticoat of hide, a skin breast cover, ornamented with beads, and some of them the Kafir female kaross or mantle of hide, from which depends behind a flap covered with brass buttons; beneath the petticoat is worn a small triangular apron ornamented with beads; they also wear bead necklaces and brass bracelets. . . .'

1835 Alexander (1837) **1** pp. 383, 386, 387, 390, 391; **2** p. 129 — Xhosa: dress

1 p. 383 — Xhosa: clothing

Figure.

p. 386 — Xhosa: chief's cloak

'The chiefs and counsellors wear karosses of leopard skins, neatly vandyked at the neck and skirt, and worn so as to show a part of the closely-spotted hair.'

p. 386 — Xhosa: cloak and blanket

'From the shoulders hangs the *ungoobo,* kaross, or mantle of softened hide, worn with the hair next the body, and fastened with a thong at the neck. The Kaffirs near the colony are beginning to change their leather covering for one of cloth, which is not so heavy, and is warmer in wet weather than hide.'

p. 387 — Xhosa: sandals

Nothing more.

p. 390 — Xhosa: women's cap

'In full dress, the females wear a broad and high cap of the valuable blue buck skin, with the hair inwards, and outwardly ornamented with white and blue beads,

sewn closely on it. Half a dozen long stripes of skin are twisted round the brows, which are thus begirt with a handsome turban.'

p. 391 Xhosa: women's cloak flap

'. . . the kaross, fixed closely round the waist, descends below the knee; and the same garment is occasionally drawn over the shoulders, between which, hangs a long flap of leather, ornamented with rows of flat and round buttons.

In the bush, and in war-time, the women always display their glittering flaps to save themselves from being shot at.'

p. 391 Xhosa: apron

'. . . and wear under their kaross a small swallow-tailed apron, covered with white and blue beads. The women are as studious to conceal their persons, as the men are savagely proud and shameless in the exposure of theirs.'

2 p. 129 Xhosa: cloak, sandals

'Hintza. . . . His ample mantle was of beautiful leopard-skin; and buskins of untanned hide covered his feet.'

1835 Cameron (1836) p. 366 Mpondo: clothing

'This morning Faku . . . arrived on the Station. . . . I . . . found this great Chief sitting on the bare ground in a state of nudity. . . . His *ingubo,* or kaross, lay beside him;'

1836 England (1833–7) Xhosa: man's cloak, sandals, woman's cap

Figures.

(1836) Martin pp. 153, 154 Thembu: cloaks, sandals

Nothing more.

1820–56 Shaw, W. (1860) pp. 406–408, 413, 415, 417, 431 Xhosa: general descriptions

pp. 406–7 Xhosa: man's cloak

Nothing more.

p. 407 Xhosa: women's garments

'The females wear a skin under-wrapper round their bodies, and also another which covers their breasts; but the outer garment or cloak is similar to that worn by the men; only it is generally made of larger dimensions, so as to form a more complete covering: but they also, like the men, frequently lay aside these outer garments whenever the weather is warm, and the Kaffir women of the border then appear with the under-wrapper alone, which being fastened around the abdomen descends almost to the knees.'

p. 407 Xhosa: women's cap

'The men wear no hats or other covering for their heads; but the full costume of a Kaffir woman requires a species of turban, which is made of the skins of a small and beautiful antelope caught in the woody districts of the country. The upper part rises to the height of ten or twelve inches above the crown of the head, and is ornamented with rows of various coloured beads well arranged and fastened on the skin, so as to produce a pleasing effect. The lower part of this cap is wrapped round

with a portion of the skin, in a turban-like manner, the handsome fur being outside, and greatly adding to the effective appearance of this head-dress.'

p. 408 Xhosa: cloak flap

'. . . also have an appendage to their skin cloaks, called the *isibaxa*, which is not worn by the men. It consists of a strip of the hide fastened to the neck portion of the cloak, and about as broad as the back of the wearer, extending to the ankles. This is worn with the hairy side outwards, and is studded, according to the wealth, or means, or generosity of the lady's husband, with as many brass buttons, both flat and round, as can be placed in rows thereon, from the top to the bottom; and they are so arranged as to produce a very singular effect.'

pp. 413, 415 Xhosa: cloaks

Nothing more.

p. 417 Xhosa: sandals

'. . . the men devote themselves, . . . to anything they may wish to do, . . . repairing their old cloaks, making sandals, or, as the Dutch colonists call them, veldt schoen, required for use on journeys;'

p. 431 Xhosa: widow's clothing

Nothing more.

1837 Döhne pp. 61, 62, 64 Xhosa: dress

p. 61 Xhosa: cloaks

'Ihre Kleidung besteht in einem Kaross. Die Kapitains und geheimen Räthe tragen denselben von Tiger- oder Löwenfellen, der übrige Theil von Ochsen- und Schaaffellen. Die Männer lassen denselben, wenn's gerade nicht zu kalt ist, meist auf einer Schulter, wie ein Husar seinen Pelz, hängen, und schreiten so nackt einher.'

p. 62 Xhosa: women's cloak, skirt

Nothing more.

p. 62 Xhosa: head-cloths

'Viele Männer und Weiber tragen ein Tuch um den Kopf, oder sonst einen alten Lappen.'

p. 64 Xhosa: mourning

'Ihre Karosse muss sie ebenfalls wegwerfen, und sich neue machen. Um diesem misslichen Umstande auszuweichen, sind sie sehr auf der Hut, dass keiner im Kraal stirbt.'

1837–8 Bunbury (1848) p. 166 Xhosa: general description

Nothing more.

1839 Backhouse (1844) pp. 182, 183, 263, 268 Xhosa, Mpondo: dress, hair-style

pp. 182, 183 Xhosa: cloaks

Nothing more.

p. 263 Mpondo: penis-sheaths

'They do not practice the rite of circumcision: some of their ornaments are polished nuts, or small, decorated calabashes.'

p. 263 Mpondo: hair-style

'Their hair was so managed as to form an oval chaplet, the thickness of a finger, and about six inches in diameter, into which was stuck a small, ivory snuff-spoon.'

p. 268 Mpondo: hair-style

'A portion of his hair was sewed round a rush, so as to form an oval chaplet; beneath this, it was thick, and so cut as to present the appearance of a forage cap. Each of the others had three smaller series of ovals forming the chaplet; they had little other hair upon their heads. All the Caffer tribes are much infested with vermin, on account of which they occasionally shave off their hair; this practice is also common among some of them, as a token of mourning, on the decease of a relative or of a chief.—The people with a triple chaplet belonged to a small tribe named Tziliangwe, under a petty Chief, subject to Faku.'

1836–44 Döhne (1844) pp. 23, 29, 34, 38–41 Xhosa: dress

p. 23 Xhosa: mourning

'Bei allen Sterbefällen aber müssen die nächsten Anverwandten der Verstorbenen ihre alten Kleider entweder wegwerfen und sich neue anschaffen, oder, wenn die ersteren noch gut sind, sich wenigstens von Anderen dafür andere eintauschen; der Verstorbene aber bekommt seine Kleider, Waffen, seine Matten, Tabackspfeife, sein Messer, Feuerzeug u.s.w. mit in's Grab.'

p. 29 Xhosa: blanket, head-cloth

'Statt des Kaross tragen jetzt Viele eine wollene Decke. Auch tragen die Weiber Schnupftücher um den Kopf.'

p. 34 Xhosa: belt

'. . . dagegen können sie auch wieder 3–4 Tage hungern; dann binden sie sich einen Riemen um den Bauch und ziehen ihn immer fester an, je leerer der Bauch wird.'

pp. 38–39 Xhosa: sandals

'Eine vierte Art Handwerker sind die Schuhmacher. Die Stirnhaut des Ochsen wird einfach aufgespannt und getrocknet und dient dann zu den Sohlen; die Haarseite der Ochsenhaut wird nach Aussen getragen. Die Sohlen stehen einen Finger breit rund um den Fuss hervor. Eine zwei Zoll breite Lasche auf jeder Seite bildet das Ober- oder Vorderleder und ein anderes breiteres Stück das Hinterleder; alle drei Stücke werden durch einen Schuhriemen auf der Frist zusammengeschnürt. Dies Handwerk bringt seinen Meistern sehr wenig ein, weil nur Wenige Schuhe tragen, und auch diese nur auf weiten Reisen; an einem Paar Schuhen hat Einer sein Leben lang genug. Wer dem Meister zu zwei Paaren Zuthat giebt, bekommt ein Paar zurück; der Käufer giebt für ein Paar ein Ziegenlämmchen.'

pp. 40–41 Xhosa: women's cloak

'Je nachdem die Haut gross ist, werden 3 bis 4 Blätter daraus geschnitten, die an einem Ende schmal, am andern breit sind; die schmalen kommen nach den Schultern, die breiten nach dem untern Ende. Nun wird sie wieder zusammengenäht. Den Zwirn dazu machen sie aus den Sehnen an den Vorder- und Hin-

terblättern des Viehes. Beim Nähen stechen sie mit der oben beschriebenen Nadel vor. Ist sie fertig genäht, so wird sie wieder nass gemacht und aufgespannt, damit die Nähte gerade gezogen werden. Dann wird sie wieder mit den Händen gerieben, mit Fett bestrichen und mit saurer Milch eingesprengt.Darauf werden Kohlen von weichem Holz zu Staub gerieben und auf das Kleid gestreut und eingerieben, damit es eine schwarze Farbe bekomme. Am Rumpf ist eine 9 Zoll breite Klappe angebracht, die auf dem Rücken bis an die Erde herunterhängt und mit 4 bis 6 Reihen gelber Knöpfe besetzt ist. Wer es kann, besetzt die äussere Reihe mit platten und die innere mit kleinen runden Knöpfen. Wenn es gut geht, wird ein solch Kleid in 3 bis 4 Wochen fertig. Die Haarseite wird auf dem Leibe getragen. Die Karosse der Männer werden eben so bearbeitet, nur haben sie keine Klappe mit Knöpfen.'

p. 41 Xhosa: women's cap

'Die Mützen der Weiber bestehen aus 4 Buschbockfellen, auf denen ebenfalls die Haare bleiben. Drei solcher Felle werden, wenn sie gehörig zubereitet sind, wie ein Rock, der oben und unten offen steht, zusammengenäht; dieser Sack wird in der Mitte eingebogen, und die eine Hälfte wird umgelegt und bildet eine Klappe, die vorn herunterhängt, wie von einer Zipfelmütze der Zipfel. Aus dem 4ten Felle wird eine lange, 4 Zoll breite Schärpe geschnitten und an einer Seite der Mütze befestigt. So wird sie in die Erde eingegraben, dass sie Zähe wird, wieder herausgenommen und mit süsser Milch besprengt. In die Klappen werden etliche Hölzchen gesteckt, damit sie die rechte viereckige Form bekommt. Dann wird sie nochmals in die Erde gesteckt, wieder herausgenommen, ausgereckt und, wenn sie trocken ist, weich gerieben und beschnitten. Die etwa 14 Zoll lange und breite Klappe wird dicht mit weissen und blauen Perlen in Streifen besetzt. Wenn sie aufgesetzt wird, wird sie mit der langen Schärpe umwunden und fest gemacht. Sie steht wie eine Pelzmütze der alten Grenadiere, und wird nur beim Hochzeitstanz getragen.'

1835–55 Ayliff pp. 8, 9 Thembu: skins for clothing

p. 8 Thembu: men's dress

'. . . but less care was shown in the selection and preparation of the men's dresses than of the women's, from the fact that the former seldom used them by day and that the wealthier classes and persons of rank were usually habited in dresses made of the skins of antelopes or leopards, and tho' a dress of the latter was regarded as a symbol of rank it was also adopted by the wealthy. This refers to a bygone period for now all wear European blankets.'

p. 9 Thembu: women's cloaks

'. . . it is decided that such and such wives must have new dresses, and that such and such oxen are to furnish the necessary hides, here alone female influence is allowed any weight and female vanity must be gratified, the fashionable colours, and fashions here do not often or greatly change, are a deep red, a black and tan, or jet black . . . the longer the hair of the animal the more highly it was prized;'

1842–53 Baines **1** pp. 29, 40, 56, 62, 67, 71, 141–142, fig. 15, pp. 207, 210; **2** pp. 234, 290 — Xhosa, Fingo, Fetcani, Thembu, Hlubi, Mpondo: dress

1 p. 29 — Xhosa: women's dress

(1848) 'Around the waist or over the full breast was tied the garment required within the authority of the Magistrate, a petticoat of some civilised manufacture, while the rest of the figure was adorned with large beads of brilliant colours or rings and chains of brass and copper. Above the muscular portion of the arm was generally a string of large white beads, a curiously wrought band of smaller ones, or a ring of polished brass; while many wore a gauntlet formed of rings of the same material, gradually increasing in size from the wrist to the elbow; others had anklets of small beads; and some of the men wore a beautifully worked band of the same in a vandyked pattern of black and white around their heads, the white points looking almost like a coronet and the black being invisible against their woolly hair.'

p. 40 — Xhosa: dwarf with sandals

(1848) 'Crossing his [atrophied] legs, therefore, in Musselman or tailor fashion, he introduced his hands beneath the straps of a pair of shields or sandals, synonymous I believe in the Kafir tongue, and raising his body from the ground, swung himself along as fast as most persons are able to walk.'

p. 40 — Fingo, Xhosa: girls' dress

(1848) 'Groups of Fingo and Kafir girls in picturesque and becoming dresses, the chief articles of which were a skin wrapped about the body so as to form a kind of petticoat, fastened round the waist with a leather thong bound so tightly over the bosom as, in the opinion of some persons, materially to contribute to that depression of the breast which renders the older females so uncaptivating, a cap likewise of skin, and, beside the fringe already mentioned, a strip of dark material, either cloth or leather three or four inches in width and many feet in length studded with knobbed buttons of glittering brass, hanging carelessly over the left shoulder. . . .'

p. 56 — 'Kafir': bride's dress

(1848) 'Supported on either side by a young companion, like herself anointed with red clay and dressed only in the light yellow skin of an oribi, one of the smallest and most graceful of our antelopes, she walks bare-headed. . . .'

p. 62 — Fingo: woman's dress

(1848) 'At the door of one of these huts I observed a woman wearing an apron with two points like a commodore's broad pendant richly decorated with coloured beads which, I believe, is peculiar to married females, but being covered by the dress is seldom exposed to view, and this is the only occasion on which I remember to have seen it.'

p. 67 — Fetcani, Thembu: hair-style, leg-band

(1848) '. . . Ficani, distinguishable from the Abatembu by a small ring of matted hair, serving as a receptacle for snuff spoons and other articles, upon the crown of their otherwise shaven heads, as well as by the white tufts from the tails of oxen gartered below their knees.'

p. 71 Xhosa: mourning hair-styles

(1848) '. . . The heads of many were closely shaven with their assagais in token of mourning and rubbed with grease till their bald polished scalps glittered in the sun.'

pp. 141–142 Xhosa: women's apron, breast-cloth

(1849) '. . . two young women came out of a hut to gaze at me, and stood shading their eyes from the sun by laying the right arm across their foreheads. They had left their petticoats inside, and, with the exception of a fringe of leather perhaps nine inches deep and a little broader and the usual ornaments of beads which ought to have been worn over the breast, displayed their really handsome, and in the case of one of them almost elegant, figures, in the dress they brought into the world with them.'

fig. 15 (opp. p. 145) Xhosa: woman's dress

(1849) Nothing more.

p. 207 Xhosa: women's dress

(1849) 'The dress of the Kafir women is very highly ornamented and almost as expensive as that of more civilised ladies. The buttons on one woman's cloak have been known to cost four oxen, the beads on her cap three, and the rest of her ornaments one or two more. It is considered a degradation to a female to be seen with her head uncovered; and if, at any time, a woman is obliged to take off the handkerchief or other substitute for a cap, she will rather place a piece of chip or a leaf on her head than appear uncovered. After arriving at years of womanhood they reckon it a point of modesty to cover the breast. I have seen them often enough, and of all ages, with the breast bare, and, I think, the head too; but Mr. Shepstone tells me this is the effect of civilisation. I never saw a female of any age perfectly naked; a little apron of leather, cut in strips, is suspended by a cord or brass band round the loins as soon as they are able to leave the back of their mother and crawl about the floor of the hut.'

p. 210 Xhosa: woman's hair-style

(1849) 'A short distance from the house an old Kafir woman stopped to ask me for tobacco, and, seeing me look curiously at her headdress, took off her handkerchief to give me a better opportunity of examining it. Her hair had been drawn out of curl and separated into small parcels, each of which was then plastered with red clay and grease, till the whole looked like a collection of earth worms hanging round her head and formed a ridiculous caricature of Medusa. She appeared very proud of her tresses and highly pleased at the interest they excited in me, and, having further gratified her by a donation of the fragrant weed, I continued my journey.'

2 p. 234 Xhosa: woman's head-covering

(1851) 'One of them, having nothing to carry and having, perhaps, lost her usual head-dress, had picked up the wrapper of a pack of cartridges, that she might not appear uncovered before strangers, and another carried an empty powder canister.'

p. 290 Hlubi, Mpondo: men's hair-style

(1852) 'Their hair, though crisp and woolly, was much longer and, on the top of the head, was felted up into a ring, very much resembling at first sight the coarse flat bonnet of the Scotch. The central opening was three or four inches in diameter, and served as a receptacle for beads, snuff-boxes, or any of the multifarious articles for which no more convenient place could be found.'

1847–8 Angas (1849) pp. 21–23 and figs, 24 Xhosa, Fingo, Mpondo: dress, hair-style

p. 21 and fig. Xhosa: men's and women's dress

Nothing more.

p. 22 and fig. Xhosa, Fingo: women's dress

'The Amaxosa females are many of them women of noble bearing and graceful manners. Their costume differs greatly from that of the Amazulu and Amaponda, consisting of garments much more ample, formed of carefully dressed skins, and curiously decorated with steel chains, and brass bell-buttons. The leather cloak, worn by the Amaxosa women on all festive occasions has usually a broad belt of leather about 8 inches wide, extending all down the back, and separated from the dress over which it falls; this is thickly studded with brass buttons, and the shell of a small land tortoise, containing a preparation of herbs, as a supposed charm against witchcraft, is suspended from it by a piece of coiled wire. I have only observed these tortoises amongst the women of this tribe and the Fingoes, who adopt the same style of dress and similar customs to their neighbours the Amaxosa Kaffirs.'

p. 23 and fig. Mpondo: hair-style

'The [Mpondo] women, as may be seen by the accompanying portrait, twist their hair into ringlets, which are thickly smeared with red ochre and grease. The subject of our sketch is a woman of rank amongst the Amaponda people—in her hair she wears a porcupine quill. . . .'

p. 24 Mpondo: dress

Nothing more.

1848 Freeman (1851) opp. p. 197 Xhosa: clothing

Figure (painting) by I'Ons.

c. 1850 C. B. (?Charles Bell) sketches Cape Nguni: women's cap, breast-cloth, men's short cloak, chief's cloak

Figures.

c. 1837–63 I'Ons AM 2956, 4421, 4424, 4427, 4430, 6349 (1847); 41/924, 47/275 (1856) Xhosa and Fingo: clothing

Paintings.

c. 1837–63 I'Ons (Redgrave & Bradlow 1958) pls opp. pp. 22, 30 [nos 10, 12, 13, 16, 17] Xhosa and Fingo: clothing

Figures.

1848–52 Baines (1848–52*a*) 2, 71 — Xhosa: cloak, soldier's cap
Figures.

(1851) J. W(alker) pls 14, 15, 20 — Xhosa: dress
Figures of men and a woman.

1851 Bell (1851*a*) p. 90 — 'Tambookie': women's caps
Nothing more.

1851–2 King (1853) pp. 41, 65, 169, 170, 265 — Xhosa: clothing, women's cap
p. 41 — Xhosa: clothing
Nothing more.
p. 65 — Xhosa: women's cap
'. . . we obtained a number of handsome ornaments taken from the huts of some of the members of the Gaika Royal Family, such as bracelets, karosses, &c., with the singular head-dresses, *umnqwazi,* made of otter skin and beautiful bead work, which are the insignia peculiar to female royalty in Kaffirland.'
p. 169 — Xhosa: cloak, blanket, breast-cloth, cap
'The only covering worn by the Kaffir is the well-known kaross, which supplies the place of our own plaid; it consists of different skins; that of the tiger, is a distinctive mark of chieftainship, and not allowed to be worn by any other class; among the lower ranks a coarse blanket is now generally substituted. The married women sometimes wear a very small forked apron of leather, adorned with beads, over their beasts, and the wives of royalty have the privilege of a peculiar head-dress of fur, one of which, in my possession, taken from the Royal Gaika Kraal, on the Amatolas, is like a large loose fez, with the fur outside, turned up and ornamented with small beads, and on each side long broad "ribbons" of fur tipped with tiger skin.'
p. 170 — Xhosa, Fingo: belt
'. . . and both Kaffirs and Fingoes use a strap or belt round their naked waist, called "lambele", which they tighten when hungry and unable to procure food.'
p. 265 — Xhosa: cloak
'The women, like those before taken, had their woolly hair entwined with the claws and teeth of wild beasts, and wore karosses of hide, finely dressed, and dyed black with mimosa bark, of which all the larger trees here had been stripped.'

(1853) Fleming frontispiece, pp. 91, 111 — Xhosa: breast-cloth, cloaks
Nothing more.

1855 Lindsey & Lindsey (1886) p. 116 — Fingo: child's apron
Nothing more.

(1856) Fleming pp. 201, 206, 221 — Xhosa: dress, penis-sheath
pp. 201, 206 — Xhosa: women's dress
Nothing more.

p. 221 Xhosa: head-cloth, breast-cloth, skirt, apron

'They usually wear a handkerchief, of some bright colour, bound round their heads. . . .

Around the neck they wear a string, from which is suspended a fringe of beadwork, which falls over the breasts, and hangs as low as the loins, called in the Kaffir tongue "*amecklate*". Around their waists they always have a "kaross" or skin fastened, and, under this they wear the "*encyēes*". . . .'

1856 Warner (1859) pp. 2, 3 Thembu: women's dress

p. 2 Thembu: cloak and flap

Nothing more.

p. 3 Thembu: skirts, apron

'Beneath this outer garment they wear a skin petticoat open in front, tied tight round their loins, and reaching to their knees; and beneath this they wear the small apron common to the females of all the tribes of South Africa. They also cover their breasts; but this article of dress is often dispensed with, and the women most frequently appear at their kraals, in their under petticoat only, and their bodies bare from their loins upwards,—this is particularly the case with the young unmarried girls, ...'

(1858) Maclean p. 126 Xhosa: penis-sheath

'If a man wilfully exposes himself without the penis cover, he may be fined by the Chief.

Should a man maliciously, or otherwise, pull off the penis cover of another, a fine of from one to five head of cattle may be inflicted, payable to the complainant.'

1862 Bauer & Hartmann (1861) p. 560 Mpondomise: hair-style

'The dress and language of this tribe reminded us of the Zulus. They have a peculiar way of wearing the hair. The men smooth and stiffen the hair on the top of the head with grease and mud, and shape it in the form of a small round cap, while the hair of the lower part stands out from the head stiff and straight. . . . The women wear their hair hanging down over their shoulders in many small twists, leaving the forehead bare, and tying a handkerchief, folded in narrow plaits, round the head.'

(1865) Bowler pl. 7 ?Fingo: skirt

Figure.

1863–6 Fritsch (1872) pp. 58–62, 107 Cape Nguni: general description

pp. 58–59 Cape Nguni: penis-sheath

'. . . Ihre Kleidung (*sit venia verbo*) beschränkt sich auf ein kleines Büchschen verschiedener Gestalt, mit welchem sie die *Glans penis* überziehen. Dieses Büchschen, dessen Oeffnung etwas verengt ist, wird entweder aus kleinen runden Kürbisfrüchten gemacht, deren holzige Schale zierlich eingeschnitten und gezeichnet ist, oder es wird von Leder gefertigt und ist dann gewöhnlich von länglicher Gestalt, eventuell wird auch irgend ein anderes Material dazu verwandt.

Meist ist das Kleidungsstück am oberen Ende mit kleinen Schnüren von Glasperlen geschmückt und am unteren pflegt eine Art Troddel von gleicher Beschaffenheit herabzuhängen. In seiner Behausung legt der Kaffer auch dieses Büchschen öfters ab, ...'

p. 60 Xhosa: blanket

'Jetzt haben die Kaffern eingesehen, dass besser wie ein noch so sorgfältig gegerbtes Thierfell, welches durch Nässe stets wieder viel von der Geschmeidigkeit verliert, eine gute wollene Decke sich den Körperformen anpasst und verschaffen sich, wenn sie es erschwingen können, solche von englischem Fabrikat, meist braun von Farbe, die um den Hals durch eine Art Agraffe zusammengezogen wird.'

p. 60 Xhosa: sandals

'Als ein Kleidungsstück, welches ebenfalls nur zeitweise angelegt wird, wenn die Umstände es erfordern, sind aus Thierfellen geschnittene Sandalen, am liebsten aus Eland oder Giraffenleder, welche über dem Spann mittelst eines anderen Lederstreifen oder dünner Riemchen befestigt werden. Auch diese Fussbekleidung, gewöhnlich nur auf längeren Reisen getragen, ist mit geringen Modificationen den verschiedenen Stämmen ursprünglich eigen, in neuester Zeit wird sie aber sehr von den colonialen "Velschoen" verdrängt, die in gleicher Weise von weissen Colonisten und den Eingeborenen angefertigt und getragen werden. Solche Fellschuhe bestehen aus einer dicken rohen Sohle, auf welcher ein bis in die Gegend der Knöchel reichendes, gegerbtes Oberleder befestigt wird, während den Hacken eine Kappe umgiebt, deren seitliche Ausläufer das Oberleder übergreifen und auf dem Spann mit Riemchen zusammengebunden werden.'

p. 61 Xhosa: apron

'Dasjenige der jungen Mädchen ist bei den genannten Stämmen um Nichts reicher, es beschränkt sich vielmehr auf einen kleinen die Schamgegend bedekkenden Schurz, bei erwachsenen Personen wird in der Regel ein zweiter etwas grösserer darüber getragen, der mit Korallen und Metallzierrathen geschmückt ist, doch erst bei der Verheirathung wird eine eigentliche Bekleidung angelegt.'

p. 62 Xhosa: woman's cloak

Nothing more.

p. 107 Xhosa: baby-sling

'Das neugeborene Kind ist ganz unter der Obhut und Autorität der Mutter; geht dieselbe aus, um in Felde zu arbeiten, Holz oder Wasser zu holen (was schon am nächsten Tage geschehen kann, da die Frauen kein Wochenbett abzuhalten pflegen), so befindet sich das Kind auf ihrem Rücken, in dem grossen, sackartigen Ledertuch, welches die Wiege des Kleinen darstellt.'

c. 1864 Stanford (1858–89) **1** p. 18 ?Thembu: dress

'Occasionally a special embassy came from distant chiefs not included in Mr Warner's ordinary jurisdiction. The tribe generally looked upon Mr Warner as the guardian of their rights and interests in view of Umtirara's dying charge to him. These envoys arrived usually on horseback and accompanied by one or more young men in attendance. The councillors would carry with them carefully wrapped up

their best blankets duly ochred to the right shade. Some still wore the head ring which has passed into disuse nowadays. The ivory arm ring was constantly worn.'

1845–89 Kropf (1889*a*) pp. 89, 104–106, 114–116 Xhosa: general description

p. 89 Xhosa: hunger-belt

Nothing more.

p. 104 Xhosa, Fingo: decoration of clothing

' . . . Ober- und Unterkleid sind oft, besonders bei den Fingus, schön mit Perlen besetzt, die ordentliche, wenn auch nicht regelmässige Muster darstellen.'

p. 105 Xhosa: shoes

'Schuhe von gegerbtem Schaf- oder Ziegenleder tragen nur die Männer, besonders in Zeiten des Krieges, wo ihnen kein Dorn zu spitz, kein Stein zu scharf sein darf, um behende darüber zu laufen wie die Gazellen.'

pp. 106, 115 Xhosa: cloaks

Nothing more.

p. 114 Xhosa: sandals

Nothing more.

p. 116 Xhosa: caps

Nothing more.

(1868) Wood pp. 17–18, fig. p. 18 Cape Nguni: baby-sling

'When the mother carries her infant to the field, she mostly slings it to her back by means of a wide strip of some soft skin, which she passes round her waist so as to leave a sort of pocket behind in which the child may lie. In this primitive cradle the little creature reposes in perfect content, and not even the abrupt movements to which it is necessarily subjected will disturb its slumbers. . . .

The wife of a chief or wealthy man will not, however, rest satisfied with the mere strip of skin by way of a cradle, but has one of an elaborate and ornamental character. The illustration represents a remarkably fine example of the South African cradle, and is drawn from a specimen in my collection.

It is nearly two feet in length by one in width, and is made of antelope skin, with the hair still remaining. The first care of the maker has been to construct a bag, narrow toward the bottom, gradually widening until within a few inches of the opening, when it again contracts. This form very effectually prevents an active or restless child from falling out of its cradle. The hairy side of the skin is turned inward, so that the little one has a soft and pleasant cradle in which to repose. In order to give it this shape, two "gores" have been let into the back of the cradle, and are sewed with that marvellous neatness which characterizes the workmanship of the Kaffir tribes. Four long strips of the same skin are attached to the opening of the cradle, and by means of them the mother can bind her little one securely on her back.

As far as usefulness goes, the cradle is now complete, but the woman is not satisfied unless ornament be added. Though her rank—the wife of a chief—does not exonerate her from labor, she can still have the satisfaction of showing her

position by her dress, and exciting envy among her less fortunate companions in the field. The entire front of the cradle is covered with beads, arranged in regular rows. In this specimen, two colors only are used; namely, black and white. The black beads are polished glass, while the others are of the color which are known as "chalk-white", and which is in great favor with the Kaffirs, on account of the contrast which it affords to their dusky skin. The two central rows are black. The cradle weighs rather more than two pounds, half of which is certainly due to the profusion of beads with which it is covered.'

1869 Bauer (1871) p. 289 Mpondomise: hair-style

'His head-dress was of the fashion peculiar to the Amapondumisi, the hair being twisted up with grease into the shape of an inverted cup, and having a long heron's feather stuck in it.'

(1877) Cripps pp. 330, 333, 334 Xesibe, Mpondo: dress

p. 330 Xesibe: garments worn

'The men had thin ochre-coloured blankets thrown over their shoulders, and the women wore a short leather kilt studded with beads and brass buttons with a fringe of leather strips.'

p. 333 Mpondo: hair-style

'Owing to our proximity to Natal, we saw Zulu customs in vogue. The men wore their hair worked up into cones with a black polished ring of matted and polished hair at the apex, looking like ebony. Within these cones there are deposited small articles in daily use, such as a snuff-box, etc. Into the cone itself is usually thrust a two-pronged fork of bone with a spoon as a handle.'

p. 334 Mpondo: skirt

'A lady's dress consists of a leather kilt which is bordered by a fringe of strings, it is also studded with brass-nail heads—such as one sees on green baize doors, and innumerable beads. The slightest movement on the part of the wearer of such a garment gives rise to a strange rustling noise.'

1877–8 Norbury (1880) pp. 8, 10, 15 Xhosa, Fingo: dress

p. 8 Xhosa: blankets, skirt

'Among the Xosa the dress of the men consists of a simple blanket of a dingy red colour, hanging from the shoulders. . . .

The women wear a well-fitting skirt of bullock's hide, with the red blanket gracefully drooping from the shoulders.'

p. 10 Fingo: women's dress

'The vast majority of the Fingo females, however, still wear the red blanket, which is often made of a shaggy cotton material and ornamented profusely with rows of common shirt-buttons, ...'

p. 15 Xhosa: woman's skirt, cap

'The wife takes with her, as a trousseau, . . . a skirt of bullock's hide, and a dancing equipment consisting of a long bag-like, richly-beaded cap, ...'

1877–9 Ex C.M.R. (1881) p. 169 Thembu: women's dress

'The women almost invariably wear a kaross and blanket. A kaross is a sort of square garment made of several skins sewn together. This is folded round the waist and fastened with a strap or piece of hide over their shoulders. They throw a blanket over their shoulders, and with a gaily coloured handkerchief round their heads, are considered to be dressed in the height of fashion.'

(1881) Nauhaus, C. T. p. 344 Xhosa: penis-sheath

Nothing more.

1875–87 MacDonald (1890*a*) pp. 152, 153, 224 Cape Nguni: general

pp. 152, 153 Cape Nguni: dress

Nothing more.

p. 224 Mpondomise: hair-style

'The men of the Pondomise tribes have an extraordinary method of dressing their hair. The framework of the head dress is formed by placing a small ring of grass on the crown of the head. The hair is then rubbed well into the grass with fat, and securely sewn with thread made from the sinews of an ox. It is then greased and dressed every day, and the circlet rises with the growth of the hair until it attains an elevation of several inches above the head. It is never removed till colonies are formed under shelter of its dense mass, and when these become numerous the man whose head-gear was the pride of his life appears with clean shaven pate.'

1875–87 MacDonald (1890*b*) p. 266 Cape Nguni: fashions in dress, hair-style

'In dress there is little difference between one tribe and another, but fashions in form and colour change frequently, and the same fashion is seldom observed in many tribes at the same time, e.g., one tribe adorns all garments with shells, another with beads or prepared bits of wood, all of which may be reversed in a few years. The hair on the other hand is so worn as to indicate the tribe to which a man belongs; and a royal messenger sent home with his hair cut is equivalent to a declaration of war.'

(1882) Nauhaus, C. T. p. 200 Cape Nguni: women's cloak

'Als einen besonderen Schmuck tragen die Frauen einen langen Mantel der bis über die Knöchel herabreicht und vorne offen ist, um den Perlenschmuck, der über Hals und Brust herabhängt, sehen zu lassen. Dieser Mantel ist aus Fellen gemacht, sehr weich gegerbt und auf der Fleischseite braun gefärbt mit dem faulen Holze eines bestimmten Baumes. Der Mantel hat einen kleinen überfallenden Kragen, welcher in einen langen Schwanz ausläuft und auf dem Rücken bis zur Erde hinabreicht. Dieser Schwanz ist dicht besetzt mit gelben Messingknöpfen, ausserdem ist der Mantel, besonders nach vorne zu, mit langen feinen Ketten behängt, die beim Gehen, besonders beim Tanzen ihren Klingelton hören lassen.'

(1882) Sampson pp. 109–110 Mpondo: hair-style

'A Pondo, in some marvellous manner, will train up a circular wall of stiff hair

on the top of his head three or four inches high, and in this hair bowl surmounted as it generally is by a ring of bees-wax or other solid substance, will carry tobacco, snuff and other miscellaneous articles. Another will train his hair into a number of rows imitating the order of a well-kept potato field; while a third will shave the whole skull and leave only a narrow ridge above the forehead. The variety of ways in which the hair is worn is indeed most striking, and, as might be expected under the circumstances, few persons attain such social distinction in independent Pondoland as the skilful barber.'

(1883) Cape of Good Hope p. 432 — Tshomane: ornaments and other belongings destroyed

'Umdepa had no ornament or anything belonging to his mother, as, according to Kafir custom, all effects belonging to persons dying are destroyed.'

1883 Joest (1885) p. 481 — 'Kaffir' (context Mpondo): penis-sheath

'Aus einem reisigen Spazierstocke und einem n'utsche besteht die Sommerkleidung der Kaffern. Ohne n'utsche wird er sich unanständig nackt vorkommen; mit n'utsche hält er sich für vollkommen bekleidet. Das vorliegende ist aus Darm verfertigt, an dem oft noch Straussfedern, Messingringe u.s.w. herunterhängen. Die Kaffern verkaufen diese n'utsche sehr ungern; ich habe deren nur eines bekommen.'

1884 Schröder — Xhosa: woman's dress

Figure.

1883–8 Bachmann (1901) pp. 134, 180 — Mpondo: men's dress, hair-style

p. 134 — Mpondo: cloak

'Fast alle waren in Pondo-Kostümen, d.h. ausschliesslich bekleidet mit der ockerfarbenen Wolldecke, die auf einer Schulter oder auf dem Nacken mit einer grossen Broschen-Nadel befestigt, im übrigen lose um den Körper flatterte. Sonst waren sie völlig nackt.'

p. 180 — Mpondo: hair-style

'Die Pondos tragen lange nicht so viele Zierraten am Leibe, als die Natalkaffern. Er trug sein Haar in kurzen Locken, ein einfaches grellrotes Band um die Stirn, den bekannten blauen Pondostreif über die Nasenwurzel, eiserne Ringe um die Handgelenke und Messingringe um die Oberarme, auch einige unterhalb der Kniee und um die Fussgelenke, einen schwarzen Riemen um die Hüfte.'

c. 1888 Bodley (1891) p. 233 — Fingo: penis-sheath

Nothing more.

(1894) Ratzel **2** pp. 76, 81, 108, 121, 123 — Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo: dress, men's hair-style

Figures.

(1904) Kidd pl. 20 and legend, pl. 42 — Mpondo: hair-style

Nothing more.

(1919) McLaren, J. pp. 445, 447–448 Xhosa: clothing materials

p. 445 Xhosa: fibre for fringe

'The fibres of the boterbloem, *um-kwinti (Gazania pinnata),* extracted by rubbing the leaves along the leg; . . . were twisted or spun, *sonta,* into thread, *um-sonto,*'

pp. 447–448 Xhosa: skin clothing

Nothing more.

(1919) Aitchison p. 676 Cape Nguni: children's dress

Nothing more.

1924 Hartmann p. 7 Xhosa: clothing

Nothing more.

(1926*a*) Müller, F. pp. 30, 31 Hlubi: dress

p. 30 Hlubi: blankets, general description

'Erwachsene heidnische Kaffern und auch christliche in ihrem Heim tragen die rote Wolldecke, die sie überall zu den verschiedensten Preisen kaufen. Diese Decken sind jedoch nicht einförmig rot, sondern mit schwarzen, blauen oder gelben Mustern geschmückt. Eine solche gute Wolldecke kostet heute nach dem Kriege etwa 2 bis 3 englische Pfund (40–60 Mark). In ihr bringen sie Tag und Nacht zu. Männer und Frauen tragen sie, manchmal auf dem blossen Körper, doch haben die Männer meist eine europäische Hose darunter, die Frauen ein etwas vollständigeres Kostüm, schmutzig-rot gefärbt, Armbündchen und Rocksaum oft schön mit bunten Perlstickereien verziert.'

p. 30 Hlubi: sandals, hats

'Schuhe haben sie im gewöhnlichen nicht. Höchstens machen sich die Männer Schuhe aus Schaffell, die sandalenartig an dem Fuss befestigt werden. Ebenso fehlen ihnen Hüte. Oder sie machen sich Hüte mit breiten Krempen und hohen, zylinderähnlichen Köpfen aus einer Art Gras, eine Kunst, die sie vielleicht von den Basutos gelernt haben.'

p. 31 Hlubi: head-cloth

'Das weibliche Geschlecht setzt sich vom Tage der offiziellen Verlobung an einen turbanähnlich um den Kopf geschlungenen Zeuglappen, qiya genannt, auf, bei dem sie nun, in der Jugend wenigstens, ihren Begriffen von Farbenschönheit auf das liberalste fröhnen können. Ist die Frau älter geworden, so ist das Kopftuch meist schwarz. Christenfrauen sieht man draussen nie ohne dies Kopftuch. Die Männer tragen die Filzhüte, die sie in den Winkeln kaufen.'

(1927) Poto Ndamase p. 119 Mpondo: garments worn

'Izinxibo. Amadoda ngexesha loxolo enembata imigqweto esisikumba senkomo esisukiweyo, kodwa ebengahleli eyembete, ebedla ngokubinca ipaca lodwa. Abafazi bona bebebinca isikaka sesikumba senkomo, sibe side sifike emaqateni. Ngaxa limbi ibiba sisikumba senyamakazi kutiwe lixotsha.

Amakazanyana wona ebebinca izikaka ezibeta emadolweni. Abantwana bebengabinci nto.'

[In peace-time men wore karosses of dressed calf's hide, but they did not always wear them, they often wore skin coverings (*ipaca*). Women wore ox-hide skirts *(isikaka),* they were long and reached the ankles. Sometimes the skirt was made of the dressed hide of an antelope and was called *ixotsha.* Girls wore skin skirts which reached down to the knees. Children did not wear anything.]

(1927) Vogel, J. p. 4 — Xhosa: clothing

Nothing more.

(1929) Kawa p. 82 — Fingo: chief's leopard skin, clothing

Nothing more.

(1931) Cook pp. 56, 79–80, 84, 86, 91, 162 — Bomvana: dress

p. 56 — Bomvana: cloak

Nothing more.

pp. 79–80 — Bomvana: head-cloth

Nothing more.

p. 84 — Bomvana: breast-cloth, head-cloth

'They wear a breast covering of beads and their heads are ornamented with as many different coloured handkerchiefs as the local traders are able to provide.'

p. 86 — Bomvana: skirts

'The married women are dressed as for the *Umrululu*. The young unmarried girls are painted with red ochre. Around the loins are white beads forming a skirt about six inches deep. Their breasts are perfectly bare. From the waist are suspended short skirts of gay coloured cloth which cover the sides and back.'

p. 86 — Bomvana: penis-sheath

Nothing more.

p. 91 — Bomvana: mourning

'Widows do no work and remain at home for a period up to a month. They are given food by the other inmates of the kraal. They wear white blankets without ochre.'

p. 162 — Bomvana: penis-sheath

'A male fulfils all the requirements of decency in any company if he wears an *inxiba*. An *inxiba* consists of a piece of soft leather about an inch wide and varies in length up to two or three feet. *Extremum alterum circum extremum penem complicatur, vaginulam ut sit, dum alterum pendet*.'

p. 162 — Bomvana: children's, men's and women's dress

'Children are usually quite naked until two or three years old, when they don tiny blankets. Boys and men wear the *inxiba* and a blanket. They purchase white blankets, but these are coloured red by folding in the blanket some red ochre and then beating the blanket vigorously. Caps are nearly always worn by the older men. . . .

Women wear skirts down to the ankles. These are covered with red ochre. They also wear a breast cover and a blanket as well. Black cloth headdresses are worn. The girls wear a similar attire, but their skirts are shorter.'

(1932) Soga, J. H. pp. 218, 236, 237, 240–242, 338, 410–413 Xhosa: dress

p. 218 Xhosa: breast-cloth

Nothing more.

p. 218 Xhosa: skirts

'. . . *imi-baco*, cotton skirts, ringed round from the bottom upwards with as many as ten or 12 stripes of black braid, the skirt being of a red ochre colour, or the more aristocratic *izi-kaka*, skirts of cow-hide made soft and pliable, and stained a dark brown colour, encircling the lower part of the body; and over all are worn in modern times, blankets also coloured red by being impregnated with red oxide of iron.'

p. 236 Xhosa: head-cloth

'The head is neatly bound with large handkerchiefs of variegated colours called *u-fokwona* (Anglice: "four corners").'

p. 237 Xhosa: cap

Nothing more.

pp. 240–241 Xhosa: head-cloth

'As a head-covering the newly wedded wife does not encircle her head with a handkerchief in the usual turban-like fashion, but puts it on spread out. She then takes the two front ends or corners, bends them down and ties them under her chin, leaving the rest to hang down loosely on the back of her head and shoulders. She ceases to wear the handkerchief in this fashion, as in the above case, after she has given birth to her first child.'

p. 242 Xhosa: skirt, cloak

'In any case he must as soon as possible provide his wife with *isi-kaka*—a skirt of skin. This still forms her principal dress for festive and public occasions. At such times the well-dressed woman must have a skin skirt, and as far as possible revert to the clothing of a past age. The preparation of the *isi-kaka* is a laborious process. In addition to this she must be provided with *isi-baca*—a cape or tippet. The length of the *isi-baca* "is equal to the length of the kaross". In breadth it is about a foot and "is formed of small longitudinal strips, each about two inches broad, which are neatly sewed together and variously ornamented with buttons".'

p. 242 Xhosa: breast-cloth

'*I-Ncebeta*—A small apron. This is made from the maniplus [manyplies or psalterium, the third division in the stomach] of ruminating animals—*isi-ndlwane*, and is adorned with a large number of beaded strings which hang down from the breast to the bottom of the skirt.'

p. 338 Xhosa: baby-sling

'When a Bantu woman carries an infant on her back she binds it to herself with a thong or part of her dress. This support is called *im-beleko*.'

p. 410 Xhosa: penis-sheath

'The men were content to wear, on ordinary occasions a piece of old kaross (skin blanket—*isi-Dwaba*) to cover their nakedness and *isi-Dla soku-gqishela*—a small bag for covering the penis. Even with the latter only he was supposed to be dressed *a ravir*. Shame never worried him for he was a child of Nature. So

insensible was he of any indecency in his attire that he might justifiably have taken as his motto the maxim "to the pure all is pure".'

pp. 410–411 Xhosa: cloaks

'At festive gatherings both men and women had a more elaborate toilet. The men an women wore an *um-Nweba*—kaross, made from the skins of small wild animals, which were neatly sewn together after having been scraped and softened on the inner side. The side with hair was worn outwards. These skins were of the coney—*i-Mbila*; blue buck—*i-Puti*; wild cat—*i-Ngada*; the mane-haired jackal—*i-Nci (Nchi),* and any other small animal which could be secured.'

pp. 411–412 Xhosa: general description

Nothing more.

p. 412 Xhosa: breast-cloth

'*I-Ncebeta*—Apron. This apron is bound round the body above the breasts and hangs down in front so as to meet, in olden times the *isi-Kaka*, and in modern times, the *um-Baco*. It is usually unornamented but occasionally may be seen adorned with a few ornaments or designs in bead-work.'

p. 413 Xhosa: apron

'*In-Ciyo*—Small apron to cover the private parts. This is worn by all females whether children or adults. It is made of a simple band of leather or of other material, from which hang a large number of twisted or plaited strings of *um-Kwinti* (a plant resembling the dandelion). The leaf of this plant is of a dark green colour on the upper side, and of a pale grey underneath. They grey part is peeled off (*uku-xwebula*) from the leaf until a large heap of it has been formed. From this is taken sufficient to make two strands which are then twisted into a string of approved length. This process is repeated until there is enough of these strings to make an impervious covering or shield. The whole of this article of wearing apparel is profusely decorated with bead-work. A girl's apron is distinguished by the name of *isi-dimba*.'

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 10, 101, 155, 173, 222, 229, 400 Mpondo: dress

p. 10 Mpondo: skirts

'Trade was brisk at n'Tibane store, and there were always numbers of people about. The trader's wife made the cotton skirts which Pondo women wear; customers used to arrive in the morning, order a skirt, and wait until it was finished.'

p. 101 Mpondo: general description

'The old Pondo dress was of skins. Men wore a penis sheath (*iphaca*) and an ox-hide cloak, which was thrown off at will. Women wore ox-hide skirts reaching to the ankle, and a skin breast covering; girls skin skirts to the knee; and little girls small aprons, made of a fibrous root, *uбenale*. . . .

European trade goods have now almost entirely replaced skins as clothing, although in the recent depression some have resumed skin skirts. Fashions vary from district to district. All through western Pondoland pagan women wear flared cotton skirts, white or stained with ochre, and trimmed with as many rows of braid as they can afford, up to 36. They are particular about the cut. Women coming to

the store would try on a dozen skirts before they were satisfied. Husbands come to inspect the trying on. Men sometimes walked thirty miles to buy a "Paris model". They would get some girl to act as mannequin and study the skirts critically. A breast-cloth and cloak of white sheeting, embroidered in black with geometric designs, completes a Nyandeni woman's costume. In eastern Pondoland women wear blankets embroidered with beads as skirts, and breast-cloths. Everywhere married women wear a ring of beads or a handkerchief on their heads, for to go bare-headed in their husband's *umzi* would be very disrespectful towards his people. . . .

A pagan man wears a cotton loin-cloth, a woollen blanket flung over one shoulder, and a felt hat. The borders of the cloth and blanket are often embroidered by a lady friend.'

p. 155 Mpondo: baby-sling

'A day or two after the mother comes out of confinement the father kills a goat to make an *imbeleko* (*ukubeleka*, to carry a child on the back) in which to carry the child.'

p. 173 Mpondo: skirts, head-cloth

'When they come home the *intonjane*'s hair is shaved. For a week she wears a handkerchief tied low over her forehead and a long skirt, like a bride. She rises at dawn to fetch water and wood, cooks, and avoids the men's side of huts and the *inkundla* exactly as if she were a bride. She does not, however, avoid names. Then after about a week her handkerchief is raised by some old person of the *umzi*, and she resumes her old short skirt, and behaves as a daughter of the *umzi* again. Only after the handkerchief is raised may she drink milk again, but there is no ceremony of giving it to her.'

p. 222 Mpondo: hair-style

'Women comb out their woolly curls and roll their hair to make it long. At about 8 years they begin to comb out the tufts in front and plait it. Then they do the sides, and last of all the crown. When the plaits are a couple of inches long they are undone, and the hair made into two strands and rolled together. Fat is smeared on, and formerly all smeared the hair with red ochre. Now only some girls, and very few married women, continue that custom. By the time a girl is married her hair looks as if it is "bobbed". Later, if she does not have to cut it off for mourning, it may fall below her waist. Hunting head-lice and hair-dressing takes up much time, and constantly, when women are sitting chatting, one is doing another's coiffure. The ringlets have to be unrolled and re-twisted about once a month. A few men, dandies, grow ringlets but most content themselves with shaving their heads in odd patterns. Young men shave their faces, but most over 50 have a short beard.'

p. 229 Mpondo: mourning

'A widow shaves her head, a widower head and beard. Shortly after the death of her husband a widow is given new blankets by his heir, and the old ones, infected with the impurity of the deceased, are destroyed. If she has a nickname, it is dropped, and a new one given her. After changing she goes about her normal

duties, but she does not wear ornaments, or attend festivals, or drink milk, until a ritual killing is made "to shake off" (*ukuvuthulula*).'

p. 400 Mpondo: mourning

'The mourning period is interesting as being an occasion of the dropping of old customs and the introduction of new ones. In the Nyandeni men shaved after the death of Ndamase, and the old headdress built up with clay (*ingcobo*) never came into fashion again. Since the death of Bokleni in 1912, the use of red clay has been dropped by many.'

1918–48 Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964) pp. 9–11, 34, 35, 42, 63 Cape Nguni: dress

p. 9 (Thembu) Fingo: breast-cloth

'*Incebeta* Long beaded fringed front worn by a herbalist, a witch-doctor, or as a maternity-front by women. This is very rare. The wife of a Paramount Chief is the only woman who may wear one of these.'

p. 10 General: apron

'*Inkciyo* Fringed belt. . . . They are universally worn throughout the Transkei. A woman in the kraal is considered dressed if she wears one of these.'

p. 11 Mpondo: belt

'*Ibhanti yomdlezana* Maternity-belt worn by the wife of a Chief to pull in the stomach muscles after a confinement. It is the privilege of the first wife to distinguish her from the other wives in the kraal. They are usually four to five inches wide, but are also made wider.'

p. 34 Cape Nguni: apron, skirt

'Married women used to wear skin skirts. These are now worn as underskirts. . . . Unmarried as well as married women wear a beaded *inkciyo* or body-belt with a fringe. . . . Many Red Native women wear a skirt the pattern of which was copied in the nineteenth century from the crinoline skirts of the missionaries' wives. The cut is still the same, but they have never worn the crinoline with it.'

pp. 34–35 Cape Nguni: women's dress

'Their clothes are always heavily braided, the more rows of braid the woman wears on her dress, the wealthier her husband is. Traders' wives usually braid the skirts by machine at a penny a yard, but a Christian native woman with a sewing machine will do it too. When in mourning for a Chief, no braid is worn.

The Red Native women wear only the skirt, they do not cover the breasts with any special garment, except when pregnant, when they wear an *incebeta*, a straight front, braided and decorated with a few beads. It may also be entirely of beads. The latter are also worn by herbalists and are very rare. The top wrap of the Red Native or *iqaba* costume is worn under the arms or over the shoulders and fastened with a safety-pin or beaded pin. It is worn only when it is cold or for visiting.'

p. 42 Cape Nguni: skirts

'All Transkeian women wear a skin underskirt.'

p. 63 Cape Nguni: penis-sheaths

'The gourds worn in fights are larger than those in ordinary use. They measure

about 2″ × 2½″. Those in ordinary use are about 2″ × 1½″. No male, young or old, will leave the kraal unless the penis is protected.

. . . Boys from the age of ten wear either a small gourd or a cover of sheepskin.

After circumcision covers of soft, fresh, green leaves stripped from the young mealie-cob are placed on the penis till it heals. When healed, a cover of soft skin from a sheep is worn. Then they revert to their gourd on returning home from *abakhwetha* camp.'

p. 64 Thembu: penis-sheath

'*Ingxiba* Gourd decorated with chains and bells, very rare . . . worn when taking part in a tribal fight or on a ceremonial occasion.'

(1933) Kohler frontispiece, p. 11, pls 3, 4, 11, 12 Bhaca: penis-sheath, hair-style, head-dress

p.11 Bhaca: penis-sheath

'The men also still wear the penis-box *(iqoyi)* which is either carved of wood or made out of the cocoon of the bagworm *(Acanthopsyche junodi)* called *umahamba-nendlwane,* and often found hanging on thorn trees in great numbers.'

pls 3, 4 Bhaca: older girls' hair-style

frontispiece, pl. 11 Bhaca: head-cloth of newly married

pl. 12 Bhaca: woman's head-dress

Figures.

(1937) Duggan-Cronin April-May Hlubi: hats, cloaks

Figure.

(1937) Soga, T. B. pp. 46–48 Xhosa: special skins

'Qonda ke ukuba amaputi nezingwe, nengonyama, newula ezidabaneni yabe izinyamakazi zamanene nenkosi zaseluhlangeni. Ingwe ibide yadlula nengonyama ngokutandwa kwayo. . . .'

[Note, however, that wearing the skins (*isidabane*) of blue duiker, leopards, lions and the oribi antelope was the privilege of men of rank and the chiefs of the nation. The leopard skin was even more sought after than that of the lion.]

p. 48 Xhosa: penis-sheath

'. . . Be kungeko bulukwe yimbi kulo maxesha ngapandle kwale imlenze mnye, ibisenziwa ngentliziyo yegusha—inqotyi ngegama mhlawumbi ingxiba. Yosukwa ke wena itambe ukuze ifanelane nolo ndyilo lwayo luqaqelwe kakuhle ngentsinjana entlana. Esinqeni somfo omkulu zinqwemesha. Entanyeni paya yintsimbi yesidanga. Gqibi ke.'

[There were in those times no trousers other than the one-legged made of the heart (membrane) of a sheep, called *inqotyi* or *ingxiba*. It was dressed to make it soft, until it looked like its *undyilo* (=*undyulo*), which was neatly fitted with a pretty little iron ornament. On the loin of an important man were *izinqwemesha*. Round the neck was a string of beads. That is the lot.]

(1939) Duggan-Cronin p. 28, pls 2, 26, 27, 29 and legends Xhosa: clothing

p. 28 Xhosa: clothing

Nothing more.

pl. 2 and legend — Xhosa: chief's cloak
Nothing more.
pls 26, 27, 29 and legends — Thembu: men's cap, baby-sling, cloak
Nothing more.

1945 Makalima chapters 9, 10 — Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: clothing
chap. 9 pars 9, 14, 16, 42 — Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: penis-sheaths, hats, skirts
Nothing more.
chap. 10 pars 1–18, 25–27 — Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: clothing, hair-style
Nothing more.
par. 3 — Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: children's garments

'Ezabo izambato zingaga zamatole. Inkwenkwe ibisukelwa lona, kanti ke eyesikulu inkwenkwe, ibonwa ngokuti ibe nengubo efana nekayise, kanti nentombi yesikulu ifaniselana nonina ngesikaka senkomo.'

[Children's garments: Their garments are the skins of calves (*isigaga*). The skin of a calf was dressed to make a boy's garment, but the garment of a great man's son was the same as that of his father and the daughter of a great person also had a skirt of ox-hide similar to that of her mother.]

par. 12 — Thembu: mourning

'*Abantu abasezileni*:—Abantu abasezileni bambata kwamjengesiqelo abatshintshi kodwa babebonakala ngokugungxa, nokuguya inwele noku xakata. Ngelixesha lase mLungwini babonakala ngesi nxibo esimnyama iti uba yimibhaco ingabi nalenti.'

[People who are in mourning dress in the ordinary way. They do not change but they are seen by having their head-dress pulled down over the face, and by shaving their beards and by fastening their shawls in a certain prescribed way. The detribalized people are seen by wearing black garments and if they are wearing a skirt made from a cotton blanket then they do not have a braid (*ilenti*).]

(1949) Duggan-Cronin pls 41–43, 45, 52, 55, 56, 73, 78 and legends to pls 41, 52, 55 — Mpondo, Mpondomise: dress
pls 41 and legend, 42, 45, 56 — Mpondo: hair-style
Nothing more.
pl. 43 — Mpondo: head-cloth
Nothing more.
pl. 52 and legend — Mpondo: skirt
Nothing more.
pl. 55 and legend — Mpondo: loin-cloth
Nothing more.
pl. 73 — Mpondomise: skirt
Nothing more.
pl. 78 — Mpondomise: head-cloth
Nothing more.

(1949) Tyrrell nos 6–8 Mpondo: woman's modern dress
no. 6 Mpondo: married woman's dress

'Here is the spotless "white" of Pondo festive dress, known by the wearers as white but so steeped in washing blue as to assume a variety of delicate shades, palest cobalt or cerulean, exquisite tone against shining golden-brown skins. . . . The illustrated costume is typical of the married woman privileged to wear white, wearing the *qiya* cloth head-dress and the beaded hip drapery over a full flared skirt heavily stitched with black braid. . . . Beadwork applied in stripes is a regular Pondo method on hip drapings and blankets, the latter being alternatively ornamented on the corners and having a neat bead border.'

no. 7 Mpondo: man's 'white' dress

'The bead-bordered blanket is "white" of the palest blue induced by oversteeping in Reckitt's solution.

White is the prerogative of maturity, formerly a sign of mourning. However, after a prolonged spell of mourning for a chief, the Pondos found they liked their white so much, they gradually adopted it for all special occasions.'

no. 8 Mpondo: woman's head-cloth

'The "*qiya*" or head-dress of the Pondo matron is without doubt the crowning glory of her gala attire. Cloths, usually of two types, are folded together in intricate shapes, the ends protruding in neat tails down the back of the head.

Navy blue with white spots is a popular choice in cloths. . . .'

no. 8 Mpondo: woman's cloak

'The shoulder cape is a "white" blanket, ...'

no. 8 ?Mpondomise: head-cloth

'The favourite bright blue "*qiya*" seen in the Qumbu area is in splendid contrast to brilliant, orange ochered blankets.'

1949 Hammond-Tooke (1953) pp. 80, 82 Bhaca: dress
p. 80 Bhaca: penis-sheath

'On this the chief removes his blanket, and, clad only in a penis sheath (*incitʃho*), walks slowly out of the *isiɓaya*. . . .'

p. 82 Bhaca: cloth

'. . . *ingcube* is the time of . . . exchange of gifts between lovers. Girls give their sweethearts cigarettes and tobacco and receive handkerchiefs, sweets and lengths of salampore cloth in exchange. A youth's love and regard for his girl friend is measured by the length of the cloth he gives her, and some have been seen as long as fifteen feet. When not exhibited, trailing from the shoulders in a train to its full length, the salampore is wound round and round the body, across the shoulders and between the legs, until it resembles the carapace of a tortoise.'

1952 Weir pp. 273–275 Xhosa, Fingo: varieties of trade blanket and head-cloth, skirts
Xhosa, Fingo: blankets

'The "red" Native's principal article of dress is a blanket, mainly of wool in the case of the male and cotton in the case of the female. The type of blanket most

commonly used is one of white cotton with a black stripe 1½ inches wide woven roughly a foot from either end. It usually has a "raw" edge, that is, unhemmed. Because they are used as a body covering, these blankets are almost square in shape. They are sold in a variety of sizes from 40 by 44 inches up to 80 by 86 inches. . . .

In some areas or with some tribes, there is a limited demand for the same type of blanket but with a red stripe somewhat wider than the black stripe. In other areas the demand is for a blue stripe of particular shade. These blankets must be hemmed. . . .

The womenfolk, in addition to the cotton blanket, use large quantities of kaffir sheeting. This is a coarsely woven cloth, some 50 to 52 inches wide made largely from waste yarns, ... The sheeting is never used in the state in which it is bought, but has ochre or red oxide of iron rubbed into it. . . .

The Native adult male seldom wears a cotton blanket, but favours usually a woollen Mattross blanket or, in some areas, particularly the Peddie and Kentani districts, a blanket known to the trade as a Cape Witney. . . .

The Mattross blanket, like the cotton one, is almost square in shape and is made in two designs: one with a single black stripe known as a Navy Stripe Mattross, used by the Xhosa, and the other with two narrow black stripes,—known as an Army Stripe Mattross. The latter is used exclusively by the Fingo and a Xhosa would never be seen wearing one.

The Witney Stripe blanket is completely different and has a finish similar to the ordinary European Waverly bed blanket. It has a broad mauve band, which must be of the correct shade, with narrower stripes of black on either side and—most important of all—the ends must be whipped with red of a particular shade.

Both types of blanket are normally sold by weight and their weights must be indicated by rows of lines woven into them. Of great importance is the shade of green used for these lines. . . .

In addition to the foregoing main types, there is a wide variety of blankets in various shades of grey and fawn, some with printed key borders or similar patterns, others with woven stripes of a darker shade, and yet others in pinks and blues with contrasting stripes. These types appear to be used generally and not by any particular tribes. A blanket that has come into universal use since the war is known as a Half-wool Grey. . . .

The Half-wool Grey is manufactured in a wide range of sizes, similar to the cotton blanket, and in varying shades of grey with two narrow white bands woven into it. Its edge is bound. Native males usually ochre their woollen blankets, but this blanket is used in the condition in which it is bought. . . .

Let us now examine the costume of a typical "red" woman. The headgear may be one of three main types. Perhaps the most common is a 36 inch Melton cut into yard lengths and often decorated with brightly-coloured wool. It is worn in the form of a bandeau in the following shades: black, navy, royal, dark brown, green, maroon and purple. The shades vary from district to district and from season to season.

Next in importance is a 36 inch black cashmere with a three bar grey worsted border, most popular with a raised back. This is first wound round the head, followed by a band of cerise sateen of 27 inch width and another band of the same material in green, yellow, royal or white. No hard and fast rule applies here and the headdress is varied according to individual taste. In buying cashmeres, the women are very particular about the three bar worsted border. Without this, the article is practically unsaleable.

The third type of headgear, worn mainly by the younger women, is a 27 inch square of spotted material with red, blue or black spots on a white ground, or white spots on red. Another type used is a handkerchief 17 inches square with either a striped or a printed block border. One thing they must have is a plain centre.

Handkerchiefs are used also as a decoration when attending parties and are often worn by Native youths. In addition to the larger handkerchief a smaller 10 inch size is used. Here, too, it is essential that they have a plain centre. Many thousands of dozen handkerchiefs are purchased by Natives annually and it is doubtful whether a single one, except among the more educated town Natives is ever used in the way we would consider normal! The handkerchief is often given as a present by a Xhosa girl to her boy friend who uses it to decorate himself at the dance, ...

The skirt is usually a white cotton blanket with a black stripe into which red ochre has been rubbed. Around the bottom of the skirt rows of black braid are sewn, the number of rows indicating the standing of the woman in the kraal. In place of braid the young girls use a special black cotton print.

Here the storekeeper has to be very careful, as the dye must be a fast anilin black and the material must tear into straight half-inch strips with clean edges. A cloth that fails to measure up to these requirements will not sell.

The skirt is held up by a white cotton cord tied around the waist. It is bought in a variety of thicknesses.

Anklets of various types are sometimes worn but the feet are always bare.'

1949–55 Hammond-Tooke (1955*b*) pp. 23, 55–56 Bhaca: dress

p. 23 Bhaca: baby-sling

'Birth is attended by a number of customs chief of which are the passing of the child through the medicated smoke of a fire and the slaughtering of a goat called imbeleko as a thanksgiving to the ancestral spirits. The skin is used as a sling for carrying the child.'

p. 23 Bhaca: bride's head-dress

'The newly-married bride (makoti) is distinguished by a headcloth of goatskin or silk bound low over the eyes as a mark of respect (hlonipha) to her parents-in-law.'

pp. 55–56 Bhaca: dress

'Although the majority of Bhaca, particularly the men, have adopted European-type clothing, the traditional dress is still met with. Small boys go naked while girls wear a short bead apron. The chief article of clothing of young un-

married girls is a short apron of coloured beads with a bright square of red or yellow cloth bound firmly round the buttocks. Bangles, bead necklaces and chaplets are much favoured and, for more formal occasions, a breast-cloth is tied behind the neck and allowed to hang down in front. The head is clean shaven until betrothal when the hair is allowed to grow in preparation for the married woman's coiffure. Bhaca women wear skirts of dressed goatskin smeared with fat and supported by a leather belt. At home the breasts are left bare but on visits to the store or village a fat-smeared blanket is bound under the armpits and tied in front.

The headdress (unyaba) of Bhaca women is distinctive. On engagement the hair is allowed to grow until it stands out in a thick mop and it is then rubbed with a mixture of fat and red ochre and twisted into long strings which hang down in a fringe. A wool-padded headring, smeared with ochre, forms the base, through which the ringlets are pushed and allowed to hang down all round the head, those before of the eyes being drawn back with a headcloth (iqhiya). Christian women wear a black headcloth with a dress of blue german print.'

1949–55 Hammond-Tooke (1958*a*) p. 17 — Bhaca: penis-sheath

'Mount Frere Bhaca, especially of the older generation, also wear a penis sheath (*incitsho*), often under European-type trousers, for without it "it is as if you are naked". It is made variously from soft goatskin, the cocoon of a caterpillar, carved from the hollow fruit of the *umthombothi* tree or from woven grass.'

(1954) Duggan-Cronin pls 159, 160, 162, 165, 170 and legends to pls 159, 160, 165; pls 174, 175, 178, 179, 181, 182, 190, 192 and legends to pls 174, 179, 182, 192; pls 195, 196, 198 and legends — Bhaca, Hlubi, Xesibe: clothing, hair-styles

pls 159 and legend, 162, 170 — Bhaca: women's dress, hair-style, skirt

Nothing more.

legend to pl. 159 — Bhaca: girls' apron

'The main item of dress of an unmarried girl is the *isikhakha* or bead skirt.'

pl. 160 and legend — Bhaca: man's hair-style

'Note the *ukuchasa* [*sic*], manner of plaiting the hair with grass. . . .'

pl. 165 and legend — Bhaca: bride's head-cloth

Nothing more.

pls 174 and legend, 175 — Hlubi: youths' dress

'Boys before initiation . . . wear only the skin cloak. The boy depicted is wearing a type of straw hat, much worn at dances, made by herd boys on the veld. The hat (called *ikepi*) is attached to a piece of cloth covered with white buttons.'

pls 178, 179 and legend, 181 — Hlubi: women's dress, baby-sling

'The mother wears the skin of a goat, specially slaughtered after the birth of the child, called *imbeleko*. This is used to carry the child on the back.'

pls 182 and legend, 190, 192 and legend Hlubi: women's, girls' dress

legend to pl. 182 Hlubi: girls' apron

'A trio dressed in the typical costume of the unmarried girl, consisting almost exclusively of a skin apron (*ingcubula*) decorated with beads.'

legend to pl. 192 Hlubi: girl's dress

'This youngster of about five years is dressed in the typical beadwork apron (*inciyo*) with a sheepskin *idada* worn over the shoulders for warmth.'

pl. 195 and legend Xesibe: hair-style

'Note the distinctive method of dressing the hair very similar to that of the Baca, but without the black *seyidukhwe*. The bead-decorated roll encircling the forehead is peculiar to the Xesibe.'

pl. 196 and legend Xesibe: dress of married women

Nothing more.

pl. 198 and legend Xesibe: dress of young man

'Two friends, dressed in their finery on the way to a wedding.'

1956–8 Hammond-Tooke (1958*b*) pp. 56, 58, 125 Xhosa, Fingo: dress

p. 56 Xhosa, Fingo: clothing

'Pagans smear themselves and their blankets with red ochre, bought at the store today but formerly obtained at the Clay Pits in the Bathurst district. It was here that the first contact between the British Settlers and the Xhosa took place. On the 7th January, 1821, a large number of Natives, estimated at 600 men and 2,000 women, arrived at the clay deposits (which were situated on the holdings of Messrs Mahoney and Brown) for the purpose of getting supplies of ochre (G. Cory, "The rise of South Africa" Vol. II, p. 114). Some indication of the extent of ochre mining is given by the fact that in July, 1822, the chief Nqeno, with 300 men and women, took away a quantity of clay estimated at three wagon loads (op cit. p. 140).

To-day most men wear rather ragged European-type clothes but one occasionally comes across one dressed in penis sheath and blanket or short cloth skirt. Both Xhosa and Mfengu married women wear a long skirt *(umbhaco)* made from kaffir sheeting and decorated either with beads (Mfengu) or black braid (Xhosa). Skirts are secured with a leather belt or bead-decorated band. Unmarried girls leave the breasts uncovered and wear short ochred skirts. Heads are covered with brightly-coloured handkerchiefs. All "school-people" effect European-type clothes, the married women being particularly fond of blue german print. Nurses, teachers and the wives of clerks often dress very smartly in the latest Western fashions.'

p. 58 Xhosa, Fingo: modern dress

'They (the Christians) are distinguished from the "Red" Native by being dressed, but nowadays the wearing of European-type clothes is not necessarily an indication of Christianity. With the generalized phenomenon of working for Europeans and the adoption of Western standards there has sprung up a class of

"neo-pagans" who have forsaken the traditional beliefs of their fathers but have not joined any church.'

p. 125 Xhosa, Fingo: dress differences

'The difference between Xhosa and Mfengu is readily seen among the pagans. Mfengu women decorate their blankets with beads and buttons and use a deep red ochre mixed with fat. This contrasts strongly with the orange-red ochre and braided skirts of the Xhosa.'

1949–62 Hammond-Tooke (1962) pp. 9–11, 80, 229, 231 Bhaca: dress

pp. 9–11 Bhaca: old-style dress

'One of the first things that strikes a visitor to the Bhaca is the fact that the great majority have forsaken the primitive dress of their ancestors and adopted western styles and materials. . . .

Bryant [1929: 375] describes the original dress of the Bhaca before they left Natal:

> The dress of the Wushe-Zelemu (Bhaca) men consisted of a separate covering fore and aft, as with the Zulu-Ngunis; but the sporran and buttock-cover was with them, not prepared of skins (as with the Zulus), but of square patches of supple matwork woven of fine grass (after the manner of the small Zulu eating mats or *iziTebe*) and strung from the projecting thighbone before and behind. A tiny headring, fashioned after the manner of the Zulus but scarcely larger than a duck's egg—one of which was met with still in use as late as 1889—was worn by men, sewn onto the hair, and allowed to grow upward with the latter, till it rested on an oval wall of hair four to five inches in height, resembling somewhat, when seen from a distance, the high-crowned Turkish fez worn by Soudanese soldiers. This high-ringed coiffure (termed an *um-Patsha*) continued common among Natal Natives—though the dimensions had since increased to those of the Zulu oval saucer—until the near 90's of the last century . . .
>
> The Zelemu women wore a kilt similar to that of the Zulus, but of dressed sheepskin (in place of cow-hide), or alternatively of the paunch of an ox. Their hair, smeared with red ochre mixed with grease, was twisted in numberless strings, falling, like an inverted mop, down as far as the eyes and over the ears and neck, the whole being termed an *umYeko*. . . .

As we have seen, the traditional dress of Bhaca men has practically disappeared, but a few young pagans wear today a loin-cloth (*unontswintswintswi*) made from a striped trade cloth called salampore, over which is draped a skirt of the same material reaching almost to the ankles and meeting in the front, so that in walking one leg protrudes. A white singlet covers the upper part of the body and a handkerchief or other piece of cloth is tied round the head.

Among the "school people" the dress of young girls consists of a short frock, often of floral material, while married women wear the typical full-skirted german print with a black headcloth. On festive occasions a black skirt with a coloured silk blouse is usual. Women and children seldom wear shoes, even when they own

them, and one often sees a woman going to church bare-footed until the building is reached, when she will put them on. Most men wear shoes at least part of the time and the demand at Mhlotsheni was great enough for a full-time cobbler to earn a livelihood.

But it is among pagan women and girls that traditional Bhaca dress is still seen. The chief article of clothing for young girls is a short skirt of coloured beads *(isikaka)* in front with a bright square of yellow or red cloth bound firmly round the buttocks and open in the front to allow the bead skirt to be seen. Apart from bangles, necklaces and a bead chaplet this is all the clothing a young girl needs. On more formal occasions a breast cloth, usually a small towel, is tied behind the neck and allowed to hang down over the breasts. Heads are close shaven until betrothal, when the hair is allowed to grow out preparatory to being greased with fat and ochre and rolled into ringlets to form the married woman's typical coiffure. Pagans of both sexes are fond of wearing rubber leg rings made from jam jar sealing rings or motor tyre inner tubes *(itilinge)*.

As observed by Bryant, Bhaca married women wear skirts made, not from ox-hide, but from sheep or goatskin. This contrasts with most other Transkeian tribes who use hides or trade cloth stained red with ochre. Bhaca do not use ochre for their clothing but smear it in their hair. The goatskin is made supple by burying it for some time in the manure of the cattle-kraal, to remove the hair, and by rubbing it with fat—which also helps to keep the body free from lice. Basically the dress of pagan women consists of a skirt made of two pieces of goatskin tied back and front and supported by a leather belt. At home the breasts are left bare, but when going to town or store a fat-smeared blanket is bound under the arms and tied in front. Sometimes a trade cloth called Pondo sheeting, saturated in fat, is substituted for goatskin in making the skirt. But it is in their head-dresses that Bhaca women are most distinctive. It is difficult to describe the coiffure or *unyabo* (Bryant's *umyeko*). The impression given is of a thick roll of red clay encircling the head a few inches above the eyes from which hangs a thick fringe of greasy ochre-smeared strings of hair—"like an inverted mop". The fringe is prevented from obscuring vision by being caught back by a piece of black cloth *(iqhiya)*. On betrothal a girl allows her hair to grow until it sticks out in a thick bush. Some time before her marriage she rubs it with a mixture of fat and ochre and twists it into ringlets until it hangs down in a thick fringe all round her head. From some photographs of the first fruit ceremony taken in 1912 this appears to have been the original method and Kohler's illustrations of Ixopo Bhaca show this fashion only. Among present-day Bhaca, however, a wool-stuffed headring is used for a base: it is smeared with fat and ochre and the ringlets are pushed through and allowed to hang down round the head.'

p. 80 Bhaca: men's clothing

'The *iindlavini* are nominally Christian: pagan young men are also organized into gangs but are called *iintsizwe* and dress in the traditional loin-cloth *(unontswintswintswi)* and a singlet. The *iindlavini* always wear trousers.'

p. 229 Bhaca: cloth wrapped round ornaments in mourning

'Immediately all relatives, as those most affected by the death with its pollution, go into mourning. Young men and girls remove any ornaments or bangles (if this is impossible cloth must be wrapped round them), engaged girls braid their hair, and men, widows and children shave their heads.'

p. 231 Bhaca: mourning clothes

'The mourning period for a widow is one year, during which time she shaves her head and washes the fat out of her skin skirt. Christians have adopted a mourning uniform of black dress and headcloth and at the end of the period this is burnt, the widow being given a complete new outfit by the heir. The mourning period is brought to a close by the slaughtering of a goat (or ox, if the man is rich) called *intlambo*.'

1958 Morgan, M. N. p. 11 Xhosa, Mpondo: dress

p. 11 Xhosa: skirts

Nothing more.

p. 11 Xhosa: mourning

Nothing more.

p. 11 Mpondo: women's and men's dress

'The colour of a Pondo woman's blanket is red from childhood and remains so until after the birth of her first child, after which she may change the red blanket for a white one, or one which is black and white. Men, however, have blankets which are white or egg-shell blue. The colour of their blankets was also red at one time, but after the death of a famous chief, the tribe went into mourning and as white is the recognised colour for mourning they exchanged their red blankets for white. The use of Blue in washing these white blankets has led to the fashion of tinting them a pale blue.'

(1963) Hammond-Tooke p. 318, note 2 Mpondomise: dress, circumcision costume

'Thus, although they are of Mpondo stock, the women still affect the braided, ochred blankets and distinctive turbans typical of the southern Transkeian tribes, circumcision is practised in the Xhosa manner (but without the spectacular *imitshilo* dances at which the initiates dress in grass skirts and masks), and many of the dances are in the Thembu style.'

(1963) Fehr fig. 120 Fingo: woman's cap

Portrait by Langschmidt of woman wearing beaded cap of Xhosa or Thembu style.

1968 Holt (1969) pp. 192–195 Tshezi: clothing

pp. 193–194 Tshezi: men's cloak, penis-sheath

'In olden times Tshezi men's wear was simple in the extreme. Skins (karosses) were used to keep out cold and wet. In fair weather even these might be laid aside. . . . A man was dressed so long as he wore a prepuce-cover. To be without that was a disgrace. These covers were of two kinds. The first (called an *isidla*) was

a sheath of sewn sheepskin, sometimes with a long string of the same material dangling from the tip. It was worn mainly by old men. Then there was the one which was worn by younger men and was made of a small gourd. . . .

These things have almost if not entirely passed away, except in the case of *abakhwetha*, ... One informant . . . told me that it was as recently as 1961 that the local males suddenly decided to emulate those returning from working . . . and the wearing of trousers became the rage. . . .

Instead of trousers, boys and young men also often wear an *isi(t)shuba*, which is a robe of brightly coloured cotton material reaching from waist to ankle. . . . Shirts are sometimes worn, and blankets are invariably draped about the upper part of the body. . . .

Hats or brightly-coloured woollen caps are bought at stores, but they may have to be modified. A young man of about 25 to 30 years said he would have to cut the pom-pom off the top of one . . . because this was worn only by old men.'

pp. 194–195 Tshezi: women's dress

'The Tshezi women too have long since abandoned costumes of skins and hides. Ox-hide skirts were still, until recently, brought out for the *umngqungqo* dances at the *intonjane* ceremonies. However I never saw them . . . in 1968. . . . Nor do women and girls as a rule any longer wear the small bead apron (*inkciyo*) of former days.

Married women now wear an outer braided skirt (*umbhaco*) with a short underskirt (*utoliweyo*). A breast-cover (*incebetha*) is being replaced by an *isi-(t)shuba*, which is sheeting about a yard in length worn round the torso. Girls and young women wear a headkerchief (*iqhiya*), usually of plain black. . . . Older women build up this head-dress to a large turban effect. . . .

Young girls wear a very short skirt (*unomtishi*), like the under-skirt of the older women. It is not braided . . . on their upper bodies, they wear a blouse or a crew-neck T-shirt. . . .

The *ibhayi* or *istofu*, made of sheeting and braided across the back, with the braid often further adorned with buttons and strings of beads, is worn by women as a robe over their other clothes. In winter they often have two or three such robes one on top of another.'

(1970) Elliott pp. 20, 24, 29, 31, 32, 43, 73 Xhosa: men's and women's dress

pp. 20, 24, 29, 32, 43, 73 Xhosa: men's and women's dress

Photographs in colour.

p. 31 Xhosa: head-dress

'The head-dress of both men and women is a turban folded so that it stands out in a high, loose, arrangement. These turbans they call "*doeks*", and the popular colours are navy-blue, black, brown and a deep green, but the men occasionally today wear something revolutionary like a tartan. The longer a woman has been married the higher and more elaborately she is entitled to wear her doek. Brides start off by wearing theirs tied almost like skull-caps around their heads.'

1972 Bigalke pp. 65–71 Ndlambe (Xhosa): dress according to sex, age and status

p. 65 Ndlambe (Xhosa): dress

'A general feature of the life of all the tribal groups in the Ciskei and Transkei is that women and young girls, but to a much lesser extent youths and young men, have adhered to non-western dress. All Red women habitually wear at least the traditional, red-ochred skirts; many of them wear the items to be described below. Girls of all ages also wear mainly traditional dress. Youths and young men, except the few who are not migrant labourers, wear traditional dress only at weekends, when feasts and rituals are held. As regards older men, it seems that the habit of wearing western dress acquired during their long and frequent sojourns as migrant labourers in the towns, has effectively displaced traditional forms. Even those older men who have never worked in towns, or those who no longer go away to work are seldom seen in non-western dress. An aspect of dress habits in Tshabo is that those people who habitually wear non-western dress, generally speaking, have broadly the same kind of outfit for ordinary and special occasions, but for the latter there is greater attention to detail and much more use of ornament. The dress, decoration and ornament of each group is characterized by its general uniformity.'

pp. 66–70 Ndlambe (Xhosa): dress

A detailed description of the garments worn by boys and youths, young men, girls and married women.

p. 71 Ndlambe: head-covering

'A notable difference between women diviners and ordinary married women is that the former are not required by custom to keep their heads covered at all times.'

(1973) Mertens & Broster Cape Nguni: clothing

Photographic survey of dress.

(1976) Broster p. 3, opp. p. 10, pp. 15, 17–19, opp. p. 35, p. 108 Thembu: dress

p. 3 Thembu: colour of clothing

'Ochre is frequently used as a dye. It is mixed in a basin of water and the clothing or blanket is kneaded in the mixture. The article is then laid on the rocks or grass to dry. Several dippings are required before the desired shade is obtained. For full dress occasions red-ochred dress is not popular but if the wearer has no white ceremonial clothes, red is worn. There are many shades of red ochre and different tribes show distinct colour preference. Thus it is possible to distinguish the tribes by the shades used. The Tembu favour a deep red.'

opp. p. 10 figs 1, 3, 4 Thembu: women's dress

Photographs in colour.

p. 15 Thembu: penis-sheaths

Figures.

pp. 17–19 Thembu: dress of girls

'The teenage girl wears a short wrap-around skirt edged with black braid or

narrow stripes of black material. The upper half of her torso is naked with the breasts exposed. Across her shoulders she wears a plain rectangular shawl. Both skirt and shawl are made from a coarse white cloth that is coloured with red ochre.'

opp. p. 35 fig. 4 Thembu: skin skirts

Photograph in colour.

p. 108 Thembu: head-dresses

Figures.

(1976) Gitywa p. 5 Xhosa: woman's cloak, breast-cloth

'*Schultertuch—ibhayi, isikhwenkweni*. Viereckiges Stoffmaterial. Rot gefärbt mit *imbhola*, rotem Lehm und Wasser. Das unterste Drittel des Tuches ist verziert. Die Form dieser Verzierung wird *umthi*, Baum genannt. (Religiöses Fruchtbarkeitssymbol) Weisse Perlenschnur um den unteren und den Seitenrand, und dann querüber eine blaue Perlenschnur. An vier Stellen sind rote Wollknoten. Um die Schulter getragen oder um die Brust gebunden (bei der Arbeit) von verheirateten Frauen. Wenn um die Brust, dient das Tuch als *incebetha*. Das Schultertuch ist dann der oberste Teil eines Kostüms. Alle verheirateten Frauen sind sittlich gezwungen, die Brust zu verdecken: das *hlonipha* System der Xhosa erfordert es. . . .

Schürze der Wöchnerinnen—incebetha. Weisses Stoffmaterial mit queren, schwarzen Litzen als Verzierung:

a) am obersten Ende auf einer Falte (3 Streifen) und

b) am untersten Ende (22 Streifen) und sechs weissen Knöpfen.

Wöchnerinnen, abadlezana (Pl.), *umdlezana* (Sg.), tragen solche Schürzen als Zeichen ihres Zustandes. . . . So lange wie das Kind gestillt wird, trägt die Frau die Schürze.'

p. 7 Ngqika (Xhosa): penis-sheath

'. . . *isidla*. Penis cover aus dem Fell der *inyhwagi*, Wildkatze, (Genetta tigrina), Fell in Schwänze geschnitten ausser dem Teile, der für den Penis bestimmt ist. Wird von dem *iqaqa* Fell (Ictonyx capensis Kaup.), gemacht werden. Wird von Männern selbst hergestellt. Gilt für das weibliche Geschlecht als Tabu. Maße: 81 cm lang.'

CLOTHING: TERMS

ibayi 1. cotton blanket; the upper part of a woman's dress made of such a blanket; from (Algoa) Bay, where such blankets were first imported, D. (Not derived from the Bay, but from Dutch *baai* woollen cloth.) 2. 'Kafir sheeting', Bh, general. 3. ditto, or cotton blanket, cotton duck (Mp–Mrs F. Clarke corresp.). 4. girls' and women's cloth; loin-cloth, Bh. 5. blanketing, T Herschel. 6. women's cloth cloak or shawl, Xes. 7. stuff from shops, general **622** (655)

igcabhe 1. a hide garment finished and powdered, as described under the verb *-gcabha*; a brand-new garment of good quality, D. 2. a new blanket, X. 3. Mp T not known **623** (229)

impalane (from *-phala* scrape) 1. the new garment made from a hide, without fat or red clay, which a widow gets as a present of honour after the death of her husband, when the old garment has to be cast away, D X T. 2. not Mp Xes Bh **624** (235)

umqukumbelo hem of garment, D, general (from *-qukumbela* hem a garment) **625**

ingqukumbelo hem of garment, D (from verb preceding) **626**

umxakatho (from *-xakatha*, see 628) 1. clasp, buckle, thong, to keep garments together, D. 2. way of tying blanket on one shoulder, T Mp Xes **627**

-xakatha of a bride, to fasten her shawl (of fairly large size) in certain prescribed ways during the period when she is wearing her head-dress drawn down over her brow . . . (details see D: 466); fasten a garment by needle, button or brooch; hand round or about, D **628**

ixakatho 1. nD. 2. way of tying blanket on shoulder, Xes. 3. sheeting cloak, T **629** (664)

impahla goods, effects, chattels, tools, D **630**

itshali (from Eng. *shawl*) 1. nD. 2. men's loin-cloth, MP Xes (T–, Fgo–F. Cornner corresp.). 3. coloured cloth worn as shawl by girls, Xes. 4. coloured cloth worn by women round hips, Bh. 5. cloth used for men's cloak, Vundla (also described as a short, skirt-like garment consisting of four pieces, a front, back and two sides, which overlap and are made of *umgadu*) **631** (705)

ingcobo 1. nD. 2. men's built-up hair-style (Mp–Hunter 1936). 3. not confirmed **632**

issikoko 1. nD. 2. Pondo man's head-ring (Mp–Angas). (Cf. Zu *isicoco* head-ring) **633**

unyaba 1. nD. 2. twisted strands of hair, Bh **634**

umqokoza 1. nD. 2. frame for hair-style, Bh **635**

idukwe 1. nD. 2. (from Afr. *doek*) cloth worn on the head by women, T Herschel **636**

intshinga (pron. *intjinga*) 1. tassel-like ornament made from the tufted end of jackal's or hartebeest's tail, worn by men on the head or the calf of the leg in dancing and hunting, D. 2. tuft of fur or feathers, worn by circumcised lads or medicine-men, originally as distinction for bravery, X Bo. 3. wide-brimmed small-crowned hat, T **637** (762)

isankwane 1. man's worsted cap, D, general. 2. also sometimes worn by women under the *iqhiya*, Mp **638**

umjikelo (from *-jikela* turn to, about) 1. anything, as a handkerchief, turned round the head like a turban, D X T Xes. 2. not Mp Bh **639**

impokela 1. kind of head-dress, D. 2. not known **640**

iphothane 1. nD. 2. handkerchief worn on the head, T (from *-photha* twist, twine, plait, D) **641**

-photha twist twine by rolling 2 or 3 strands forward on one's thigh, and back again, letting them twist into one, general **642** (228)

iqhiya 1. a covering for the head; a large handkerchief used for this purpose; a handkerchief in general, D. 2. head-cloth, Hlu. 3. man's loin-cloth, Mp **643**

ibhaku 1. the long-tailed widow-bird, D. 2. certain way of fastening a handkerchief round the head of a girl, D. 3. bird whose tail-feathers formerly used as men's head-dress, X. 4. hat with flaps, Mp. 5. not known everywhere **644**

isisila senkuku 1. (hen's tail) way of doing up and wearing the *qhiya*, D. 2. with tail hanging behind, Mp Xes. 3. not known, X T **645**

ubhedali 1. nD. 2. style of wearing head-cloth, Xes. (Looks doubtful, probably very local, and derived from European language) **646**

ujikelo (from *-jikela* turn to, about) the style of putting on the *qhiya,* D X T. (Note: other styles mentioned in D: 171.5 are *ibaku, isisila senkuku, inkonjane*) **647**

-gabethela 1. nD. 2. way of tying the *iqhiya,* Bh **648**

umgobongo extremely high head-dress, D **649**

umphantsho (pron. *umphantjo*) 1. the woman's *qhiya* done up in the desired style ready for wearing, D. 2. black head-cloth tied in a style over the eyes by newly married women, T. 3. head-cloth done up tall, Xes. 4. not known, Mp **650**

ummpantsho (pron. *ummpantjo)* woman's cap = *unkontsho,* D X (see 652) **651**

unkontsho (pron. *unkontjo,* cl. 11) 1. woman's head-dress, D. 2. way of doing head-cloth, X T Xes (for brides). 3. *ngonse* (X–Lichtenstein 1811). 4. not Bh. (From *-nkontsha, -kontja,* put on the *unkontsho,* D) **652**

umnqwazi 1. covering for the head of women, being a high cap made of skin trimmed with beads, bonnet, cap, hat, D, general. 2. narrow beadwork head-band round back of head for girls, Mp. 3. beaded head-ring (Mp–Beukes). 4. married woman's beaded head-ring, also called *isinqwazi* (Mp–UCT). 5. baboon-skin hat, Bh. 6. apex or topknot of modern hut, X **653** (51, 733, 805)

isila 1. appendage of blue-buck skin on a woman's cap, D X T. 2. lappet, D. 3. sash, D. 4. not known, Mp Xes. (From *umsila* tail) **654**

PLATE 68

Xhosa dress before 1820.

1. 'Caffer' (i.e. Xhosa) man; near Fish River, *c.* 1777, Gordon collection (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).
2. 'Captein Coba's daughter', Xhosa woman; near Fish River, *c.* 1777, Gordon collection (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).
3. 'A Kaffir Chief'; no locality, 1812 (Officer, 21st Lt. Dragoons 1822, pl. 7).
4. 'A Kaffre Woman'; no locality, *c.* 1805 (Daniell 1820).



1



2



3



4 A KAFFRE WOMAN.

ibayi 1. cotton blanket; the upper part of a woman's dress made of such a blanket; from (Algoa) Bay, where such blankets were first imported, D. (Not derived from the Bay, but from Dutch *baai* woollen cloth.) 2. 'Kafir sheeting', Bh, general. 3. ditto, or cotton blanket, cotton duck (Mp–Mrs F. Clarke corresp.). 4. girls' and women's cloth; loin-cloth, Bh. 5. blanketing, T Herschel. 6. women's cloth cloak or shawl, Xes. 7. stuff from shops, general **655** (622)

igusha the woolled or merino sheep; cloak made of sheepskins, D, general. (This is one of the clear cases of contact with the Khoikhoi (Hottentots), cf. *gǜ-s* sheep, but at the same time poses a problem, since Cape Nguni and Zulu *imvu,* Sotho-Tswana *nku,* Tsonga *nyimpfu,* are all regularly derived from the root -γû, which is clearly identical with Khoi *gǜ-s.*) **656**

igxugesha 1. roughly sewn kaross, D. 2. not confirmed **657**

ikhutshu kaross or small garment made of leopard skins, D T **658**

ingubo garment, cloak, robe, blanket for covering the whole body, pl. clothes, D, general. (A widely distributed common Bantu root) **659**

iphethelo (from *-phethela* put on, wrap around) 1. kaross wrapped round the left arm while fighting, D. 2. or blanket used for this purpose, general **660**

isiphethelo alternative for *iphethelo* (660), merely with different prefix **661**

isibhaca 1. that part of the woman's kaross which hangs loose behind; its length is equal to the length of the kaross, D T. 2. obsolete, X. 3. small cape worn by men or women, Mp (T–Makalima). 4. braided skirt, Xes. (From *-bhaca* cut and make the *isibhaca,* D) **662**

isiqham 1. nD. 2. single skin used as cloak, Bh. (Cf. Zu *iziqhamo* skin blanket, covering) **663**

ixakatho 1. nD. 2. way of tying blanket on shoulder, Xes. 3. sheeting cloak, T **664** (629)

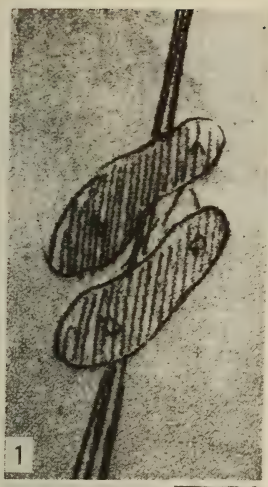
umgqwetho 1. man's kaross made from a calf's hide, worn usually with the tail upwards, D X. 2. cloth skirt closed down front, with hide strip round hem, worn by Fingo, T. 3. short cloak like *umnweba,* Xes. (From *-gqwetha* hold or turn a thing upside down, D) **665**

umgcadu 1. nD. 2. blanket, T Herschel. 3. blanket shawl made by hand, i.e. cut to shape, Vundla Quthing **666**

PLATE 69

Sandals and caps.

1. Sandals tied to warrior's shield, presumably Xhosa; no locality, *c.* 1805 (Daniell 1820, part of frontispiece).
2. Sandals worn by man, Xhosa; no locality, *c.* 1805 (Lichtenstein 1811 **1**, pl. 3).
3. Sandals worn by Xhosa chief Coba; near Fish River, *c.* 1777, Gordon collection (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)
4. Sandals on left and right foot respectively of Xhosa man; drawing by Sir Richard England, no locality, *c.* 1835, see Pl. 71: 3 (AM 53/722 (94)).
5. Beaded portion of woman's cap, 468 mm, 'Kafir'; no locality, probably 1880 (SAM–6655).
6. Beaded portion of woman's cap, 530 mm; no data (SAM–5918).



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umnweba 1. garment of different colours, made of skins of various kinds of small animals, D. 2. sheepskin kaross, T. 3. blanket of goat- or other skin, Mp. 4. *uneebe* (X–Lichtenstein 1811) **667**

umphoswa 1. = *ingubo,* D (see 659). 2. white blanket with black stripe, Xes. 3. otherwise not known **668**

umphoso 1. nD. 2. kaross, X **669**

umthwekesha person or kaross not daubed with fat, D X T only **670**

isibhalala rug or coloured blanket, D, general **671** (751)

udwangudwangu 1. blanket of large size, D, general. 2. big white blanket, Mp. 3. long thing or person, Xes **672**

imbeka (from *-beka* put) 1. the small square of light skin that covers a woman's breast when at work or at home, D T (X–Kay 1833). 2. *hlonipha* for *incebetha* breast-cloth, X. 3. mat for a child, X Bo, rare **673** (518)

incebetha 1. attire of beads used by the women as a breast-covering when they take a walk; and by men, when they have no *isidabane*, D X T Vundla (X–Soga). 2. nowadays, a cloth with beads, X Xes. 3. white bead fringe worn by doctors. 4. *amecklāte* (misreading of bad handwriting: *incebeta*) fringe of beadwork, suspended from string around neck, worn by women (X–Fleming 1853: 221) **674** (729)

ixhosha 1. dressed hide, esp. the covering made from it, and worn over the breasts by females, D. 2. hide with the hair off, X. 3. otherwise not known **675**

ibhanti (from Afr. *band*) belt, band, strap. (Note: *ibanti* in D is an error) **676** (889)

igqesha 1. girdle, band, napkin, bound about the waist, D T. 2. old blanket or waistband worn under blankets by men and girls, X **677** (887)

umkhwinti 1. the fibrous plant *Gazania pinnata* Less., used for plaiting and as threads, D Mp. 2. baby's waistband, a cord of the leaf skin of *Gazania integrifolia* (X–Soga). 3. *inkciyo* for small children, X. 4. species of plant, T. 5. plant from which fibre is obtained for making fringe skirt, T Hlu Herschel **678** (208, 690, 901)

uqhwemesha, umqhwemesha girdle of thongs covered with small brass rings worn round the loins or round the legs below the knees (from *-qhwemesha* tie up), D X T **679** (902)

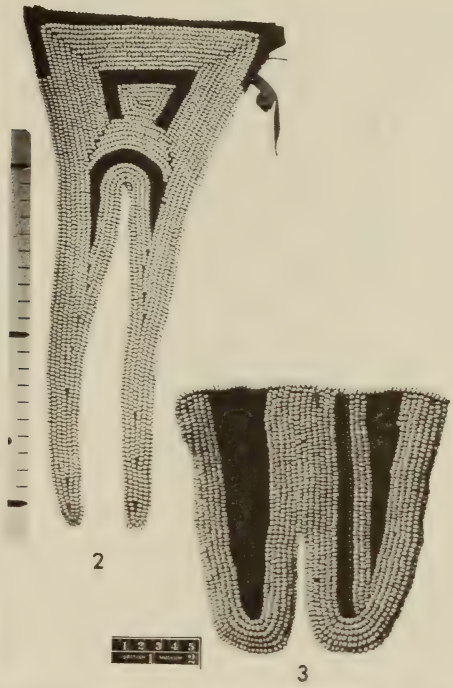
PLATE 70

Xhosa women's dress.

1. Xhosa woman; cut-out, thought to have been painted by Charles Bisset, no locality, *c.* 1835 (AM 63/1550).
2. Woman's apron, 308 mm; no locality, *c.* 1870 (SAM–4469).
3. Woman's apron, 162 mm; Cape Colony, 1890 (BM cc 1456).
4. Xhosa woman; painting by F. I'Ons, no locality, *c.* 1850 (AM 4427).
5. 'Kafir Woman'; painting by F. I'Ons, no locality, *c.* 1850 (AM 4421).



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umtya 1. something to bind with, as a small band, thong, cord, D. 2. thong to tie cow's hindlegs for milking; anything used similarly, X, general. 3. bow-string (X–Lichtenstein 1811 **1**: 656—*ummuhtja* 'Bogensehne'). (A widely distributed Bantu root, for 'leather strap') **680** (244, 245, 407, 858)

ifaba 1. nD. 2. a back piece of cloth skirt, Bh **681**

intsiyani 1. nD. 2. loin-cloth of women or a larger cloth worn over the shoulders by young men, Mp **682**

ingcubula 1. nD. 2. fringed skirt (Sotho *thethana*) for women and children, T Hlu Herschel **683**

isikhaka 1. short skirt made of skin; a petticoat, D. 2. general for skin skirt, now long in west and West Pondoland, short in east. 3. long cloth skirt (X–EL). 4. composed of two aprons, Xes (they pronounce it *isikhakha*, as do the Bh and Zu. In Zu 'married woman's leather petticoat') **684**

ubendle 1. nD. 2. species of plant, and string made of its fibre, used for making girl's apron, Xes; for stringing the beads of *inkciyo* apron, Hlu. 3. short skirt, Bh. 4. modesty apron of skin (Fgo–Kawa). 5. another name for *umkhwinti* (*Gazania pinnata* Less. a fibrous plant), T. (Cf. in Zu: *ubendle* fringed girdle made of *ububendle* leaves and worn by young uninitiated girls; *ububendle* the shrub *Gazania longiscapa, G. longifolia*) **685** (203)

ububendle fibre for fringe apron, Bh. (Zu: the shrub *Gazania longiscapa, G. longifolia*) **686**

umbhaco (from *-bhaca* cut and make the *isibhaca*, D) 1. long strip of cotton blanket made like a dress and worn by Kafir women and girls, D X T Xes. 2. modern cotton-sheeting skirt (X–Soga). 3. 132 cm wide 'kaffir-sheeting' (Mp–Mrs F. Clarke corresp.). 4. skirt worn by men and women doctors, Bh. 5. flannelette, Bo **687**

umbeletsho 1. nD. 2. front piece of cloth skirt or petticoat, Xes **688**

umbhinqo (from *-bhinqa* bind round the hips, D) 1. any thing (garment) bound round the hips, except a girdle, D Xes Bh T. 2. a petticoat, D. 3. top of skirt, X **689**

umkhwinti 1. the fibrous plant *Gazania pinnata* Less., used for plaiting and as threads, D Mp. 2. baby's waistband, a cord of the leaf skin of *Gazania integrifolia* (X–Soga). 3. *inkciyo* for small children, X. 4. species of plant, T. 5. plant from which fibre is obtained for making fringe skirt, T & Hlu Herschel **690** (208, 678, 901)

PLATE 71

Xhosa dress before 1850.

1. 'Kafir Woman'; painting by F. I'Ons, no locality, 1847 (AM 6349).
2. Xhosa chief; painting by F. I'Ons, no locality, *c.* 1850 (AM 4434).
3. Xhosa man; drawing by Sir Richard England, no locality, *c.* 1835 (AM 53/722 (94)).
4. 'Kosani or Kafir Jack taken October 1846', Xhosa; painting by F. I'Ons, no locality, (AM 47/275).



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umqhaphu 1. wild cotton plant, D. 2. girl's short white skirt made of *umbhaco*, white flannelette, Bo **691**

umtidili 1. petticoat, D T Mp Bh. 2. a short skirt, X **692**

unomtidili 1. nD. 2. same as *umtidili* **693**

umtshekezelo 1. nD. 2. back piece of cloth skirt, Xes. (No verb from which derived) **694**

ichachawe 1. woman's modesty apron, made of the small ends of *umkhwinti*, see *isidimba* (698), D. 2. same as *inkciyo*, X Mp **695**

inkciyo 1. woman's modesty apron, made of skin and ornamented with beads, D X T Fgo. 2. in a more general sense this word includes *ichachawe*, D. 3. written *inkjo* by Lichtenstein (1811), *encyēes* by Fleming (1856) **696**

inxesha 1. nD. 2. string fringe apron worn by all girls, Bh **697**

isidimba 1. girls' fringed modesty apron, D (X–Soga). 2. not confirmed elsewhere **698**

isikhibi 1. woman's apron, D. 2. not confirmed **699**

isishuba 1. the apron worn by women at the time of their seclusion, D. 2. not confirmed. 3. boys' loin-cloth, X. 4. loin-cloth (Fgo–Kawa) T Bo. 5. women's and men's loin-cloth, Mp. 6. women's loin-cloth, Bh **700** (706)

isitshape 1. nD. 2. bead apron worn by girls, unmarried mothers and divorcees, also made of *ubendle* for young children, Xes **701**

isiyaca 1. nD. 2. woman's modesty apron now only worn by children, Mp (Mp–UCT). (Cf. Zu *uyaca* loin girdle worn by Zulu girls on ceremonial occasions, consisting of a long fringe of *ubendle* encircling the body) **702**

umraxa 1. woman's modesty apron, D X T Mp. 2. not known East Griqualand **703**

igqila 1. nD. 2. loin-cloth, Xes **704**

itshali 1. nD. 2. men's loin-cloth, Mp Xes (T–, Fgo–F.Cornner corresp.). 3. coloured cloth worn as shawl by girls, Xes. 4. coloured cloth worn by women round hips, Bh. 5. cloth used for men's cloak, Vundla (also described as a short, skirt-like garment consisting of four pieces, a front, back and two sides, which overlap and are made of *umgadu*) **705** (631)

isishuba 1. the apron worn by women at the time of their seclusion, D. 2. not confirmed. 3. boys' loin-cloth, X. 4. loin-cloth (Fgo–Kawa) T Bo. 5. women's and men's loin-cloth, Mp. 6. women's loin-cloth, Bh **706** (700)

isitshuba 1. nD. 2. loin-cloth (X–Soga). 3. skirt, Xes **707**

PLATE 72

Xhosa, Thembu and Fingo dress.

1. 'Xhosa man throwing the assegai'; painting by Charles Bisset, no locality, *c.* 1835 (Alb., no no.).
2. 'Xhosa Woman'; painting by F. I'Ons, no locality, *c.* 1850 (AM 4424).
3. 'Tambookie' (Thembu); painting by F. I'Ons, no locality, *c.* 1850 (AM 41/904).
4. 'Fingo Headman'; painting by F. I'Ons, no locality, *c*, 1850 (AM 47/188 (4)).


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incitsho 1. nD. 2. penis-sheath woven of grass, Bh **708**

inqotyi 1. nD. 2. penis-sheath (X–T. B. Soga 1937). (Written *nutchie* (X–Fleming 1856) and *n'utsche* (X–Joest).) **709**

ingxiba 1. the penis-cap, D X Mp Bo Fgo. 2. *in'eba* (Smith 1824–5). 3. not known, Xes Bh. (From *-nxiba* tie, bind, put on, e.g. to dress, D.) (Note old X spelling for same pronunciation: *inxhiba*, or as in D: *inxiba*) **710**

iphaca 1. nD. 2. penis-sheath (Mp–Hunter 1936, Mp–Poto Ndamase) **711**

isidla penis-sheath, general. (However, D says: '*isidla* small bag; . . . *isidla sokugqishela* the penis covering, usually of cloth, but often consisting of an empty husk of some fruit. Without this covering the Kafir would be ashamed, but with it he considers himself clothed') **712** (972)

ungoqo, ungonkqo 1. nD. 2. cocoon out of which penis-sheath is made, Mp Xes. 3. *ugonqo,* nD, penis-sheath of goatskin or cocoon, Bh (cf. Zu *-gonqa* intern, confine, be in seclusion. Bh came from Zulu-speaking Natal) **713**

undyulo (from *-ndyula* put on the *undyulo*, D) 1. the piece of brass that adorns the penis-cap, D. 2. = *indyilo* (T–Makalima). 3. = *undyilo* (X–Mzamane, –T.B.Soga 1937). 4. *amandyilo*, nD, tassels of threaded sections of reed attached to girdle, T; tassels on penis-sheath, Mp **714** (888)

ungcetsha 1. nD. 2. penis-sheath, Xes **715**

imbadada 1. sandal, D X T Mp. 2. made of oxhide, Bh. 3. now made of rubber tyres, Xes **716**

isihlangu 1. sandal cut out of the thick part of a skin; shoe or boot, D, general. 2. *jetangwo* 'Schuh' (Lichtenstein 1811). 3. formerly a large shield, now a shoe, Xes. (Cf. Zu *isihlangu* war-shield; sandal. Both meanings for this root also found in other South African languages) **717** (453)

isixathula shoe, D, general (from *-xathula* make marks or prints in any soft thing, as footmarks in sand, whipmarks in skin, D) **718**

irwintsela 1. a fastening, a knot for the native sandal; double loop or knot in a handkerchief, etc., D. 2. not confirmed **719**

imbeleko (from *-beleka* place and carry a child on the back, D) 1. skin or blanket in which a baby is carried on a woman's back, D (i.e. baby-sling). 2. made of goatskin, X Xes, now made of 'kaffir-sheeting', X T Mp Bh. 3. the skin

PLATE 73

Mpondo and Xesibe dress before 1850.

1. Mpondo man, 'Bangazeta, son of Faku, King of the Amaponda'; no locality, *c.* 1829, drawing by A. G. Bain, no. 184 (AM 65/3844).
2. Mpondo woman, 'Namantaza, a woman of the Amaponda tribe'; no locality, *c.* 1845 (Angas 1849: 24).
3. Mpondo man, 'Ludwillo, an Amaponda Dandy'; no locality, *c.* 1829, drawing by A. G. Bain, no. 186 (AM 65/3846).
4. Xesibe chief, 'Omgedie, an Amaklasabeen Chieftain'; no locality, *c.* 1829, drawing by A. G. Bain, no. 185 (AM 65/3845).


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NAMANTAZA, A WOMAN OF THE AMAPONDA TRIBE.


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of the goat slaughtered for the child is now used for it to sleep on; if sling is of sheeting it is called by the name of this material, viz. *ibayi*, Bh **720**

CLOTHING: DISCUSSION

The earliest accounts of this area are of the Thembu and Xhosa, whose clothing, according to a mid-eighteenth century author, was the same. It has in the main remained so. The people further east were first described much later, and seem to show, for women's clothing at least, differences in more than style. Long proximity and exposure to the same influences brought about considerable uniformity west of the Umzimvubu–Tina River line. East of it there are still notable differences, where so-called traditional dress is still worn. Western-style clothing is, however, now prevalent throughout.

MEN

Penis-sheaths and -caps

For the men the most important garment throughout the area was a penis-sheath or -cap, *ingxiba, isidla* (Pl. 77), in which they were considered to be quite adequately clad, and to be without which was shameful. Youths started to wear it after circumcision. It took various forms according to tribal fashion and individual taste, and was the striking characteristic of Cape Nguni male dress. Until 1948 it was still very generally worn by Xhosa and other western tribes (Pl. 77: 5, 7, 10) but had practically disappeared in the east. Many of the early authors described the men as going entirely naked. There are, however, sufficient contradictions to suggest that those observers merely did not recognize the sheath as a garment. That it was so regarded by its wearers is shown by the punishment meted out to those who were without it in public.

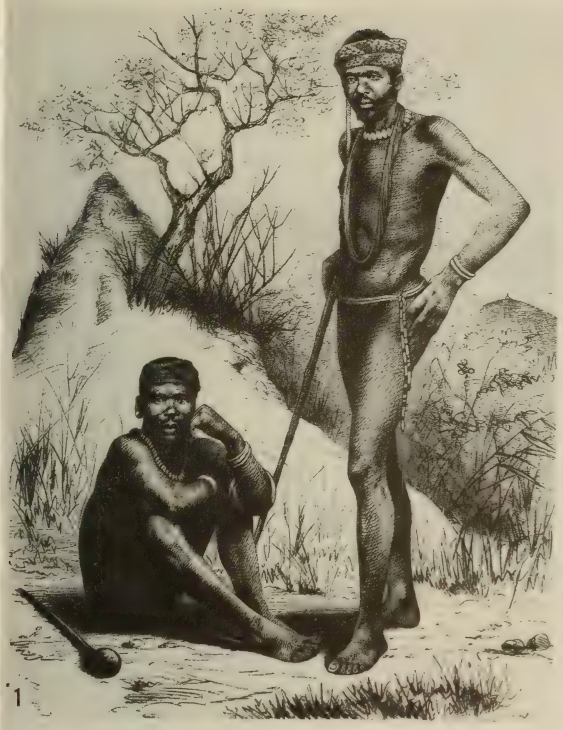
The earliest descriptions are for the Xhosa, who wore a short sheath, 4 to 6 cm long, terminating in a bound shank or in one or more thongs, which were decorated with beads and/or brass rings, and generally hung down, but were sometimes tied to the girdle. The sheaths are said to have been cut and sewn by women from skin of the intestines of animals, or from the pericardium, or from the outer skin very softly dressed.

The only differing early description comes from the coast just north of the Kei between Kei and Bashee, where the garment is described as a long tube, about 60 cm long.

PLATE 74

Men's and women's dress.

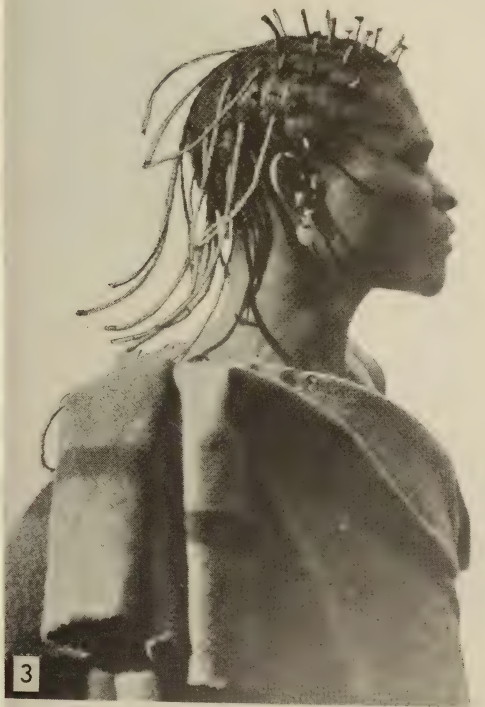
1. Xhosa men, 'Kosakaffern'; no data (Ratzel 1894 **2**: 76).
2. Mpondo warrior, 'Pondokrieger'; no data (Ratzel 1894 **2**: 123).
3. 'A Pondo Dandy'; no locality, *c.* 1900 (Kidd 1904, pl. 20).
4. *incebetha*, 571 mm, 'Kafir'; no locality, *c.* 1870 (SAM–6656).



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In the second half of the last century the alternative use of a cap made of a small decorated calabash, a fashion possibly introduced by the Fingo, or of ox-tail skin, or of 'other material' is recorded.

Of the eastern tribes the only early description is of the Mpondo, in the 1820s. They wore a sheath of hide with the hair left on, or a cap of a calabash, or one of two kinds of nut, or a sheath made of the spathe leaves of a mealie cob decorated with beads.

In modern times the Xhosa style was exactly the same as the first style described (Pl. 77: 7), and up to 1948 was still fairly common among the Xhosa, who wore it under the trousers or the blanket that had taken the place of the cloak, and was always worn when away from the homestead. Youths were reported to be still wearing it as late as 1970 (Anon. pers. comm.).

The Thembu used, in addition to a skin sheath like that of the Xhosa, caps of small calabash or fruit shells, plain or decorated with brass or beads (Pl. 77: 8, 9). According to Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964) larger shells were used by boys when fighting.

For the Bomvana, Cook described a strip of skin, about 3 cm wide and 60 to 90 cm long, one end of which was bound round like a bandage, and the other hung loose.

According to Holt the penis-sheath was customarily worn by Tshezi until about 1961. The older men wore a sheepskin sheath and the younger men a cap of calabash.

The Western Mpondo wore a plain skin sheath, and the Eastern Mpondo a cap of a shell of the fruit of the *incuma, umkhongazi* or *umgube* tree or the cocoon of a lasiocampid moth. Only the older men wore a sheath in 1948, and not all of them. Each made his own and they were not ornamented in any way.

Xesibe wore a sheath made of the skin of a young buck, or, for young men's dandified occasions, of the whole skin of an ox-tail, with the hair left on. More commonly they wore the cocoon of a lasiocampid moth, cut open at one end, and not decorated in any way. It was stated in 1948 that 18 was the age at which to start wearing the sheath, and that whereas formerly it was considered an adequate garment, it was now not to be seen in public. Much younger boys were seen wearing it, however, and in public, as late as 1962.

Bhaca wore a sheath of goatskin, or one woven of soft grass, *incitsho,* or sedge

PLATE 75

Hair-styles and head-dress.

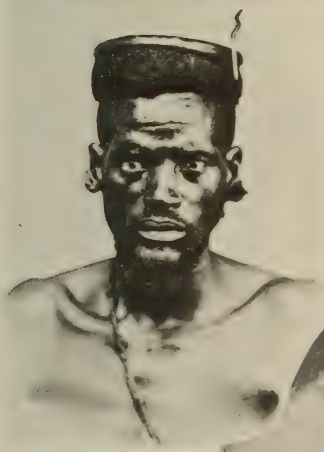
1. Hair-style of Mpondo men; no locality, 1860–1875 (photo W. H. I. Bleek, SAM).
2. Thembu man in festive dress; Thungwana, Mqanduli, 1960.
3. Hair-style of Mpondo man; no locality, 1860–1875 (photo W. H. I. Bleek, SAM).
4. Thembu girl; Thungwana, Mqanduli, 1960.
5. Thembu woman wearing *amakhubalo* necklace, *umsubhe* (twisted necklace), three *izigcina* (flat pieces of beadwork) and head-cloth; Thungwana, Mqanduli, 1960.



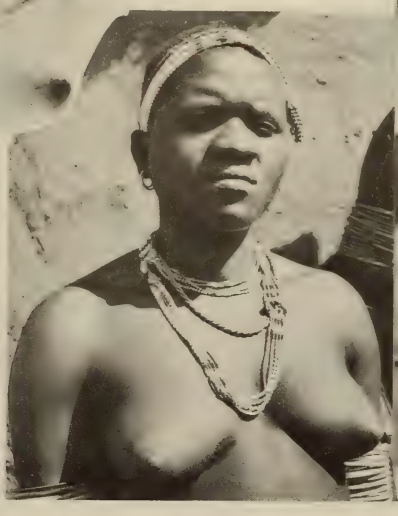
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(Pl. 77: 6) or again a cocoon of a lasiocampid moth. In 1949 it was still worn by the chief on ceremonial occasions.

Other than among the Xhosa, however, the sheath or cap, though still worn by some, was largely superseded by a loin-cloth among those who did not wear western-style dress.

Loin-cloths

The loin-cloth, *isishuba, itshali,* does not appear to have been a typical garment for men of the Cape Nguni in the early days. The only mention of such a thing before the twentieth century is by Smith (1824–5), who stated that when Xhosa men were away from home they wore 'a small cloak round the middle', and photographs taken early in the twentieth century show men in flared loin-cloths that look like girls' skirts.

Bryant describes Bhaca men, while still in Natal, as wearing two woven grass mats as aprons, back and front. There is no confirmation that this style of dress persisted after they had entered the Transkei.

Latterly, however, a straight loin-cloth reaching from waist to mid-calf or ankle (Pl. 83: 3–5) became the usual dress for men who did not wear trousers—usually the younger men. The exceptions were the Xhosa, who did, however, wear the loin-cloth for dances. The loin-cloth might be made of cotton blanket (Pl. 85: 7), or of 'Kaffir-sheeting', the term by which a certain thick, unbleached cotton sheeting is known to the trade, and which has become the material used by Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana and Mpondo for all the recent 'traditional' dress. The Bhaca loin-cloths were made of striped salempore cloth.

The loin-cloth was worn as well as, or instead of, the penis-sheath. A blanket was often folded unequally at the waist and made a two-tier skirt like that sometimes worn by the women. Those worn for best were usually heavily embroidered in conventional patterns with beads or a piping of black cotton print (Pl. 83: 5). Mpondo and Xesibe secured them round the waist with a leather belt.

A variation of this garb, seen on young men at a dance in East Pondoland in 1948, was a sheeting loin-cloth that was put on in the same triangular way as a baby's napkin, but hanging loosely to about the middle of the calf (Pl. 86: 3).

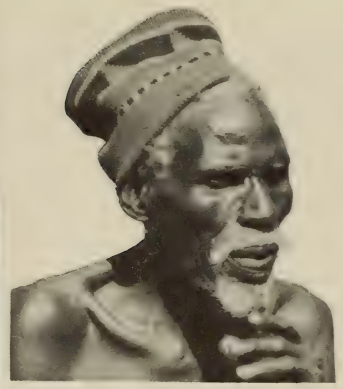
PLATE 76

Hair-styles and head-dresses.

1. Xhosa woman at installation celebrations for Zwelidumile at Willowvale, 1960.
2. Old man wearing *isankwane*, Xhosa; Qwaninga, Willowvale, 1948.
3. Xhosa woman; Qwaninga, Willowvale, 1948.
4. Young Xhosa man with ear pendant; Qwaninga, Willowvale, 1948.
5. Xhosa woman, with *inkohlwane* (thin bangles), *irwantse* (thick bangles); Engcobo, 1948.
6. Xhosa men; Qwaninga, Willowvale, 1948.



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Aprons

The eighteenth-century travellers near the eastern border of the Colony reported that some of the men wore, in addition to the penis-sheath, a narrow piece of skin, or a fringe of skins, as an apron, and Paravicini di Capelli's sketch shows 'Capt. Koba' and his companions wearing quite an elaborate garment, as do all of Schumacher's sketches (Pl. 68: 1). The apron is drawn hanging from a girdle. With the exception of one of Schumacher's figures on which the apron is straight, the style drawn narrows to a point like that of the Khoikhoi (Hottentots). From the sketches it would seem to have had a small animal's skin in the centre, black, brown, or striped, and to have been edged with a white skin. Whether this habit was adopted from the Khoikhoi (Hottentots) with whom they had been long in contact, or whether it was indigenous to themselves, it is not possible to say. Kay reports that in the late 1820s old men still sometimes wore a small apron and said that their ancestors had always done so. This does not necessarily disprove the Khoi borrowing. Hallbeck & Fritsch say that Thembu men had, in 1827, 'a small apron, decorated with brass rings and beads, round their waists'. The 'brass rings' suggest that this was a penis-sheath. At all events men's aprons are not mentioned again, and it seems probable that they were only worn by the most westerly groups.

Cloaks

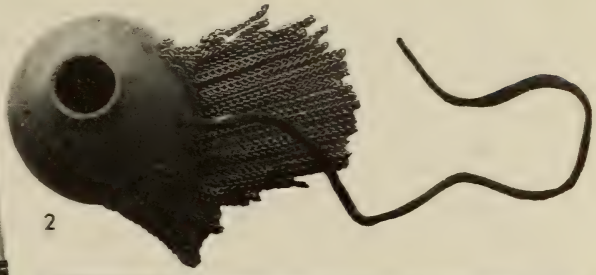
A man's cloak was a straight garment of dressed skin, reaching to his calves (Pls 68: 1; 72: 4) or sometimes to the ground (Pl. 71: 4) and the style appears to have been common to all the tribes, excepting that according to Bain those of the Mpondo were smaller than those in the west. Some authors speak of a voluminous cloak, particularly for important people, but according to Alberti, they were just wide enough to close in front, and, if of oxhide, could be made of one skin. When of other skins, small square pieces were sewn together to the required size (see Pl. 92: 1). The skin was turned over to form a sort of high collar at the neck (Pl. 71: 2) where it was tied in front with thongs. (An iron awl in its leather sheath was generally attached to the collar.) The cloak was also worn over the left and under the right arm and tied on the chest (Pl. 68: 1). In cold weather it was drawn round the body for warmth. In warm weather it was slung back over the shoulders

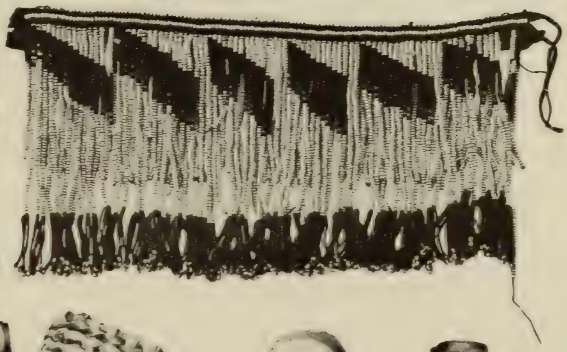
PLATE 77

Skirt, apron and penis-caps and -sheaths.

1. *umbhaco*, no scale, Xhosa; East London, no date (EL 2016).
2. *ingxiba* of calabash with ornamental chains, Xhosa; Cala, 1930 (FH A769).
3. *inkciyo*, no scale, Xhosa; Albany, no date (TM 4267).
4. Leather penis-sheath, 'Penisfutteral der Kaffern'; no data (Ratzel 1894 **2**: 81).
5. *ingxiba* of leather, *c.* 500 mm, Xhosa; Qwaninga, Willowvale, 1948.
6. *incitsho* woven of grass, 43 mm, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt. Frere, 1948.
7. *isidla* of leather, *c.* 400 mm, Xhosa; Ncera, Middledrift, 1960 (FH A794).
8. *isidla* of calabash, diameter 40 mm, Thembu; Mqanduli, 1935 (TM 35/340).
9. *isidla* of calabash, diameter 40 mm, Thembu; Mqanduli, 1935 (TM 35/338).
10. Young man wearing leather *isidla* at dance, Xhosa; Willowvale, 1960.


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(Pl. 68: 3) or not worn at all. In the latter case, on a journey, it would be carried on a stick over the shoulder. According to Smith it was left at home and, for the journey, a smaller one taken, that could be used as a loin-cloth.

When young men fenced with sticks, the cloak was wrapped over the left hand and round the defence stick, so as to protect that hand. This is still done with a blanket.

Before the eighteenth century, a cloak, *ingubo,* was evidently made as frequently of the skins of wild animals, which were very numerous, as of oxhide, but in the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth centuries, cloaks for both sexes were made primarily of oxhide. According to Kay there was a special slaughtering of choice cattle once a year for this purpose. Other authors speak of individual killings. Cloaks of calf, antelope or the variegated skins of small animals were then considered specially fine, *umgqwetho* or *umnweba,* and were worn at parties. Sheepskin cloaks are first mentioned in 1832. Cloaks of the chief and royal family, and sometimes of the chief's councillors and favourites to whom old ones were given, were either made entirely of leopard skin or faced with it round the edges, which were sometimes scalloped (Pls 68: 1, 3; 71: 2). It is possible that those of major chiefs were entirely of leopard and those of minor chiefs merely faced with it, but there is no confirmation for this. A chief, however, often wore a cloak of ordinary oxhide, or calf or wild animal skin.

There seems to have been some difference of opinion among early authors as to whether the hair of the skins was removed altogether, worn on the inside, or worn on the outside, or according to the weather, but the majority, and, when one can see it, the sketches, favour the inside (Pls 71: 2, 4; 72: 4). On the flesh side the skin was curried to a thick pile, and the whole was well greased, and treated with ochre, charcoal or some unspecified dye, to achieve the colours red, black or brown, mentioned by late eighteenth-century authors (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974: 180).

At night the cloak was a covering to sleep under.

Breast-cloths

The breast-cloth is typically a woman's garment, but Alberti states that occasionally a man was to be seen wearing one, which he describes as 'a sort of scapular', from chest to thighs, 350 mm wide, and suspended from a string round the neck. There is no other mention of this, and one wonders if it is not a confusion with the *isidabane* (p. 588).

Belts

Belts are in the main ornamental and are described with other ornaments. Plain belts or thongs are, however, used to hold up a loin-dress. Smith in 1824, King in 1851–52 and Kropf in 1845–89 record a 'hunger belt' of rough skin tied round the waist by men, particularly on a long journey, to reduce the pangs of hunger.

Sandals

It would appear that sandals, *izimbadada, izihlangu*, have never been worn by the Cape Nguni as an item of everyday dress, but men and women wore them on long journeys and men wore them for hunting. When not in use at such times they were carried (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981, pl. 45: 4). According to the survivors of the *Grosvenor* at the end of the eighteenth century, the people they saw near the Umtata River, apparently Thembu, used one sandal only, on the right foot, when hunting, and bounded from that foot when running and leaping.

The earliest description is of sandals worn near the Umtata River in 1593. These were two or three thicknesses of leather in a round shape, fastened together to form a sole, and attached to the foot with straps. Presumably it was the straps that fastened the soles together.

Two hundred years later two sorts of sandal were described as worn by the Xhosa, and both sorts are depicted in the prints of the time. The leather soles in each case projected about 3 cm all round the foot. In one style they were held to the foot by straps. Daniell (Pl. 69: 1) shows two straps, one at the heel and one at the toes, each of which passed through two small holes in the sole, and the four ends thus made were tied, presumably at the instep. Sir Richard England (Pl. 69: 4) shows four straps coming from the edges of the sole, two supported by the toe-strap, and two by an ankle-band to which the toe-strap is tied in front. In the other style the sole was held to the foot by an upper—a 70–100 mm wide piece of skin passed from one side of the sole to the other and covering the whole front of the foot except the toes (Pl. 69: 2, 3). Van der Kemp adds to this description 'two strings'—presumably at the heel.

Another style, described a little later, was a sole with a 5 cm broad strip of skin attached at each side and at the back, the three being held together on the foot with thongs.

All three styles appear to have lasted till towards the end of the nineteenth century. The three latter descriptions were all for the Xhosa. According to Fritsch there were slight tribal differences, which, however, he does not specify, and it is not possible to find them in the written or pictorial records. By the 1860s European-style *velskoen* were ousting them all.

Sandals were made, if not by the wearer himself, by the same craftsman as made the shields, and the price of a pair was a kid, or the materials for an extra pair. The forehead skin of an ox, eland or giraffe hide, or, later, sheep- or goatskin, are mentioned as being used for the soles. As wear was so restricted, Döhne did not consider it a profitable profession.

Today sandals of the above types are no longer seen. Sometimes young men and boys make a rough sandal from a piece of rubber tyre for the sole and tie it to the foot with rope. Otherwise, if foot-covering is needed, shoes are worn.

Hair-style and head-dress

Judging by the descriptions left, hair-styles must have been subject to considerable changes of fashion, as well as individual whim, during the last three

hundred years. As late as 1890 it was stated that men's hair-styles varied according to the tribe and were indeed an indication of it, but the records are not sufficient to make it possible to describe the whole series.

In 1687 travellers among the Xhosa stated that the men wore 'greasy skin caps'. This is a contradiction of a report from 1647 by Feyo, which may, however, have been for the Thembu. Feyo makes the wearing of a cap the distinguishing mark between the clothing of men and women, in that women wore caps but men did not. If the report that Xhosa men wore caps is correct it is unlikely that their hair was fancily dressed. Xhosa men a hundred years later were described as wearing no caps, whatever the weather or season. It seems possible, however, that what was referred to as a 'greasy cap like the Hottentots of Natal', which might not be worn for a year after the death of a chief, was a cap-like style of dressing the hair similar to the Zulu head-ring, and such as is described for the Mpondo and Mpondomise later, and that it died out in the same way through being shaved off in mourning and never resumed.

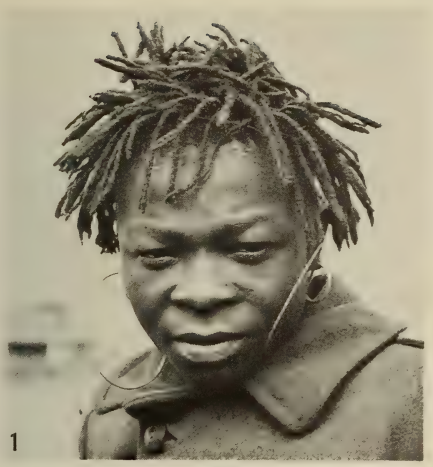
The eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century authors do not mention a head-covering for men, nor do drawings of that period show them. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the hair of Xhosa and Thembu men appears to have been dressed with grease and ochre into small tight curls all over the head (Pls 68: 1; 71: 2, 3, 4), or sometimes in longer ringlets hanging to just below the ears and in a fringe on the forehead. It is stated that the women were the hairdressers and used an iron awl for the purpose. In drawings of about 1800 and in Fritsch's series of portraits taken between 1863 and 1866, the older men of Xhosa and Thembu are shown with the hair short and plain, and the younger in a rather fuzzy mass of about 7 cm long ringlets. (This may, of course, not be unconnected with the growth of the hair!) It was probably always the younger men who had the fancy styles (Pl. 78: 1). Nowadays one seldom sees any but short plain hair among men of Xhosa, Bomvana or Thembu (Pl. 76: 4), but there are exceptions.

Characteristic hair-styles are recorded for the men of the eastern tribes. Mature men (Smith suggests it was only after circumcision) of the Mpondo and Mpondomise from the time they were first noted, in 1782, to the end of the nineteenth century, appear to have followed individual (or possibly subtribal or regional, but there seems to be no means of knowing) variations on two main themes: the polished head-ring (Pls 73: 1; 75: 1, 3) and the small conical structure 'like an inverted cup'. The hair was first sewn round a grass foundation to the required shape and then consolidated with wax. Some people coloured the ring or

PLATE 78

Hair-style, cloaks and head-dress.

1. Thembu man; Mqanduli, 1955.
2. Thembu herd-boy; Ngqunge, Umtata, 1948.
3. Thembu woman; Mqanduli, 1955.
4. Thembu boy with straw hat; Ngqunge, Umtata, 1948.
5. 'Thembu mother and child'; no data (Duggan-Cronin 1939, pl. 27).


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cone with red ochre. Varieties of the ring style were to have it slightly forward on the forehead, to have more than one ring, or to have it straight on the head, in which case the hair below it was allowed to grow to a height of 70 to 100 mm, and the remaining hair was either bushed out or shaved, or was close-shaven in front and hung in tresses to the shoulders at the back. In the hollow formed by the ring all sorts of oddments could be carried, while the wall of hair was the place for snuff-spoons and ornaments. Sometimes the ring was coloured red, but not the hair. Varieties of the conical-cup style were either in the manner of treating the hair below it, and mostly it was bushy, or in the number of cones, of which three are mentioned for the Mpondo and figured by Ratzel (Pl. 74: 2). According to Fynn, old Mpondo men wore the hair long and without a ring. Kay describes some styles as looking like 'a counsellor's wig'. Sampson, later, described hair trained into parallel rows or shaved almost entirely.

The Western Mpondo never resumed built-up styles after shaving in mourning for Chief Ndamase in 1882, and among the Eastern Mpondo and Mpondomise they seem to have disappeared about the same time, doubtless for similar reasons. Since then older men have worn the hair plain, while young men have dressed it in all sorts of plaitings, ringlets and shaved patterns (Pl. 74: 3).

About the men of the Immigrant Cape Nguni, except the Fingo who adopted Xhosa styles, there is no information other than Baines' statement that a branch of the Hlubi, settled with the Mpondo, had the same head-ring as the latter, and further that, as far as can be seen from Bain's drawings (Pl. 73: 4), Xesibe men, in 1829, had their hair in thin strings to just above the shoulders at the back, held high off the forehead by a semi-circular pad. Feathers and other ornaments were then added according to individual taste.

Latterly it was only among boys and young men that fancy hair-styles were to be seen.

Le Vaillant and W. Shaw state specifically that men did not wear a cap but Döhne states that in 1837 'many' men were wearing a cloth on the head, and one or two men were figured by Baines about 1850 wearing what appears to be a skin cap of 'jelly-bag' style. Obviously these were introductions. The jelly-bag cap is seen in photographs from about 1870. In the middle of the nineteenth century men on the western frontier are frequently depicted wearing blue caps of the style worn by some of the European soldiers, with the addition of an upstanding feather. Towards the end of the century married men among Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana started to wear a crochet woollen cap, *isankwane* (Pl. 76: 2, 6) and felt hats became

PLATE 79

Women's and girls' dress.

1. Thembu woman wearing *iqhiya* (head-cloth), *amahobho* (ear-rings), *imiqoboko* (grass necklets), *ijulukuqu* (necklet with beadwork pendant); Mqanduli, 1955.
2. Woman at dance, Vundla of chief Vova; Boepeletsa, Moyeni, Lesotho, 1961 (photo A. Lawton, SAM).
3, 4. Fingo girls during puberty rites; near Haga-Haga, Komga, 1955 (photo E. M. Shaw, SAM).



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popular throughout. Among Tshezi only older men wore a pompon on the woollen cap. Young men sometimes wear a head-cloth, *iqhiya* (Pl. 77: 10), particularly in the Ciskei and western Transkei, where they may wear it piled up like the women. An undated and very posed photograph—roughly from the end of the nineteenth century—shows Xhosa men wearing a cloth as a narrow band (Pl. 74: 1).

Mpondo men, when they abandoned their fancy hair-style, took to wearing either a band (Pl. 85: 8) or a turban of cloth, or, more frequently, a felt hat (Pl. 85: 6), which is sometimes ornamented with beadwork.

Xesibe and Bhaca men also sometimes wear a cloth head-dress.

Hlubi men sometimes wear a felt hat, and sometimes a grass hat copied from their South Sotho neighbours. In the 1930s Hlubi boys had a fashion for grass hats worn on the side of the head and with a mere token crown.

WOMEN

Aprons

For women the first essential appears to have been a small apron round the loins (Pls 70: 2, 3; 77: 3; 84: 3). Feyo says of the Thembu or Xhosa in 1647 that the women wore nothing under the cloak, and Kay says of the Mpondo women, two hundred years later, that they went about entirely naked, a fact that he puts down to their poverty. But, as with the men, it may be that these authors ignored the apron. Smith, who visited the Mpondo about the same time as Kay, stated that the women wore a fringe apron. At all events it was several times stated in the late seventeenth and in the eighteenth centuries that this apron was all that the women of the west wore besides the cloak without which they were not seen away from the homestead. Beutler, however, mentions 'een onderrok' and no apron, unless by 'onderrok' he meant an apron.

There seem to have been two sorts of apron worn by all women and girls throughout the area, and for as long as there are records. Both were small and fastened round the loins. Probably the older type was a thick fringe of cords, *ichachawe*, about 30 cm wide, so as to cover the front of the body only, and from 12 to 25 cm in depth. The cords were twisted of bark fibre, the leaf skin of *Gazania pinnata (umkhwinti)* or even thin thongs. This may be what the survivors of the *Stavenisse* and the *Grosvenor* referred to as nets. Whenever possible, beads or other ornaments were attached to the cords, until, with the increasing availability

PLATE 80

Bomvana and Fingo clothing.

1. Bomvana woman making basket; Guse, Elliotdale, 1948.
2. Bomvana woman; Guse, Elliotdale, 1948.
3. Bomvana man; Guse, Elliotdale, 1948.
4. Bomvana girl sewing short skirt; Guse, Elliotdale, 1948.
5. *umtidili*, skirt, Fingo; East London, no date (EL 1144).
6. Beaded breast-cloth, 760 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale, 1935 (TM 35/394).



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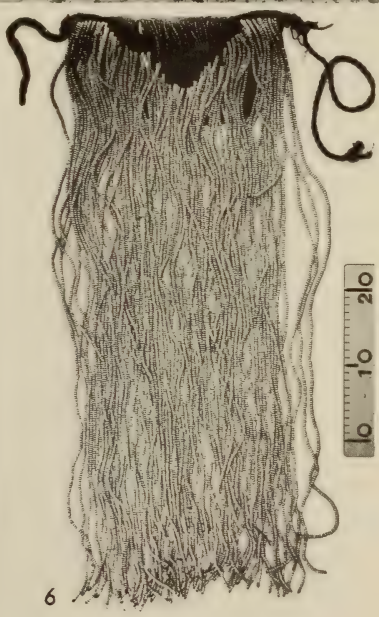
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of beads, the whole fringe came to be composed of strings of beads, and that form, *inkciyo*, was eventually seen more commonly than the other (Pls 77: 3; 84: 3). Some informants in 1948 said that the cords were twisted from strands drawn from cloth, which also formed the girdle ends, but any sewing was done with sinew, *usinga*. Thembu informants said that the cords should be of sinew, and that the band should be of leather.

A specially fine bead fringe, slightly longer than that for everyday use, and sometimes attached to a girdle of thongs threaded closely with brass rings, is worn at dances by unmarried girls, often as their only garment, *uqhwemesha,* or with the addition of a short skirt of gay cloth, open at the front to show the beads.

The second sort of apron is recorded from the Xhosa and Fingo only, and only during the first half of the nineteenth century. Most probably, as is suggested above for the men, it was a borrowing from the Khoikhoi (Hottentots) by the Xhosa and from the Xhosa by the Fingo, but in the British Museum there are similar examples said to be from Natal. It was a piece of skin about 15 cm wide, up to 30 cm long, and generally shaped like a swallow-tail. It was covered entirely with small beads, put on in close rows, making a background of white, with a design of black, dark blue or light blue. It was tied on with a thong attached to each upper corner. This type of apron is no longer known (Pl. 70: 2, 3).

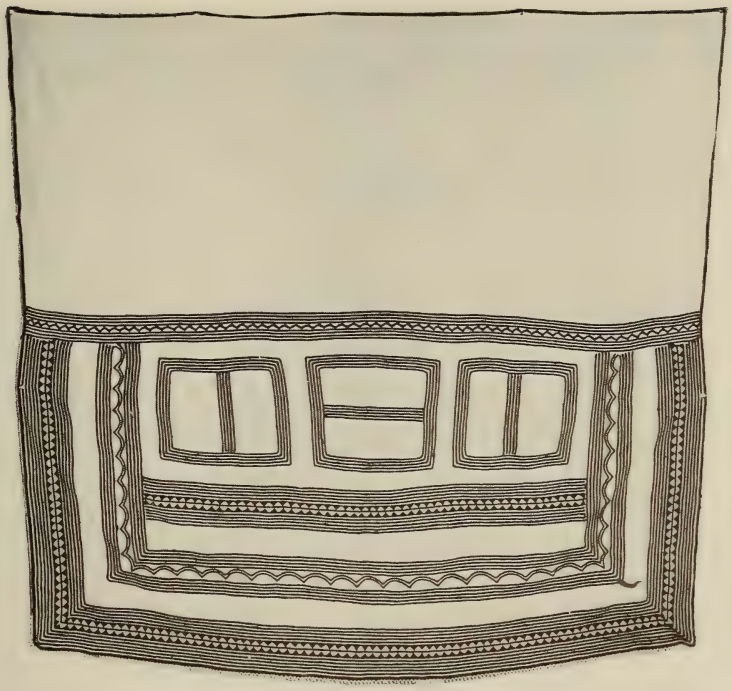
Women started to wear the apron as tiny girls, and were never without it. According to Lichtenstein, older women wore several, the upper one being decorated with buttons and beads. In the late 1820s there were still some women, particularly among the upper classes, who wore only an apron under their cloaks, but the majority of married women by then were wearing skirts, with the apron as an undergarment. According to Fritsch in the 1860s older girls merely wore a second rather longer apron over the first, and only adopted a skirt at marriage.

Until recently, in most parts of the western Transkei, little girls wore aprons as their main if not only garment, while older girls, except in the case of a dance as mentioned above, and married women, wore them as an undergarment; but it is unlikely that many do so today. According to Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964), however, a woman in the homestead was still (1950) considered dressed if wearing only an apron. In eastern Pondoland and East Griqualand, however, although up to 1955 aprons were still worn by girls of all ages (Pl. 86: 5)—even under European-style dresses (Pl. 86: 4)—unmarried mothers and divorcees (Xesibe), they had ceased to be worn by married women.

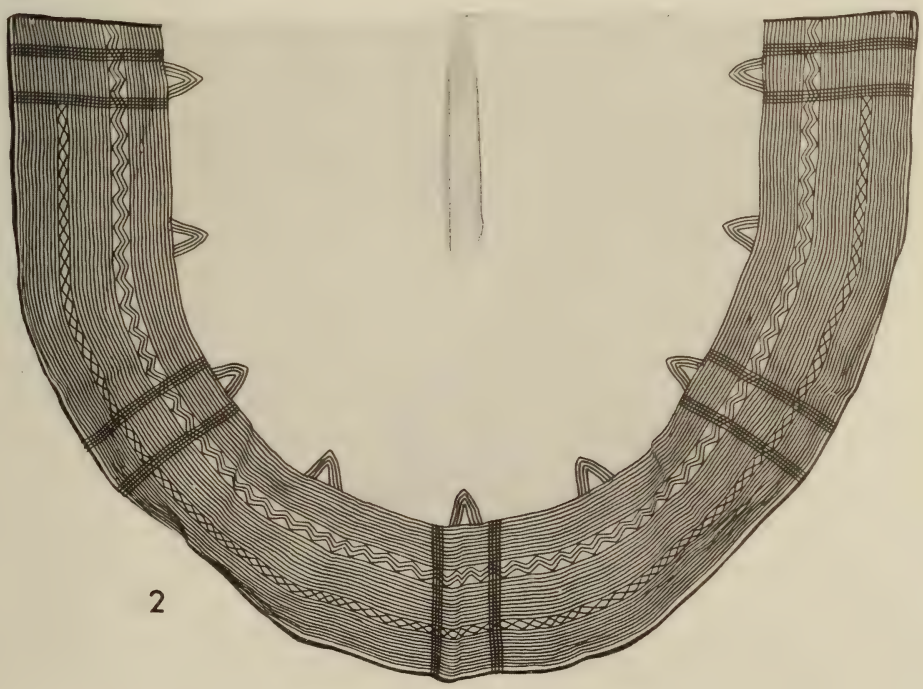
PLATE 81

Mpondo garments.

1. *itshali* (top-wrap), hand-braided, black braid on white cotton, edged with blue and white beads all round, 1 335 × 1 250 mm, Mpondo; Bizana, 1935 (FH, Hamilton-Welsh Collection 567).
2. *umbhaco* (cloth skirt), machine-braided, 1 755 × 1 265 mm, Mpondo; Mlengana, Libode, 1935 (FH, Hamilton-Welsh collection 566).



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Cloaks

The Xhosa, Thembu and Fingo women's cloak was more elaborately made than the men's (Pls 70: 1; 71: 4). In the best examples the skin was cut into three or four wedge-shaped pieces, so that when joined together they made a full and almost circular cloak, narrow at the shoulders and flaring widely at the bottom, which might be at the calves or the ankles (Fig. 18). It was fastened at the neck,

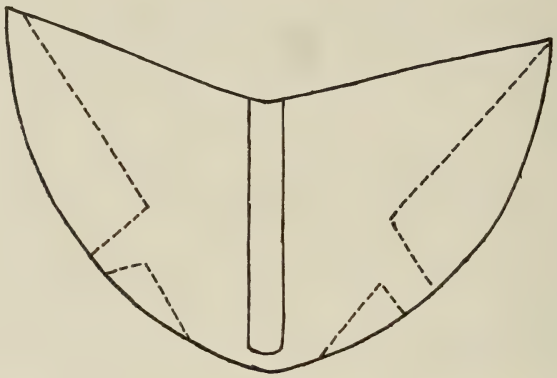


Fig.18. Diagram of cut of Xhosa woman's cloak, taken from BM 4591 'Kaffir woman's kaross or cloak, 1867'. Length at centre 1 450 mm.

and had no collar. Attached to the back of the neck and hanging the full length of the cloak or sometimes below, was a loose flap of skin, *isibhaca* (Pl. 70: 1), from 8 to 30 cm wide, sometimes straight, and sometimes narrowing from the top, and composed of narrow longitudinal strips sewn together. It was worn with the hair outward and ornamented, after they had become available, with as many brass buttons in longitudinal rows as the owner could afford. It was considered smart to have the centre row of rounded, and the other rows of flat buttons. According to Barrow in 1797, it was only the royal women who wore this flap, but this is not confirmed. It must, however, have been confined to the well-to-do. Attached to each shoulder by thongs on which copper or iron beads were strung was a whole wild-cat skin, which was a handkerchief as well as an ornament. Attached to the back of the neck, by a thong threaded with brass rings, was a tortoise shell (Pls 70: 1; 109: 2) containing cosmetics and a piece of skin with which to apply them. Later in the century Xhosa and Fingo attached a large number of fine steel chains as an ornament to the cloak, and according to Angas it was this, in addition to greater fullness, that distinguished them from those of the Mpondo. Bain described the Mpondo article as a 'scanty unadorned cloak'.

It would seem, however, though this is not apparent from the vocabulary but is confirmed by Le Vaillant, that the word cloak or kaross was used by early writers to indicate two different garments—the cloak proper (Fig. 19), a stiff, well-shaped



Fig. 19. Xhosa woman's cloak. From Angas 1849.

and often very handsome outer garment (Pl. 71: 4) as described above, and a plain, straight wrap, such as is still worn by some individuals in the east, which covered the body very adequately from armpits to shins. It might be tied under the chin, but more commonly went under the armpits where it was tucked in, overlapping at the top. It sometimes hung loose and was, according to Von Winkelman, shorter in the front than at the back, and sometimes was secured round the waist by a thong (Pls 68: 2; 70: 5; 72: 2, 3). In the latter case the upper half might be allowed to drop down over the lower, leaving the top of the body bare, and forming a sort of double skirt. This description by Van der Kemp is the only written description that fits the rather rough figures drawn or published before 1800. A nursing mother used this garment to cover and support the baby on her back. W. Shaw called it a 'skin underwrapper' and Döhne stated that the heavy cloak might be worn over it.

There is unfortunately no further description of the skin cloaks of the women of Pondoland or the eastern immigrant peoples, whose clothing, according to Angas, 'differed greatly' from that of the Xhosa, but it seems likely that they may

have been similar to the second, less elaborate, type of cloak worn by Xhosa women. According to Smith, when a Mpondo woman got a new cloak she used the old one as a 'petticoat'.

Skirts

With the exception of Beutler (1752), who mentions 'een onderrok', the early authors do not record skirts among the women's wear. A skirt proper, worn over the apron, is only mentioned regularly after 1820. From about 1820 onwards, however, Xhosa, Thembu and Fingo women wore a skin skirt fastened at the waist and hanging to just below the knees. It seems from that time on to have taken the place of the second cloak, which was tied at the waist and doubled over. By the second quarter of the century a skirt seems to have been generally worn throughout the area. This garment may have been adopted as a result of contact with Fingo and Europeans.

Judging from one print, the Fingo skirts were a good deal fuller than the others (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972, pl. 10: 2), possibly after the Natal style, but that is the only noticeable difference. There seem to have been two sorts: a slightly flaring single skirt, which may have been joined down the front or may have wrapped right over, and a double skirt open down the front, the doubling being achieved by tying the single thickness at the waist and allowing the upper half to fall over the lower one (Pls 70: 5; 72: 2, 3). This was an extension of the light cloak so used. It could also, according to Fritsch, be worn single, fastened round the waist or under the arms. The skirts for better wear were ornamented round the edge and over the surface with bits of shell, beads or brass buttons (Pl. 72: 2).

For the eastern tribes in the early years there is little record. According to the survivors of the *Grosvenor*, the Mpondo women wore only a wide-meshed net round the middle and reaching half-way down their thighs. It seems unlikely that this really was a net, and it was probably a fringe of cords—it may even have been a fringe apron. Fynn, in 1824, saw old women wearing a skin round the hips and to the knees or further, and Smith, in 1830, confirms this. The next record is that of Angas, 20 years later (Pl. 73: 2). He painted a Mpondo woman wearing the short skin skirt composed of two large aprons, back and front, such as was worn, sometimes with the addition of a second in front, by the Bhaca in ceremonial dress until recently (Pl. 88: 3) and was until comparatively recently worn by Bhaca and Xesibe women in ordinary dress (Pl. 87: 3, 4). It is a question whether Angas, who seems to have been an accurate observer, had for once made a mistake in the identity and this really was a Bhaca woman. According to Poto Ndamase and Hunter, the Mpondo women wore long skin skirts. Cripps, however, writing in 1877 of a journey taken at that time, describes the skirts of both Mpondo and Xesibe in practically identical terms, that is, 'a short leather kilt' bordered with a fringe of leather strips or of strings, and ornamented with beads and brass nail-heads. Bhaca women's skirts were made of sheep- or goatskin (see Pl. 95: 1).

The Fingo were the first to adopt cotton blanketing as a skirt material, probably about 1860, and by the end of the century all the western tribes were using

it. The style was the same as before with a wide wrap-over, or an opening down the front, or closed down the front, and the skirts were ornamented with a strip of hide round the hem, conventional designs in black piping, beads, or white shirt-buttons (Pl. 83: 1, 2). In 1880 many Xhosa and Thembu were still wearing skin skirts, and a few Thembu at Qamata still did so as late as 1948, but these were modelled on the pattern of the full cloth skirts. In many areas Xhosa, Thembu and Tshezi women who owned skin skirts wore them on festive occasions (Pl. 105: 4), and the Thembu of Herschel wore them in mourning as late as 1961. The eastern tribes were the last to discard skin for ordinary wear (Pl. 82: 1) and some individuals among the Xesibe, and the Mpondo of Bizana were still wearing it in 1955. The Hlubi of Herschel in 1961 were wearing goatskin skirts decorated with brass buttons, shirt buttons and beads.

Skirts of European style were worn with blouse and head-cloth by Mission converts from about the middle of the nineteenth century.

Latterly the skirt, *umbhaco*, most commonly worn by married women who have not adopted western dress, among Fingo, Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Tshezi, Mpondomise and Western Mpondo, has been made of the fabric known to the trade as unbleached cotton- or 'Kaffir'-sheeting, is ankle length, cut so as to fit the waist, flaring widely at the hem and particularly at the back, in the style that was worn in Europe at the end of the Victorian era. Round the hem are as many rows of 3 cm wide black llama braid as the owner can afford (Pls 77: 1; 84: 1, 2). The skirts are made by people with sewing machines. Old skirts worn as working dress are often worn much shorter (Pl. 76: 5).

In eastern Pondoland the skirts were less full, and reached only to the calves. They were wrapped round almost like a loin-cloth (Pl. 86: 1). Girls had a knee-length skirt (Pl. 87: 2) or tight loin-cloth, and for festive wear one that was heavily ornamented with small beads.

Xesibe skirts seen in 1948 consisted of three pieces, one front and two back, of a thinner material than blanket or sheeting. The two back pieces hung open to show the front piece (Pl. 87: 3, 4). In 1955, Xesibe women at Gugweni store said that there were four pieces, two in front, *umtshayelo* and *isikhwehle*, one at the back, *isikhwehle*, and one all round, *isitshuba*. They were coloured brown with grease, and were edged with light-blue and white beads. They were customarily worn just below the knees (Pl. 87: 4), but might reach the ankle (Pl. 87: 3).

Bhaca women in 1948 wore a similar skirt, but with only one back piece made of cotton blanket or salempore cloth. It reached almost to the ankles (Pl. 88: 2).

For certain dances women of the west liked to have a long skin skirt, *isikhaka*, made on the same pattern as the cotton skirts (Pl. 105: 4). Even in the 1970s it was not every woman that had one. According to Cook the Bomvana left the hair on and wore it inside. According to informants at Langa and African Explosives, Eastern Mpondo women wore this skin skirt too, but this is not confirmed and in fact in 1955 Eastern Mpondo informants said skin skirts were not worn.

The equivalent amongst the Bhaca was the short three-piece goatskin skirt previously mentioned (Pl. 95: 1). Amongst the Xesibe, it was a short two-piece skirt named *isikhakha*.

Latterly some women of the west, and nearly all women of the east whose skirts were shorter, wore an underskirt or a petticoat. According to Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964) this was always of skin, but other informants stated that it was of cloth.

It will be noted that there are several terms in the vocabulary, collected in 1948, that do not occur in the *Dictionary*. It is obvious that there must have been different names for different styles of garment, and that the *Dictionary* list was not complete, and the list may not be entirely complete now.

Breast-cloths

There is no mention of this garment until the beginning of the nineteenth century, but it appears in one of Schumacher's drawings before then.

The early descriptions state, in so many words, that Xhosa and Mpondo women wore nothing but a small apron under their cloaks, but from the nineteenth century, with the exception of unmarried girls and old women, a covering, *incebetha,* has always been worn over the breasts by all in the west (Pls 70: 1, 4; 74: 4). Baines, writing in 1842, indicated that this was at the insistence of the magistrates, but there is no confirmation of this. The covering consisted of a piece of skin, generally one of the internal membranes of cattle, or of fabric, tied at the back by a string that passed under the arms. Alberti gives the impression that it was tied from all four corners, because he speaks of it supporting and even raising the bust whereas the cloak covering depressed it. In the early days it appears to have taken the form either of a straight piece of skin wrapped round the body and tied at the back, or of a short straight or forked flap of skin tied by thongs or cords round the back. For better wear it was ornamented with brass buttons, or beads, or strings of beads or cords of twisted bark (Pls 70: 5; 74: 4).

Latterly women of the west, including the Vundla in Lesotho, wore for better occasions a straight piece of cloth tied with cords and hanging almost to their knees. According to Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964), confirmed by Langa informants and Gitywa (1978), it was only worn when pregnant, but other informants denied this. It was usually ornamented with geometrical patterns in narrow braid and beads and was usually white (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981, pl. 43: 7; present paper, Pl. 83: 4), in contrast to the red clothing. For dancing attire the older type of skin flap with strings of beads, lengthened until they almost reached the knees, was worn (Pls 80: 6; 96: 2). The beads were usually white with some beads of a contrasting colour to make a stripe or a V. The Thembu of Herschel, however, used only blue.

PLATE 82

Mpondo and Thembu skirts; Mpondomise dolls.

1. *isikhaka* (skin skirt), beaded, Mpondo; Bizana, 1911 (FH, Hamilton-Welsh collection 481).
2. *isikhaka*, leather sheepskin skirt of *isangoma* (diviner), unusual since more often of goatskin, Thembu; Nqamakwe, 1940 (FH, Hamilton-Welsh collection 629).
3. Dolls made of maize cobs, Mpondomise; Tsolo, 1945 (Alb. CIII).

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The Vundla used blue and black or white. For ordinary attire women wrapped a cloth right round the upper part of the body and might leave it off at home (Pls 80: 2; 84: 1; 88: 2).

In the east the only record is Angas' sketch of a Mpondo woman, wearing no breast-cloth at all, thereby in part confirming Kay's statement that women went naked. Latterly the usual form for both ordinary and festive wear was a wide piece of cloth that was wrapped round the body under the arms and tucked in, or tied in front, falling almost to the knees, like an upper garment (Pl. 86: 1). For greater security the Mpondo wore a leather belt over it above the breasts and often another belt round the waist. For festive wear the belt was sometimes beaded as was the bottom of the cloth. For Bhaca festive wear a girdle of strings of beads was passed round the body over the cloth (Pl. 88: 3). According to Hammond-Tooke, Bhaca women, on formal occasions, tied the breast-cloth behind the neck and let it hang down in front. At home they left the breasts bare.

A towel or towelling was often used as a breast-cloth, particularly in the east.

Belts

Most of the belts worn were purely ornamental, and will be described later (see Girdles, p. 676).

Women used a thong to bind the light cloak round the waist, so that the upper part could support a child or, if not holding a child, could be flung back and hang down.

As previously mentioned, modern Mpondo secured the breast-cloth above the breasts with a store-bought leather belt (Pl. 86: 1), and also often had a girdle to secure the skirt.

A special type of belt said to have been worn by women of all the tribes to support the stomach before or after a confinement was *ibhanti womdlezana*. It was made of sedge or grass (*imizi, ingqombo,* or *incuma*) and was 10–12 cm wide.

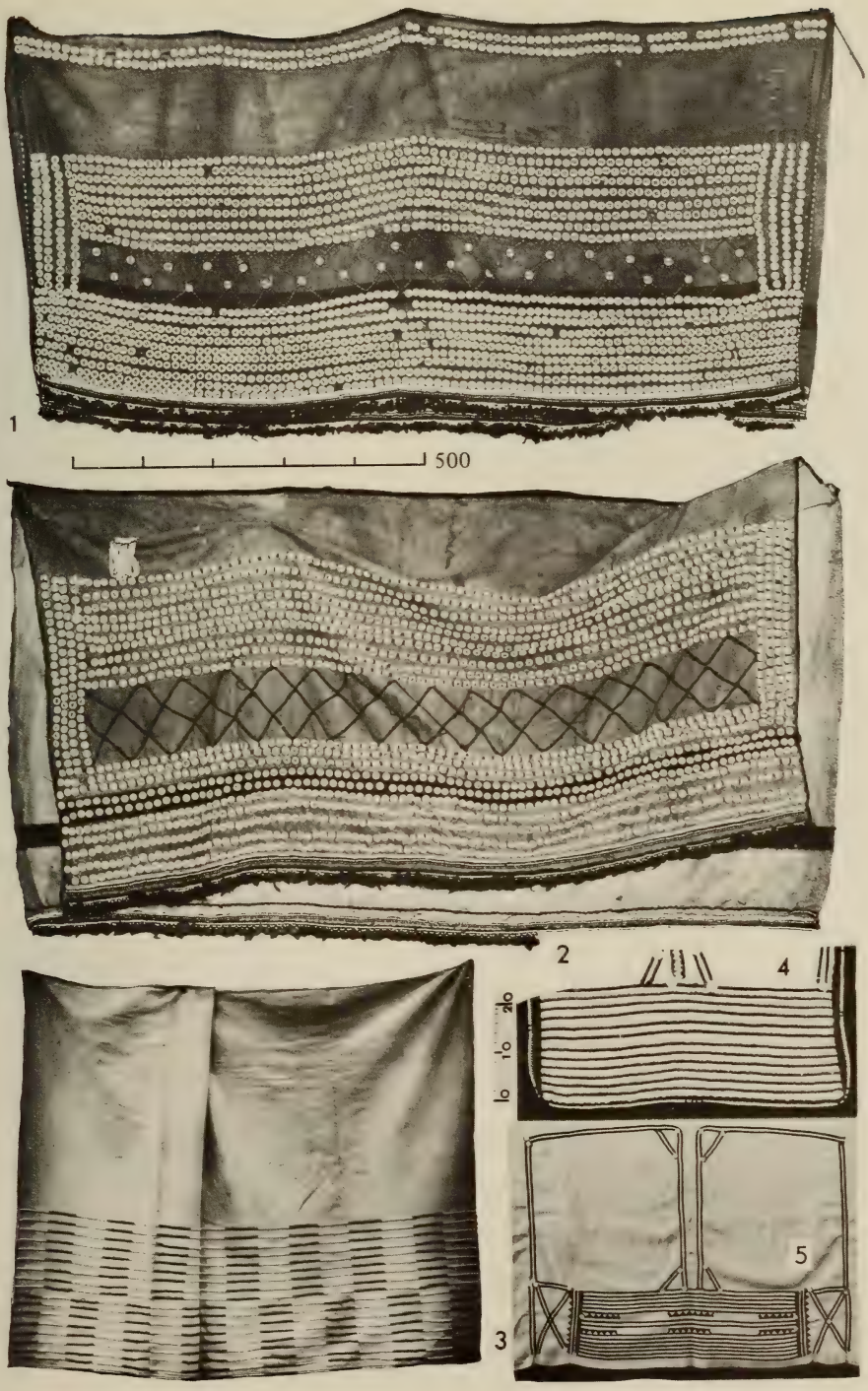
Baby-slings

The Cape Nguni type of baby-sling, *imbeleko*, in which the child is strapped to its mother's back, might really be described as a shawl. The sling is fastened round the mother's waist, and again round her body under the arms and over the

PLATE 83

Fingo, Mpondomise and Xhosa garments.

1. *umbhaco* (cloth skirt), heavily buttoned, ochred, Fingo; Qamata, Cofimvaba, 1941 (FH, Hamilton-Welsh collection 542).
2. *umbhaco* (cloth skirt), similar to foregoing, upper part raised to show nether part, which only has some braiding and beads along edge, Fingo; Cofimvaba, 1941 (FH, Hamilton-Welsh collection 541).
3. Loin-cloth for bridegroom, Mpondomise; Tsolo, 1937 (SAM–5860).
4. Braid as ornament on *incebetha*, Xhosa; East London, 1965 (EL 4391).
5. Braid as ornament on *ibayi*, Xhosa; East London, 1965 (EL 4390).


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breasts, to form a sling for the child. Originally it was made from the skin of a goat that was slaughtered for the baby a few days after the mother had emerged from the seclusion following her confinement. It is still the custom among the Cape Nguni to slaughter a goat, though it is said that the custom no longer has any significance, and many people still use the goatskin as a sling. Some Bhaca informants, however, stated that the skin was used latterly only as a mat for the baby to sleep on in the hut, and that the baby was carried in a cloth sling. Probably this latter arrangement was widespread. The baby has a second support on its mother's back from her cloak—the light skin garment of the old days (Pl. 71: 1), or the modern cloth wrap—which is also secured at waist and chest.

Wood and Ratzel alleged that another type of sling was used as well—Ratzel possibly on the information of Wood. This was a narrow and heavily beaded skin bag, which Wood stated was used by wives of chiefs and wealthy men, in preference to the sling described above. What he describes and depicts is in fact one of the beaded caps worn by women, as described below (p. 550) (Pl. 69: 5, 6). Possibly he was given the information; possibly on seeing the object, and many must have been taken home by British soldiers after the frontier wars, he noticed its likeness to the well-known cradle in which a North-American Indian papoose was carried, and imagined the purpose to be the same.

At all events no other reference to such objects has been found, and since they would have been very striking, it seems unlikely that men like Von Winkelman, Alberti, Kay or Döhne would have failed to mention them, or I'Ons and Baines to paint them. Moreover, except for the new-born, the bag would have been too small.

Sandals

Women might wear sandals but had less occasion than men to do so.

Hair-style and head-dresses

According to Le Vaillant, Xhosa women, like men, never covered the head. Von Winkelman, although he stated that women nearly always wore a cap, described the Xhosa women's hair-style as being like the men's, small tight curls all over the head, and this style, as well as that of plaits or twists hanging just below the ears, is shown in pictures up to about 1850 (Pl. 70: 4, 5). The earliest mention of Xhosa or Thembu dress, however, states that women were distinguished from men by wearing caps (Pl. 68: 2) and several later authors state that married Xhosa

PLATE 84

Mpondomise women's clothing.

1. Mpondomise woman; Tsolo, 1955.
2. Woman's skirt, Mpondomise; Tsolo, 1938 (SAM–5911).
3. Woman's apron, Mpondomise; Tsolo, 1938 (SAM–5510).
4. Woman's cloak, Mpondomise; Tsolo, 1938 (SAM–5910).



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and Thembu women kept their hair short and plain and never went uncovered, a rule that remained until modern times.

In the west women wore on their heads either a skin wrap (Pl. 68: 4) or a very handsome high cap (Pls 70: 1; 71: 4). In the east no caps appear to have been worn, and the hair was accordingly fancily dressed (Pl. 73: 2).

Mpondo women's hair-style when first described appears to have been similar to what the Bhaca style was up to about 1958, that is, a mop of thin twists, hanging down almost to the shoulders at the back, and in front arranged over a padded frame to form a thick fringe almost to the eyes (Pl. 73: 2). Smith described it as 'plastered down like a bowl'. It was ochred red in the front and the back was blackened with a mixture of charcoal and fat. This style appears to have lasted till the beginning of the twentieth century, but latterly Mpondo women did not use the frame, but took the hair back off the forehead. Only girls and a very few married women used red ochre. The hair was held off the face by a cloth put on like a turban (Pl. 85: 4), or by a beaded head-ring (Pls 85: 3; 86: 1), one of which all married women wore. Girls started plaiting the hair when quite young, and when the plaits were a certain length they undid them and twisted the hair into two-strand twists with grass. They had to be redone once a month. Eventually in some cases women ended up with tresses to their waists (Pl. 85: 5), a style recorded as early as the 1830s, but more often the hair reached just above the shoulders (Pl. 85: 3).

The earliest description of Mpondomise women's hair-style is in 1862, when it was like the modern Mpondo style just described.

There is no early description of the styles adopted by Xesibe and Bhaca women. Latterly they had the same short mop of tresses as the early Mpondo but whereas both either took the hair to the side of the face, or had a thick fringe on the forehead, Xesibe let it hang flat (Pl. 87: 1, 5) and Bhaca draped it over a thick frame that was made of cloth stuffed with horse manure or wool (Pl. 88: 4, 5).

The women's head-coverings were numerous and sometimes elaborate. Only in the west were they an essential part of dress; in the east and among the eastern immigrant tribes, where hair-styles were more elaborate, only a small turban, if anything, was worn.

The general term for a head-cloth is *iqhiya*, though *idukwe* (from Afrikaans *doek*) is also used, and most of the terms in the vocabulary now indicate, and

PLATE 85

Mpondo dress and hair-style.

1. Mpondo man; Nkunzimbini, Lusikisiki, 1948.
2. Mpondo boy; Port St. Johns, 1948.
3. Mpondo woman; Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki, 1948.
4. Mpondo woman; Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki, 1948.
5. Mpondo woman; Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki, 1948.
6. Mpondo men; Lughoqhweni, Lusikisiki, 1948.
7. Mpondo man with whip and dog; Mgwenyana, Libode, 1958.
8. Mpondo man; Mbotyi, Lusikisiki, 1948.


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probably always did so, ways of tying it. Unfortunately there is no description of the caps mentioned in 1647, but Lichtenstein and Collins describe and Daniell depicts a leather head-wrap of bushbuck skin, about 180 cm long and 45 cm wide, which was wound round the head to cover it entirely. The ends were tucked in, and sometimes the centre part was sewn into shape. A tassel of beads, or leather cords with copper on them, was fastened to the top, and hung down towards and sometimes over the forehead. This must surely have been the original *iqhiya* (Pl. 68: 4). In the Gordon (or Schumacher) drawings this head-wrap has four long pieces hanging down, two in front and two at the back (Pl. 68: 2). According to Hammond-Tooke, Bhaca women, as late as 1962, still wore a goatskin head-wrap, as illustrated by Kohler (1933, frontispiece and pl. 11).

The most important cap of Xhosa and Thembu women and one that caught the eye of all travellers, was the *umnqwazi*, a carefully made cap, usually of antelope skin, and preferably of that of the blue duiker (*Cephalophalus monticola*). It may have been a fashion change from the head-covering described above. Several wedge-shaped pieces of skin were sewn together into a bag, to fit the head at the base, and narrowing to the top where it was cut off straight and sewn together. Accounts vary as to whether the hair was removed from the dressed skin, or left on and worn on the inside or the outside. Of the two specimens at the South African Museum (Pl. 69: 5, 6) one has the hair removed, and the other has it on the inside, which, considering the beading, seems the most likely place for it. The cap was about 45 cm long and when worn was folded so that the back came forward to become the upper part and lie flat on the head. At first it must have been worn plain, or decorated with shells, polished copper, or a few beads. Later on, when more beads were available, those people who could afford it covered the whole of the back—that is, the part that showed when the cap was folded forward—with beads, put on in rows (Pls 70: 1; 71: 4). The now stiffened upper part lay flat no longer but made a ridged fold. The background was usually of white beads, and stripes of another colour, which varied according to fashion, ran lengthwise. In the early nineteenth century the fashionable colours were light blue and white; later on, black and white. To the open base of the cap were attached four flaps of the same skin, 60 cm or more long, about 8–10 cm wide at the top, and narrowing down. In the early accounts these are often said to have hung loose to the shoulders.

PLATE 86

Mpondo dress, flute.

1. Mpondo women at a dance; Tshonya, Lusikisiki, 1948.
2. *impempe* (herd-boy's double flute), 87 and 101 mm, tied with plastic-sheathed copper wire, Mpondo; Ntonjane, Mqanduli, 1966 (EL 4905).
3. Young Mpondo men dancing; Tshonya, Lusikisiki, 1948.
4. Mpondo girls with beadwork aprons worn under dresses; Lusikisiki, 1951 (photo Mrs E. Raath).
5. Mpondo girls; Mt. Frere, 1948.



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According to Phillips the Thembu had a much better style to their caps than the Xhosa in that they had the bands bound round the head like a turban, and this appears to have been the universal fashion later on. In that case the flap of the cap itself was secured under the binding. A later description mentions only one piece bound round the head. The pieces that formed the turban sometimes had the hair left on and worn on the outside for decorative effect.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century this cap is described as if it were generally worn, but by 1837 it is described as 'full dress' only, by 1853 as a royal ornament with the flaps tipped with leopard skin, by 1880 as dancing equipment, and thereafter not at all. It was evidently gradually going out of use during the century, and it was not possible in 1948 to find anyone who had ever seen it or heard of it.

The place of these two head-coverings was taken first by brightly coloured handkerchiefs, first recorded in 1827, or squares of spotted material (Pl. 72: 3), mentioned in the west as early as 1844. These are still worn at dances or parties by the younger women in the west, western and eastern Pondoland (Pl. 85: 4) and among the Hlubi. Later, other materials became popular. Older women in the west wear a plain or brocaded black silk, poplin or alpaca head-cloth (Pls 76: 1, 3; 78: 3). The Thembu of Herschel and the Vundla of Quthing built their head-cloths up into enormous shapes (Pl. 79: 2) and the Thembu and Mpondomise sometimes had very bright colours. If not, they tended to favour brown. For ordinary occasions all the women of the west wear plain black cashmere, tied in a variety of styles (Pls 75: 5; 76: 1; 78: 5; 79: 1; 80: 1, 2), that for a newly married woman almost covering her face. Increasingly, squares of melton cloth have been used, of various shades, preference for which varied in different districts. They were decorated round the edges with a darning stitch in wool. Hlubi women sometimes wore grass hats.

In eastern Pondoland, however, festive or everyday wear for married women had to be a ring, either of beadwork or of plain cloth, light or dark (Pl. 86: 1). Xesibe and Bhaca used the black head-cloth, usually as a narrow turban over their locks for everyday wear (Pls 87: 1, 5; 88: 2, 5), and the Bhaca removed it and wore ornaments for ceremonial occasions (Pl. 88: 4).

None of the early writers reported seeing hats worn, but Von Winkelman saw women copy hats in basketwork, so the shape must have been known at least at the end of the eighteenth century.

PLATE 87

Xesibe women's dress.

1. Xesibe woman; Elubaleko, Mt. Ayliff, 1948.
2. Xesibe girl; Elubaleko, Mt. Ayliff, 1948.
3. Xesibe woman; Elubaleko, Mt. Ayliff, 1948.
4. Belt and skirt, no scale, Xesibe; Mt. Ayliff, 1944 (EL 1009a, 1024, 1010).
5. Xesibe woman; Elubaleko, Mt. Ayliff, 1948.



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CHILDREN AND YOUNGSTERS

Children, after leaving their mother's shawl, normally went naked, except for a small cloak worn against inclement weather.

For boys, as soon as they started to herd, this cloak was made of buck-, calf- or, later, sheepskin (Pl. 78: 2). Small Thembu and Hlubi boys in Herschel district were seen wearing a kilt of beads threaded on sinew. Only after circumcision did boys adopt grown-up dress.

Small girls, however, very soon began to wear a small apron, to which, in later times, a short skirt was added when they got older. Their short straight cloak was made of skin.

There is no specific mention in the early literature of the skirts worn by older unmarried girls, except that Mpondo girls wore none, but it is probable that they were shorter versions of those of their mothers.

All these garments were ornamented as profusely as availability and the means and fantasy of the owner allowed, with bits of metal, shells, brass buttons or beads.

Latterly, among the Fingo and Hlubi, skirts have been made of cotton blanketing, joined up the front, tied with a draw-thread at the waist, and decorated with beads and shirt-buttons (Pl. 80: 5). Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana girls wore very short skirts of the same material and pattern as those of their mothers, generally without the braid or with black 'piping' embroidery for best. Mpondomise and Western Mpondo girls wore a loin-cloth (Pl. 105: 3) or a slightly longer skirt with braid. Little Thembu and Hlubi girls in the Herschel district where Sotho influence is strong wore *ingubula*, a fringed skirt (Sotho *thethana*) of cords of *Gazania* fibre dyed with ochre and beaded. One Hlubi girl was seen wearing the Sotho skin skirt, long at the back and short at the front.

In the eastern part of the area, unmarried girls often wore a short loin-cloth of sheeting, particularly for dances.

Bhaca girls wore a very short tight square skirt of salempore cloth, open in front, over their aprons (Pl. 88: 1).

Children did not normally cover their heads, except for ornament. Children of all tribes may wear the hair as it grows, or may shave all but a small tuft on the crown. Bhaca girls used to have the head shaved until betrothed.

At some period, which it has not been possible to date, herd-boys adopted the habit of wearing a boater-shaped straw hat (Pl. 78: 4) that they made themselves out of *umsingizane* grass. Boys of all the tribes except the Xhosa did this, and sometimes their elder brothers borrowed the hats for decoration.

MOURNING

Early accounts of mourning practices of the Xhosa, Thembu and Mpondo show them to have been substantially the same. Not only did they destroy or bury the clothing of the deceased, but also, widowed persons of either sex destroyed (or according to Döhne, if it was new, exchanged) their clothing after a period of mourning seclusion, from which women returned clad only in a covering of woven grass, and were provided with new clothing from cattle slaughtered for the

occasion. Alberti implies that for men there were special garments and that these had to wear out before ordinary clothing was resumed.

An early account (1687) states that when the Xhosa chief died the men discarded their caps for a year. Probably this meant that they shaved off their hair-style (see p. 529), because men and women throughout the area appear to have shaved their heads in mourning and still do so.

Modern Bomvana, Thembu, Xesibe and Mpondo practice for widows and others in mourning was to wear new, unochred clothing and no braid or other ornaments. If ornaments were impossible to remove, Bhaca covered them with a cloth. Nor did they use ochre on their skins. Makalima mentions that in addition they fastened the cloak in a certain way and pulled the head-cloth over the face. Among the Xhosa of the Ciskei it was said that nowadays men would just shave their heads. In the case of the death of a chief the whole tribe went into mourning (see pp. 530, 708).

MODERN TIMES

No part of Cape Nguni material culture has shown as great change as clothing has. Even the local 'traditional' styles that developed used exclusively store-bought materials.

As early as 1802 it was reported that actual European garments were being worn, no doubt by men in the first place. The majority of individuals in Transkei and Ciskei wear European-style dress today. According to informants in 1955 all Hlubi men and women with the exception of one small group in the Herschel district wore European-style clothing. Bhaca women changed from the style described above to long dresses of blue 'German print' in 1961. Among the traditionalists, however, the garments described above are still worn, even if only on festive occasions, but since the middle of the last century, imported woven fabrics, notably woollen blankets (Pl. 80: 3), cotton blanketing and sheeting, melton cloth, cashmere and towelling, and in East Griqualand salempore cloth (Pl. 88: 2) have gradually taken the place of skin as the clothing material. The style has accordingly altered somewhat. There were also changes of fashion in clothing made of the new materials. The different cloths and qualities that were favoured by the different groups and in different areas would be an interesting topic for study.

Skin garments survived in some localities for special occasions as late as 1985 (J. Hodgson pers. comm.) and more rarely for daily wear—for example the Thembu women of the Qamata area, about 1940–1950, habitually wore long skin skirts while the Xhosa and Thembu of Herschel wore them for funerals as late as 1961.

Neither sex normally wears shoes unless in European dress.

The cloak was probably the first of the garments of either sex to be altered by contact with Europeans, and the nearer the Colony the earlier. By 1835 men, and one author suggests that it was the lower ranks first, began to use woollen blankets as cloaks (Pls 72: 1; 92: 3) and women followed suit a little later for all

but festive occasions. By the 1850s most of the men even of the eastern tribes were wearing blankets exclusively, but the women's cloak was still described in 1882. According to Soga the flap down the back was still an essential for festive occasions as late as 1931, but this is unconfirmed. The South African Museum has, however, a short beadwork flap (SAM–6640), described as a cloak ornament, of the period about 1870–1890.

Latterly, when in traditional dress, men have used both cotton and woollen blankets, but more often woollen (Pl. 80: 3). There are different names for different sorts of blanket. In the west the blankets are large; in east Pondoland men seem to favour a narrow blanket with a stripe at each end and wear it lengthwise. It is often beaded round the edge.

In most localities women's entire dress was of the unbleached cotton sheeting or twill, *ibayi* (Pls 77: 1; 80: 1; 81: 1, 2), or cotton blanketing. The cloth was bought white, and was coloured or not by the wearers. Fingo, Mpondo, Mpondomise and Xesibe women's best cloaks (Pls 81: 1; 84: 4) were usually ornamented with beads, buttons, black braid, black cloth appliqué or all four. There are certain prescribed ways of tying the knot. The Hlubi near the border wore the same gaily coloured blankets as the South Sotho.

Thembu in the Herschel area in 1961 were wearing a red-ochred blanket with a black stripe, and they and the Vundla of Lesotho wore a wrap, *umgcadu*, of sheeting or blanket.

Most garments tend to have some form of ornamentation in addition to the colour. The most elaborate is in the west where, particularly among the Fingo, girls' and women's skirts are ornamented with braid, black piping, strips of goatskin, white buttons and beads. In the east, ornamentation is nearly always with beads, very often just a single row round the edge of the garment.

Though there is nowadays little difference in the types of garment worn by members of the different tribes, there are, as there always have been, considerable differences in form and style, not only between groups, but within them for different regions and for different classes and conditions of person. Ornamentation, for example, differed not only from group to group, but according to the age and personal state of the individual. (For a detailed discussion of changes in style of dress according to age and status, see Bigalke 1972.) To take one small example, Fingo marriageable girls in 1955 had strips of goatskin under each strip of braid.

The colour of clothing throughout the Cape Nguni was black, brown or red for the skin clothing, and red for the cotton clothing, except in East Griqualand,

PLATE 88

Bhaca women's dress.

1. Bhaca girl; near Mt. Frere, 1948.
2. Bhaca woman with hoe; Lugangeni, Mt. Frere, 1948.
3. Bhaca woman in dancing dress; Lugangeni, Mt. Frere, 1948.
4. Bhaca woman in dancing dress; Lugangeni, Mt. Frere, 1948.
5. Bhaca woman; Lugangeni, Mt. Frere, 1948.


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where it was brown, and among the Vundla, where it was black. It would seem possible that red became predominant when red ochre, which is beaten into the fabric to give the colour, began to be imported by European traders. Hitherto such ochre as was available locally had been reserved for the body. (The term 'Reds' was used until recently for those people who wore traditional clothing.) According to Bomvana informants, and it seems possible that this is the same for all in the west, it is only women and young men who redden their clothing. Both sections of the Mpondo, however, abandoned red at the beginning of this century, in mourning for their respective chiefs, and the mourning order was never rescinded. So the Mpondo continued to wear white until quite recently when it became fashionable in eastern and in some parts of western Pondoland to dye the fabric pale blue with washing blue, though still calling it 'white'. Informants stated that a man would start to wear the blue sometime after he was married, and his wife would then do so too. Red is sometimes seen now in east Pondoland, worn by unmarried or recently married people. Towards the Natal border no blue was seen, but white, red and a good deal of black.

The Immigrant Tribes did not originally use red. The Fingo to a large extent adopted the practice with the style of clothing of the Xhosa, but those in the east did not adopt it.

In 1968–70, in both east and west Pondoland, very little blued or red-ochred cloth was seen. Instead, store-bought modern clothing and store-bought materials, such as brightly striped towelling for wraps or head-dresses, were being worn. An enterprising trader had introduced blankets of the sort worn in Lesotho, but in shades of blue.

COSTUME AND INSIGNIA

SOURCES

1593 Lavanha (1597) p. 256 — North of Umzimvubu R. (?Xhosa): *khwetha* dress

'. . . Vinhaõ entre estes barbaros alguns mancebos vestidos de esteiras de Tabua, que he traje dos moços nobres, em quanto naõ trazem armas, nem se ajuntaõ com as mulheres, dos quaes exercicios naõ usaõ senaõ de vinte e dous annos por diante.'

(p. 317. '. . . Among these barbarians were some youths dressed in reeds fashioned like mats, which is the attire of a young noble before he bears arms or has female associates, which is generally at the age of twenty-two and upwards.')

1622 Almada (1625) p. 24 — South of Umzimvubu R. (?Xhosa): *khwetha* costume

'E tem por costume, que os filhos sendo de dez annos os botão para o mato, & se vestem de humas folhas de arvore como palmeyra, da cintura para bayxo, &

se untão com cinza ficando cayados, os quaes se ajuntaõ todos, & não chegaõ a povoado, porque lá aos matos lhes levaõ as mãys de comer.'

(pp. 92–93. 'It is their custom when their sons are ten years old to turn them into the woods; they clothe themselves from the waist downwards with the leaves of a tree like the palm, and rub themselves with ashes till they look as if they were painted. They all assemble in a body, but do not come to the kraal, their mothers taking them food.')

1776–7 Gordon (1776–95) Xhosa: leopard skin on stick

Figure by J. Schumacher.

1788 Von Winkelman (1788–9) pp. 80, 89 Xhosa: insignia, initiation

p. 80 Xhosa: declaration of war

'Die Art wie ein Kraal dem andern den Krieg ankündigt, soll nach wiederholter Versicherung folgende seijn: Ein Kaffer wird mit einem Pfahl und einem kleinen Fell in den Kraal gesendet, den man bekriegen will. Er befestigt solchen in die Erde und hängt das Fell darauf. Am folgenden Morgen begibt sich dieser Herold wieder dahin und sieht, ob der Pfahl umgeschlagen ist oder noch steht. Im ersten Fall ists ein Zeichen, dass der Kraal oder der Hauptmann mit dieser Krieg-Erklärung zufrieden ist, im andern hingegen hat der Kriegsbeschliessende Kraal von seinem Feinde Friedensunterhandlungen zu erwarten.'

p. 89 Xhosa: white clay, *khwetha* dress

'Nun wird weisse Tonerde herbeigebracht—Kalibassen und Kafferkörbe mit Wasser angefüllt, die Erde etwas zähe darinnen angemacht, und jeder Jüngling vom Scheitel bis zur Fusszähe über damit bestrichen. . . .

Nun erscheint der Capitain wieder bei ihnen. der indessen eine Art von Halb Schürzen verfertigen lässt. Sie bestehen aus sehr harten, langen und schmalen spitzig Blättern eines palmartigen—sehr wenig bekannten Gewachses, welches von Kaffern und Hottentotten Sintu genennt wird, und einen wilden sehr brauchbaren Koffee ervor bringen soll. Diese Blätter werden in 4 Reihen schuppenweisse über einander gelegt und befestigt. Diese Vorderschürzen legt ihnen der Capitain um die Hüfte, um das was dem Blick entzogen werden soll damit zu bedecken. Nun vereinigen sie sich, reihen sich theils an einander, theils gehen sie allein, führen lange Kiris in den Händen und erscheinen tanzend und mit Gesang in ihrem Kraal. Die harten Blätter der Schürze geben ein Gerausch durch jede Bewegung, und besonders durchs hin und herfahren mit ihren Stöcken. Nach diesem Fest der Freude über Wiedergenesung und Mannbarkeit, legen sie ihre Schürzen ab, bekommen andere Krossen, und ziehen blos über das männliche Glied ein dünnes ledernes Futteral.'

1797 Barrow (1806) p. 127 Xhosa: crane feathers, cows' tails

'Some few had a pair of the wings of the Numidian crane fastened one on each side of the head by a leather thong; and others had cows' tails bound to the leg a little below the knee.'

1800 Van der Kemp (1804) p. 439 Xhosa: white clay for *khwetha*

'Their circumcision is performed on boys of about twelve or fourteen years old, ... After he is painted white all over the body, he is driven into a river, and there washed clean; his old garments etc. are thrown away, and new ones given him.'

1802–6 Alberti (1810*a*) pp. 76, 158, 174, 189, 190 Xhosa: initiation, insignia

p. 76 Xhosa: white clay

'De nieuw-besnedenen zijn verpligt, hun geheele ligchaam met witte klei te smeeren en zulks dagelijks te herhalen tot op de volkomene genezing.'

p. 158 Xhosa: elephant tail

'Behalve de Tanden, moeten ook de Ooren en de Staart van het gevelde dier aan het Opperhoofd der Horde worden afgeleverd, en worden aan den ingang der Veedrift aan eenen hoogen paal als zegeteekenen opgehangen.'

p. 174 Xhosa: crane feathers

Nothing more.

p. 189 Xhosa: leopard tails

'Men zendt alzoo Gezanten, voorzien van eenen Leeuwen- of Tijgerstaart, als kenteeken, dat zij inderdaad tot het overbrengen eener oorlogsverklaring gelastigd zijn.'

p. 190 Xhosa: crane feathers

'Onder anderen deelt het Opperste Hoofd onder de mindere Hoofden, Beambten en andere Personen meer, wier dapperheid hem bekend is, Kraanvederen uit, welke zij aan het hoofd vast hechten, om te gelijk tot een onderscheidend kenteeken der Aanvoerders van kleinere Afdeelingen te dienen. Dit kenmerk is allezins vereerende. Hij echter, die het draagt, moet zich ook hetzelve waardig gedragen, zich in den strijd altijd aan de spits eener Afdeeling vertoonen, en verbeurt dadelijk zijn leven, wanneer hij lafhartig te rug deinst.'

(See also Alberti 1810*b* (English edition): pp. 40, 76, 83, 90.)

1803–6 Lichtenstein (1811) pp. 419, 477–478 Xhosa: *khwetha*, insignia

p. 419 Xhosa: white clay for *khwetha*

Nothing more.

p. 477 Xhosa: leopard skins, crane feathers

'Ferner gehört dem König ein Antheil der Erndte, das Bruststück von jedem geschlachteten Ochsen und von jeder auf der Jagd erlegten Elenn-Antilope, endlich alle Elephantenzähne, alle Pantherhäute und alle Kranichfedern.'

pp. 477–478 Xhosa: lion or leopard tails

'Die Wohnung des Königs zeichnet sich durch nichts anders aus, als durch einige Löwen- oder Pantherschwänze, die von dem Gipfel des Dachs herabhängen. Seine Kriegesboten oder die welche einen Angeklagten vorladen, bekommen einen dieser Schwänze in die Hände, um zu beweisen, dass sie im Namen des Königs reden.'

1809 Collins (1835) p. 26 Xhosa: chief's dress

'Hy [Gaika] is welgemaakt en heeft een mannelyk en schrander voorkomen; en ofschoon hy niet onderscheiden was door eenig byzonder artikel van kleeding, dan alleen door een tygervel en een ketting om den hals, vertoonde hy zich met deftigheid;'

1810 Read (1813) p. 304 'Caffre': crane feathers

Nothing more.

1812 Officer, 21st Lt. Dragoons (1822) pl. 8 Xhosa: chief's dress

Figure.

1813 Campbell, J. (1815) p. 365 'Caffre': initiation dress

Nothing more.

1819–20 Stocker pp. 51, 53 Xhosa: chiefs' dress

'Of skins, the lion's and panther's are mostly prized, and worn exclusively by the Chiefs;'

1821–4 Thompson, G. (1827) **2** pp. 354, 373 'Caffer': initiation, insignia

p. 354 'Caffer': full initiation dress

'They are obliged to wear a sort of kilt, or petticoat of palm leaves, which is made by fastening the leaves to a cord long enough to go five times round the body, so that their loose ends reach about half-way down the thigh. This has a fantastic but not unpleasing appearance, and makes an odd rustling noise while they are dancing. They wear also a cap of the same materials, which is so contrived that the leaves partly cover the face.'

p. 373 Xhosa: elephant tail

'We observed that Hinza's hut was distinguished (according to the Caffer fashion) by having the tail of an elephant fixed to a pole erected beside it.'

1819–29 Moodie, J. W. D. (1835) p. 277 Xhosa: *khwetha* dress and white clay

Nothing more.

c. 1824–5 Smith pp. 38, 81, 257, 272, 290, 397–398 Xhosa: insignia, special dress

p. 38 Xhosa: chief's dress, elephant and leopard tails

'The Chiefs of the Ama Kosa are generally known from their subjects by being dressed in Tiger-skin karosses, and their kraals are usually to be recognised by some of the paraphernalia. Thus the cattlekraal is often ornamented with the tail or ear of an elephant, which, when the animal is killed, is always carried to the king, they have also sometimes the tail of a tiger drawn on a stick and placed by the door or the thatch of their hut.'

p. 81 Xhosa: elephant tail

'The Kaffirs hunt the elephant. . . . The tail is carried to the chief and is hung up as a trophy at the gate of the cattle kraal or upon a tree in the kraal. The ears and apex of the trunk are taken off the former sometimes put in the cattle kraal or else buried the latter invariably buried.'

p. 257 Xhosa: bride's dress

'About mid-day they begin to dress and that consists in first smearing themselves all over with red clay from head to foot, which being dried, they then, by the assistance of the old women, fix a small buckskin behind and another in front, which just covers the hips. Both are very narrow and merely expose the outer parts of the thighs and legs to the view of the spectators and from nothing being higher than the loins, the whole is consequently exposed. Round the loins they place rows of circular wire or other articles which they look upon as ornaments, and to the hind head they fix the extremity of a hartebeest tail by a piece of riem round the head, and which hangs down on the nape of the neck as far as the shoulders.'

p. 272 Xhosa: bridegroom's dress

'. . . he puts nice beads on his neck and rings round his wrists a brass chain round his waist and a brass circular chain ring to extremity of penis. He takes an (orabai) skin and puts it over his shoulder then he takes a haartebeest tail and ties it behind his neck like a pigtail with a string round his head.'

p. 290 Xhosa: wedding guests' dress

'The men are entirely naked during these performances with the exception of the chiefs who generally though not invariably have the skin of a buck thrown over their shoulders and hanging a short way down their back besides the tail of a haartebeest fixed to the back of their head like the old English pig-tail. The women are clothed as usual in their karosses and dress caps.'

pp. 397–398 Mpondo: doctor's head-dress

'Witches have large coils of entrails stuffed with fat round neck tangled hair stuck over in all directions with gall bladders of animals. . . .'

1820–31 Steedman (1835) **1** frontispiece, pp. 24, 58, 242–243 Cape Nguni: special dress, insignia

frontispiece Cape Nguni: warriors' costume

Figure.

p. 24 Xhosa: elephant tail

Nothing more.

p. 58 Xhosa: elephant tail

'. . . Botuman's cattle kraal, where his men were busily engaged in milking; the place being distinguished by a lofty pole at the entrance, from which an elephant's tail was suspended,—the prevailing ensign of royalty throughout all the border tribes.'

p. 58 Xhosa: crane feathers

'Their heads were encircled with a band fancifully decorated with small beads and quills of the porcupine, and assuming the appearance of a coronet, to each side of which was attached the wing feathers of the blue crane.'

pp. 242–243 Mpondo: wedding guests

'The men . . . assembled at the marriage . . . were for the most part smeared over with red ochre, ... Their short woolly hair was rolled up into small round knobs; a number of brass rings reached half-way up their arms; several strings of

little blue and white beads hung loosely round the neck, whilst a soft and flexible ox-hide was thrown negligently over the shoulders, each person being more or less decorated with ornaments according to his means.'

1826 Shrewsbury (1869) p. 238 — Xhosa: wedding dance

Nothing more.

1827 Hallbeck & Fritsch (1826) p. 313 — Thembu: war

'The Tambookkies are less warlike than the Caffres, ...'

1825–9 Kay (1833) frontispiece, pp. 66, 76, 138 — Mpondo: special dress, insignia

frontispiece — Mpondo: dancing dress

Figure.

pp. 66, 76 — Xhosa: crane feathers, *khwetha* dress

Nothing more.

p. 138 — Xhosa: elephant tail

'The tuft of hair on the extremity of the tail is then cut off, and taken to the Chief, who generally places it on a pole at the *isangue*, or entrance of his cattle-fold. It there hangs as one of the ensigns of royalty; and as a trophy of victory, achieved by his subjects over the inhabitants of the forest. The extremities of the ear and proboscis are likewise cut off, and with much ceremony deposited in some secret place, where they are left to decay. . . .'

(1829) Rose p. 146 — Xhosa: *khwetha* dress

Nothing more.

1829 Bain pp. 97, 104–105 — Bomvana, Mpondo: special dress

p. 97 — Bomvana: war dress

'This news set the whole country in motion and the Caffres were seen in all directions in their war dresses, which is exactly as they came into the world with the addition of a few assegais, a large oval shield and a war club.'

pp. 104–105 — Mpondo: costume, first fruits

' . . . at King Faco's residence. We saw crowds of people collecting from all sides, many of them with their small shields and assegais . . . all assembled at the King's door to commence, not a war expedition, but a rural dance, on the joyful occasion of having housed the corn, and what we would call in England a "harvest home". . . . The men stood all on one side armed with clubs, perfectly naked and painted, with their heads feathered in a most frightful and fantastic manner. The women were opposite to them with loose carosses tied over the lower parts of their bodies, but their breasts and bellies all bare. . . .

The perspiration ran in streams down their distorted bodies, . . . & ere the dance was concluded the paint which had at first ornamented their faces found its way in copious daubs to their lower extremities.'

1825 Fynn (1950) p. 115 — Ntusi: initiation dress

'After each boy has undergone the operation, the parts are washed with an

infusion of roots of a cooling nature. Each now puts on a dress specially prepared for the occasion and occupies a hut in which he and the others live apart from all relations and friends. . . . The dress is made of a kind of flaggy grass,[1] tied in bunches and is intended to cover nearly the whole body, the face being painted with clay.'

(Editor's note 1:) 'A grass with sword-shaped leaves usually found in moist situations.'

1829 Holman (1834) **2** p. 268 'Caffres': warriors' dancing cape

Nothing more.

1831 Halter p. 14 Thembu: warriors' dress

'He and his people, about eighty in number, were equipped for war, and six of them, after the manner of the Caffres, wore ostrich feathers on their heads.'

c. 1831–2 Smith pp. 100, 125 Mpondo, Thembu: crane feathers

p. 100 Mpondo: crane feathers, axe

Faku's praises: '

You have crane feathers on the head.

.

So as a rock remains a rock

An axe shall continue an axe.'

p. 125 Thembu: army

'The chiefs go behind with the men with feathers, they being considered the light companies. Before they throw they come within 20 yards and always approach till they stick.'

(1832*a*) Anon. p. 150 'Caffre': crane feathers

Nothing more.

(1833) Morgan, N. pp. 6, 37–38, 46 Xhosa: crane feathers, special dress

p. 6 Xhosa: crane feathers

Nothing more.

p. 37 Xhosa: crane feathers

'. . . so also is the shield and the war feathers; these latter articles are kept in the possession of the chief, and are a symbol of his authority over them. They are trusted to the warrior only during the time of service, and are restored by him when the war is over.'

p. 37 Xhosa: cape, crane feathers

'When they dress themselves for war they lay aside the large mantle which is called the kaross, and fasten a small buckskin around their loins: their head is encircled with a fillet of leather, having the long shoulder feathers of the blue crane erect, one on each side over the ears.'

p. 38 Xhosa: *khwetha* dress

Nothing more.

p. 46 Xhosa: cape for dancing

'They are quite naked, excepting that a small buckskin tied by the hind feet round their necks, and hanging down, scarcely covers their shoulders, and reaches to the bottom of their loins.'

1834 Bonatz (1834*b*) p. 350 Thembu: crane feathers

'In war, they adorn their head with a pair of crane's wings, or else with tails of animals of various kinds.'

1834 Gardiner (1836) p. 13 Mpondo: war dress

'. . . we passed within a few paces of the principal warriors, who stood out before the main body, leaning upon their shields, decorated with their plumes and war dresses.'

1834 Godlonton (1835–36) p. 229 Xhosa: elephant tail

Nothing more.

1835 Alexander (1837) **1** pp. 386, 395; **2** p. 111 Xhosa: insignia, doctor's dress

1 p. 386 Xhosa: crane feathers

Nothing more.

p. 395 Xhosa: jackal and elephant tails

'A chief sends a message accompanied with a jackal's brush; and his hut, or kraal, is distinguished by an elephant's tail on a pole.'

2 p. 111 Fingo: doctor's dress

'The doctors wore gall-bladders among their long, matted hair; and the great doctor, who strengthened the people for war by gall, incantation, etc., wore on his head a large fur cap, and had his loins girt with various handsome skins disposed in stripes.'

(1836) Martin p. 154 Thembu: crane feathers

Nothing more.

1820–56 Shaw, W. (1860) pp. 333, 342–343, 456 Xhosa: leopard-skin cloak, elephant tail, initiation dress

p. 333 Xhosa: leopard-skin cloak

Nothing more.

pp. 342–343 Xhosa: elephant tail

'The only external sign of royalty or, nobility, or whatever the hereditary rank of native Chiefs may be called, which I could ever discover on a Chief's kraal, was a singular sort of ensign, consisting of an elephant's tail, which is hung up on a high pole planted near the entrance of the cattle-fold. I imagine this distinctive article cannot now be always obtained, in which case I presume there are Chief's kraals which are not thus distinguished; but during my residence in the country I could always determine whether the owner of the kraal was a Chieftain or not, by the presence or absence of this symbol. No plebeian would ever dare to hoist the tail of the noble elephant, unless he were prepared to pay very dearly in property or in person, or both, for the perilous assumption of honours that are not due to him

by the custom of the country. Pato being the "Umkumkani", or principal Chief of the Amagonakwaybi tribe, had two or three tails suspended on the pole, and we were therefore satisfied as to his hereditary rank;'

p. 456 Xhosa: *khwetha* dress

Nothing more.

1839 Backhouse (1844) pp. 245, 253 Xhosa: insignia

p. 245 Xhosa: crane feathers, doctor's dress

' . . . the soldiers were naked, but each man had a pair of crane's wings mounted upon his head. The Doctor, who performed the incantations, had a leopard's skin wrapped around his loins, and another around his shoulders, the fur side being out, and the tails on; he had also quagga skins and tails twisted around his arms, so as to throw the hair erect, and cow, quagga, and other tails so disposed as to give ample breadth to his whole body; his head was surmounted by a hyena skin; his face was blackened and his forehead spotted with red and white, and bound about with a string of leopard's teeth, such as is commonly worn as a necklace by the Caffers.'

p. 253 'Caffer': gall-bladders

'At this place and many others in Caffraria, we noticed men wearing the emptied gall-bladders of cattle fastened in their hair. This we learned was intended to show that the parties were of sufficient consequence, to have had cattle killed for them, by superiors whom they had visited!'

1836–44 Döhne (1844) pp. 24, 39 Xhosa: insignia

p. 24 Xhosa: insignia of messengers

'Nur Männer können ferner als *Isigidschimi* (Gesandte) gebraucht werden, wenn eine Klage wider Jemand vor einen anderen *Inkosi* gebracht werden soll, und bei solchen Gelegenheiten werden immer mehrere zugleich gesandt; der eigentliche Wortführer trägt dabei als unterscheidendes Abzeichen ein Stück von einem Kuhschwanze am Bein, und die übrigen sind ihm als Gehülfen beigegeben, ...'

p. 39 Xhosa: crane feathers

'Die Schuhmacher sind zugleich auch die *Incibi yendwe*, d.i. die Verfertiger der Kranichflügel. Zwei solcher Kranichflügel an einen ledernen Bundriemen befestigt, bilden den Helm, einen Schmuck der Soldaten, wenn es in den Krieg geht. Der Riemen wird um den Kopf so befestigt, dass auf jeder Seite ein Flügel stracks in die Höhe steht. 80 bis 100 und 200 Paar dieser Flügel hat ein jeder *Inkosi* für seine Soldaten.'

1841 Bonatz p. 382 Thembu: warrior's dress

'A few minutes are sufficient to complete a Caffre's equipment. He throws his kaross over his shoulder, grasps his bundle of assagays and his ox-hide shield, hangs his scrip with a little tobacco and a morsel of food round his neck, and he is ready for the longest march. . . . Many deck their heads with the wing of a crane, or a heron plume, or the tail of some wild beast.'

1842–7 Ward (1848) **1** pp. 250–251 Xhosa, Fingo: war dress
p. 250 Xhosa: war dress
'The Kaffir goes forth to battle besmeared with red clay, simply arrayed with his kaross, armed with his musket and assegai, and accoutred with his pouch and sack, for ammunition, plunder, and provisions.'
pp. 250–251 Fingo: war dress
'The appearance of a body of Fingoes, if less terrific, is more imposing. Their heads are ornamented with jackals' tails, ostrich plumes, beads, wolves' teeth, etc. Across their shoulders is flung a skin, and around their waist is girt a kilt of monkeys' tails. The chief, like the Kaffirs, wears a tiger-skin kaross, and their rain-makers, who are alike wizards, doctors, and councillors, are most fearfully grotesque in their costume.'

1842–7 Ward (1851) pp. 99, 100, 215 Xhosa, Fingo: war dress, insignia
p. 99 Xhosa: war dress
Same as above.
p. 100 Fingo: war dress
Same as above.
p. 215 Xhosa, Fingo: insignia
'. . . the ex-chiefs being invested with a sort of magisterial influence over their people, checked by British rule, a baton of office was sent to him [Sandile], to be placed in the ground before his hut, side by side with the wand always planted there as a symbol of authority. His wand is surmounted by a cow's tail, and marks the chief's residence from the other huts of Kraal. The baton given by Sir Harry is a stick, with a brass knob at the top of it.'

1848 Great Britain. Imperial Blue Book p. 40 Cape Nguni: sticks of office
'Instructions from High Commissioner to Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria. 23/12/1847. "The sticks of office are to be used by all messengers going from the Commissioner. . . ." '

(1848) Anon. p. 195 'Kaffir': bride's dress
Nothing more.

1848 Baines (1842–53) **1** pp. 66–67, 78 Xhosa: *khwetha* and warriors' dress
p. 66 Xhosa: *khwetha* dress
'In a retired situation at some distance from our path, we observed a number of youths besmeared with white clay issuing from a hut apparently of similar colour, and, when we outspanned for the night in a mimosa thicket, I proposed to return and visit them. My friend was of opinion that this would be considered an intrusion but accompanied me toward the spot, and nearly opposite their hut we were met by the whole company, who, six or eight in number and from twelve to sixteen years, dressed in karosses of whitened sheepskin, their eyebrows marked with charcoal, their eyes apparently unnaturally large and their lips almost red by contrast with the ghastly greyish ash colour imparted to their dark skins by the thick coating of white clay which made them look, as Liddle said, like devils, and, as I

thought, very like the inferior kind of wooden dolls from which the whiting had begun to scale off, came out attended by an old man, in his usual costume of red clay and ditto-coloured kaross, to beg tobacco; they appeared already to have undergone the operation which entitled them to take place among the men of their tribe, and one, who seemed to be the temporary captain, informed us that they waited only the next rain to wash the discolouring matter from their bodies.'

p. 67 Xhosa: *khwetha* costume

'. . . in all cases a dance performed by the boys themselves, dressed in short full kilts of palmiet leaves which rustle with every movement, and rendered still more spectral by the bright moonlight, generally chosen for the performance, upon their chalky covering, constitutes an essential part of the ceremonial.'

p. 78 Xhosa: crane-feather head-dress

Nothing more.

c. 1850 C. B. (?Charles Bell) sketches 'Kafir': crane head-dress

Figure.

c. 1850 I'Ons AM 4436, AM 50/1861 Fingo, Xhosa: war dress

AM 4436 Fingo: warriors' dress

Painting.

AM 50/1861 dated 1839 Xhosa: warrior's dress

Painting.

c. 1850 I'Ons (Redgrave & Bradlow 1958) pl. 18 (3) Xhosa: doctor's dress

Figure.

1851–2 Baines (1842–53) **2** pp. 225–226, 290 Fingo, Hlubi, Mpondo: war dress

pp. 225–226 Fingo: dancing in war dress

'Their muskets were piled beside them, and they were dancing, or rather performing a kind of pantomimic exercise, with their native weapons, the assagai and keerie. Forming an irregular circle, they brandished their weapons, springing forward or retreating with the chorus. One fine athletic fellow, with a large nodding plume of white feathers overhanging his forehead, displayed singular activity.'

p. 290 Hlubi, Mpondo: war dress

'Their dress consisted of a number of strips of cat-skin, barred with black and white, so twisted that the majority of travellers imagine them the tails of monkeys; and a miscellaneous assortment of small skins hung round their neck and loins. The white tufts of bullocks' tails were gartered below the knee or upon the ankle, and large bunches of feathers, of every kind they could procure, were stuck upright in their hair, tied to their ears, or attached in any mode to whatever part of their person or attire dictated by the whim of the moment.'

(1851) J. W(alker) p. 358 Xhosa: doctor's dress

Nothing more.

1851–3 King (1853) p. 61 Xhosa: crane feathers

Nothing more.

(1856) Fleming pp. 266–267, 275 'Kaffir': special dress

p. 266 'Kaffir': *khwetha*, use of white clay

'There large quantities of white clay, blood, and water are mixed together, and, with this, they are painted from head to feet. They are then set to dance, in a state of nudity, until it becomes perfectly dry. Another coat is then applied, and the same process is repeated.'

p. 267 'Kaffir': *khwetha* dancing dress

'These dresses are composed of reeds, strung side by side through one end, on a piece of sinew or leather, and similar thongs are passed through them at intervals, so as to make them to resemble flat stiff mats. By drawing the strings at the extremities tight, they form these into bell-shaped garments, and fasten them on their bodies; one round the middle reaching to the knees; one round the neck reaching to the elbows; and one round each arm and leg, fastened on, respectively, at the elbows and knees, and reaching to the extremities of the figure. A large cap, formed of rushes, is placed on the head, tied into a point at the top, (which is about two feet above the head) and this also is painted white. Long sticks are then given to them to carry in their hands, and dressed in these costumes, they go about until the next moon;'

p. 275 Cape Nguni: doctor's dress

'. . . the "doctor" appears in the ring, quite naked, except a few tigers tails as a fringe round his loins.'

c. 1856 Warner (1859) p. 21 'Kaffir': warriors' dress

'The ordinary dress of a Kaffir warrior consists of the skin of the oribi buck round his loins, an ox tail suspended to his leg just below his knee, and the tail of a Hartbeast or Jackall tied in a bunch on the top of his forehead. In addition to this, the body guard of the Chief wears the wings of the blue crane, fastened to their heads like two perpendicular horns growing out of their temples. And when the army is assembled in the field, you may always ascertain where the Head quarters of the Chief are, by these crane's wings, which are seen in a compact body, and rising considerably above the heads of the ordinary soldiers.'

(1858) Maclean pp. 22, 50, 159–160 Xhosa, Thembu: special dress, crane feathers

Nothing more.

1859 Anon. p. 18 Xhosa: *khwetha* dress

Nothing more.

(1862) Anon. p. 83 Xhosa: elephant tail

Nothing more.

c. 1864 Stanford (1858-89) **2** opp. p. 23 Mpondo: chief's head-dress

Figure of Chief Nqwiliso with head-dress decorated with pearl buttons and gall-bladders.

1845–89 Kropf (1889*a*) pp. 35–36, 115, 117–118, 125 Xhosa: special dress

pp. 35–36 Xhosa: tail insignia

'Ein grosser Kampf fand statt an dem Tage als Kanzi mit den Nqosini um einen Elephanten-zahn stritt. Damals war Rarabe noch ein Knabe. Seine älteren Brüder kamen zu ihm und sagten: "Die Nqosini mit ihrem Fürst Gaba wollen den Schwanz erheben." d.h. wollen herrschen.'

p. 115 Xhosa: crane feathers

Nothing more.

p. 117 Xhosa: crane feathers

'Ihr Kriegsheer ist in zwei Divisionen geteilt, nämlich die der Veteranen oder Helden, die sich bereits in früheren Kriegen ausgezeichnet haben und deshalb als Auszeichnung die oben genannten Kranichflügel am Kopfe tragen, von denen jeder Häuptling 80 bis 200 Paar in dem Hause seiner grossen Frau (*ibotwe,* Palais) aufbewahrt. Sie halten es unter ihrer Würde, sich mit solchen einzulassen, die nicht in gleichem Range mit ihnen stehen und gleichen Schmuck wie sie tragen. Die zweite Division besteht aus jungen Kriegern, die den Namen Rundköpfe (*ingqukuva*, unbehörnt) führen und jenen Schmuck noch nicht tragen dürfen.'

p. 118 Xhosa: war dress

'Die Krieger sehen beim Beginn eines Krieges noch viel phantastischer aus als in Friedenszeiten. Sie tragen eine Menge Schwänze von Rindern, Katzen und anderem Getier um den Leib und an den Beinen, auf dem Kopfe und an den Oberarmen, auch sonst noch allerhand Ketten und Perlenschnüre.'

p. 125 Xhosa: *khwetha* dress

Nothing more.

1873 Johl (1875) p. 21 Xhosa: dancing dress

'Es sollte *intonjane* (ein grosses heidnisches Fest) sein. Die Frauen waren noch sehr beschäftigt, sich schön zu machen, d.h. die rothen und schwarzen Kopftücher schön umzubinden, das Gesicht und den ganzen Leib mit rother Erde und mit Fett zu schminken und die Arme, Hals und die Knöchel mit den köstlichsten Perlen vom feinsten Glas zu schmücken. So nur darf eine Kafferdame zum Tanze erscheinen. . . .'

1877 Auld (1924) p. 89 Xhosa: war paint

'On reaching Nhlambe, where the Resident with Kreli resided, we found at every kraal great gatherings of Gcalekas, armed with assegais or guns; and all or most of them with a black mark on the forehead, put there by their war-doctor.'

1877–8 Norbury (1880) p. 15 'Kaffir': dancing dress

'The wife takes with her, as a trousseau a pot for cooking, a large stock of beads, a spare red blanket and skirt of bullock's hide, and a dancing equipment consisting of a long bag-like, richly-beaded cap, a leather belt thickly studded with brass buttons, and an ornament composed of numerous strings of beads to be worn round the chest.'

(1879) Moister p. 248 Xhosa: elephant tail

'In addition to this mark of royalty he (the chief) carries or has carried before him by a person appointed for the purpose, an elephant's tail, which is equivalent to the royal sceptre in more civilised countries.'

1875–87 MacDonald (1890*a*) pp. 157, 161–162, 224 Cape Nguni: special dress

p. 157 Cape Nguni: *khwetha* use of white clay

Nothing more.

pp. 161–162 Cape Nguni: bride's dress

'On the morning preceding the marriage, the bride, accompanied by a number of girls with painted faces and clad in goat skins, makes her way towards the bridegroom's kraal, ...

The following morning, the bride prepares herself to receive her husband . . . she is conducted to the house she is to occupy. There she adorns herself with circlets of beadwork and flowers, and distributes smaller ones among her maids of honour.'

p. 224 Cape Nguni: chief's bride

'Skins of goats, sheep, antelopes, and domestic cattle go to the manufacture of everyday attire. Robes of office, and bridal robes for the great wife of a paramount chief on the occasion of her marriage are of more costly material, generally of wild cat or spotted leopard skin, the latter being regarded as the most valuable.'

1883 Cape of Good Hope Appendix I Mpondomise: special dress

pp. 407–409

p. 407 Mpondomise: initiation

'The boys remain at their kraal painted with white clay all over their bodies for a period of three or four months.'

p. 408 Mpondomise: *intonjane*

Nothing more.

p. 408 Mpondomise: marriage

Nothing more.

p. 409 Mpondomise: war dance

Nothing more.

c. 1888 Bodley (1891) p. 235 Mpondo: leopard tail

'The previous night the messenger from Umtata had announced the coming of the stranger, and the "leopard's tail" had forthwith been sent round to all the headmen. This is the fiery cross of the Pondo. The tail of a leopard mounted on a rod, when found within a kraal, is known to be a silent summons for the headman to repair to the chief's "Great Place" or wherever the chief is.'

1879–1902 Schiel (1902) pl. opp. p. 272 Cape Nguni: *khwetha* dress

A fine picture, erroneously labelled Zulu (who do not have this custom).

(1896) Brownlee, C. pp. 250–251 Xhosa: bride's dress

'Over the face and head a veil was thrown, . . . only that the material was rather an unsuitable one according to our notions—to wit black silk.'

(1902) Young opp. p. 18 Thembu: *khwetha* costume
Figure.

(1914) Schweiger pp. 58–59, 62 Xhosa: *khwetha* dress
p. 58 Xhosa: full description of *khwetha* costume
'Während der Zeit zwischen der Versammlung der Männer und dem Beginne der Zeremonien (gewöhnlich einige Monate) bereitet sich jeder Bursche, der beschnitten werden soll, sein festliches Kleid zu, das *umhlambi* und das *isigcobo*. Das *umhlambi* stellt eine Art von Bekleidungs-stück vor, das aus den Blättern der wilden Dattel oder der Palme zusammengefügt wird. Diese Blätter werden zu einer langen Rolle verarbeitet, die beim Gebrauche um die Lenden gewunden wird. Das *isigcobo* ist eine Kopfbedeckung, ebenfalls aus Blättern hergestellt. Sie hat eine Länge von zwei Fuss und bedeckt vorne vollständig das ganze Gesicht. Von dem oberen Teile des *isigcobo* münden mehrere Palmpflänzchen in einer Länge von vier bis fünf Fuss aus.'
p. 59 Xhosa: *khwetha* dress
'Ausserdem werden noch an den Armen und Beinen die *iskwinsi* oder *isitsaba* befestigt, d.h. verschiedene schöne, buntfarbige Bänder, die von zierlich zubereiteten Tierfellen um die Arme und Füsse auslaufen und, auf den Boden herunterfallend wie lange Schleppen nachgezogen werden oder lustig in der Luft herumflattern. Diese Bänder wurden ursprünglich aus Tierhäuten zubereitet, jetzt kaufen sich die Kaffern dieselben bei den Kaufleuten. Das wäre also das festliche Kleid der *abakweta*, welches nur beim *umtshilo* getragen wird. Das *umtshilo* ist der den *abakweta* eigentümliche Tanz, den sie, nachdem sie vollständig ausgeheilt sind, öffentlich vor zahlreich versammelten Kaffern jeden Tag, solange die Festlichkeiten dauern, fast ununterbrochen aufführen. Bevor sie sich mit ihrem festlichen Kleide schmücken, wird der ganze Körper mit weissem Lehm reichlich bestrichen.

Ihre gewöhnliche Kleidung, die sie während der ganzen Zeit ihrer Heilung und auch nachher, zur Zeit des *umtshilo*, jedoch nicht während des Tanzes selbst, tragen, besteht aus einem Schafs- oder Zeigenfell; es hat keinen speziellen Namen (*ingubo yegusha* = Schafsdecke).'
p. 62 Xhosa: *khwetha* use of white clay
Nothing more.

1924 Brownlee, W. T. (1924–5) pp. 111, 308–310 Xhosa: insignia, doctors' dress
p. 111 Xhosa: insignia
'The chief's symbol of authority, which with us is a writ issued from the court, was the skin of the tail of either a lion or leopard drawn off intact and stretched over the shaft of a spear; this planted in the gateway of any cattle-fold indicated that the chief had placed everything there under attachment.'
p. 308 Xhosa: doctor's cap
'. . . the invalid emerges a fully-fledged doctor, wearing a high-crowned cap made from the skin of a baboon.'

pp. 309–310 Xhosa: doctor's dress

'The doctor, of course, is dressed in all his gauds and presents usually a most imposing, and sometimes terrible, appearance. Upon his head he usually has a baboon-skin busby and has skins of various animals hung from his shoulders and loins; round his neck he often wears the dried and inflated entrails of some animals which, having pebbles inside, rattle with every movement of his body. Besides these, he will probably wear hanging from cords round his neck strings of roots, bunches of small horns—filled with various powders, drugs and ointments—and many other curious and sometimes disgusting objects. His arms will be adorned with numerous rings, some of metal and some of dried flesh, some of skins of reptiles, and in his hand he will at times bear a long staff or an assegai.'

1924 Hartmann p. 14 Thembu: *khwetha* costume

Nothing more.

(1927) Poto Ndamase p. 119 Mpondo: warrior's dress

'Ngempi amadoda ebebinca amapaca afake nemitika yawo.'

[In war men wore *amapaca* and also put on (*-faka*) their *imithika*. (Meaning of statement not clear.)]

(1927) Vogel p. 74 Xhosa: *khwetha* dress

Nothing more.

1927 Anon. p. 137 Fingo: *khwetha* costume, novice diviner's dress

'In connection with the initiation into manhood, the goat-skin is dressed and cut into narrow thongs which are bound round the initiate under his kilt, round his ankles and his arms and round his head; and in this protective livery he takes his place in the initiation dances.

When a novice is undergoing initiation into the state of a witch-doctor, he must wear on his neck thongs made by a fullfledged witch-doctor from the skin of a certain goat. In addition to wearing goats' hair necklets, witch-doctors wear on their heads big goatskin busbies.'

(1928) Brownlee, F. p. 180 Fingo: *khwetha* dress

'After entering the kraal they discarded the sheep skins and danced before the company quite naked, except for streamers made of long strips of sheep skin tied at their knees and elbows.'

(1931) Cook pp. 17, 56, 58–61, 67, 86, 147 Xhosa, Bomvana: insignia, special dress

p. 17 Xhosa: leopard tails

'Gcaleka had a hut called *iBotwe* between the Great Hut and the Right-hand Hut for the *imisila*, the chief's officials or messengers, who carried or wore leopard tails and so were called *imisila* (tails).'

p. 56 Bomvana: *khwetha* white clay

'The boys are from now on always covered with white clay. The only decorations they are allowed are bands of *umzi* or rush on the legs and arms.'

p. 58 Bomvana: *khwetha* dress

'Whenever the boys go abroad as when they go for supplies of *inceke* or white clay they wear their sheepskin carosses with their heads covered over, resembling nothing so much as a band of cowled monks.'

pp. 59–61 Bomvana: *khwetha* dress

'The boys are in their usual attire—white clay smeared all over their bodies and faces and with sheepskin carosses worn over their heads. . . .

All wear *imixaka yomti*—imitation ivory bangles made of wood and painted white. They also wear *ubulunga* necklaces and round the waist bands of *umzi* (rush).

When the boys have been painted the headdresses and skirts are put on. The headdresses: These are made of the leaves of a palm known as *lisundu*. The headdress consists of a fine fringe over the face through which the dancer can see. Above the head extending up is a helmet of palm fibres from which two horns of palm point upwards. These are made by men skilled in the art who are rewarded by the fathers of the boys.

Around the waist is girded on the skirt called *umhlambi*. This is made of palm leaves (*lisundu*). It is made in a long strip about twenty feet long. At one end the depth of the skirt is about five inches and this gradually increases until at the far end the skirt reaches a width of about two feet. These skirts are made by certain men who are skilled therein.'

p. 67 Bomvana: *intonjane* dress

'She may not leave her hut and when she has to do so, goes heavily swathed in a blanket. . . . She wears her headdress pulled over her face in the same way as a bride does.'

p. 86 Bomvana: festive dress

'Men. They wore *isidabane*, the skin of a buck or wild animal. This is worn slung over the back suspended from the shoulders thus covering the back from the loins to the shoulders. This together with the *inxiba* and a few beads around the neck is all the men wear. . . . The married women are dressed as for the *Umrululu*. The young unmarried girls are painted with red ochre. Around the loins are white beads forming a skirt about six inches deep. Their breasts are perfectly bare. From the waist are suspended short skirts of gay coloured cloth which cover the sides and back.'

p. 147 Bomvana: leopard tails

'The *Imisila*—These were the messengers of the chief. They wore leopardskin tails (*imisila*) as a distinctive badge of office. They were sent to summon men to the chief's kraal to answer charges or bear witness. These tails were kept at the chief's Great Place.'

(1932) Soga, J. H. pp. 65, 68, 210, 219, 225–257, 411, pls opp. pp. 212, 225, 228, 236, 256, 259 Xhosa: insignia, special dress

p. 65 Xhosa: ox tails

'When war is imminent the supreme chief sends out his official messengers—

imi-sila (tails), so called because they bear in their hands ox-tails, their insignia of office. These officers are dispatched to the sub-chiefs, ...'

p. 68 Xhosa: crane feathers

' . . . Behind these two screens is the main army (*um-kosi*) composed of the veterans who have had experience of war. In earlier days these veterans were called *ama-twala'ndwe*—wearers of the blue crane's feathers, a headdress of this crane's feathers being the distinctive mark of the veteran.'

pp. 210, 255–257, pls opp. pp. 256, 259 Xhosa: *khwetha* dress

Nothing more.

pl. opp. p. 212 Xhosa: bridegroom

Nothing more.

pp. 219, 411 Xhosa: dancing cape

Nothing more.

pl. opp. p. 225 Xhosa: men's festive dress

Nothing more.

pls opp. pp. 228, 236 Xhosa: bride and maids

Figure.

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 173, 195–196, 323, 379, 417 Mpondo: special dress

p. 173 Mpondo: *intonjane* dress

'At dusk the girls return. The *intonjane* and her attendant gather firewood on the way home. When they come home the *intonjane*'s hair is shaved. For a week she wears a handkerchief tied low over her forehead and a long skirt, like a bride. . . . Then after about a week her handkerchief is raised by some old person of the *umzi*, and she resumes her old short skirt, and behaves as a daughter of the *umzi* again.'

pp. 195–196 Mpondo: bride's dress

'He is closely followed by an *idikazi* in gala dress (heavily braided skirt, white embroidered shoulder blanket, all her beadwork, and a towel or handkerchief on her head) and then by all the girls of the party, including the bride, rolled up in blankets, with blankets and handkerchiefs completely covering their heads and faces. The rear is brought up by the other *amadikazi* and the men of the party. . . . On arriving at the centre of the *inkundla* the girls are made to stand in a row, facing the men of the *umzi*. Blankets are held up by the men of the *uduli* while the *amadikazi* strip the girls (including the bride) of their blankets and handkerchiefs. They are dressed in long skirts and a full complement of bead and brass ornaments, but are naked to the waist. (Ordinarily Pondo girls and women are particular not to expose their breasts.) They stand a few moments facing the men, then blankets are again held up round them by the *uduli* men, and they are rolled up by the *amadikazi*. . . . The bride is not distinguished in any way from her maids.'

p. 323 Mpondo: novice diviner's dress

'A female novice wears short unbraided skirts, no ochre, and a handkerchief tied low over her forehead, as a person in mourning. She wears no ornaments except white beads round wrist, neck, ankle or forehead. She remains shaved

during the whole period of her initiation. She must never bare her torso in the presence of people, and even when working in the fields wears her cloak pinned over her shoulders.'

p. 379 Mpondo: leopard tails

'Ndamase, shortly after he crossed over, killed a leopard, and according to the custom sent the skin to Faku, his paramount. Faku returned it, saying, "Let the tail be given to Ndamase, that he may apprehend with it. Let the tails of all leopards which are slain in Nyandeni (western Pondoland) be given to Ndamase, and not sent across to Qawukeni (eastern Pondoland)".* "Thus", says Poto . . . "was Ndamase established as a great chief, that he might be the paramount of his country." '

(Note*:) 'The messengers of a paramount chief carried leopard tails as their badge of office. Poto implies that they were not carried by the messengers of a district chief.'

p. 417 Mpondo: leopard tails

'. . . the penalty in civil cases was always a fine in cattle, or small stock, which were seized by the chief's messenger who carried a staff with the tail (*umsila*) of a leopard attached, as the sign of his office, and it was a serious offence to resist the *umsila* (word also applied to the messenger) of the chief in the execution of his office. If he were resisted he flung down his staff and galloped away. The staff had then to be returned to the great place with a goat, as fine.'

1918–48 Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964) pp. 44, 50, 53 Cape Nguni: special dress

p. 44 Cape Nguni: diviners' dress

'Witch doctors wear no colours, only blue and white.'

p. 50 Xhosa, Thembu: diviners' dress

'The ornaments or apparel of a witch-doctress (or of a witch-doctor for that matter) are not necessarily confined to their particular tribe. . . . No witch-doctress ever shows any part of herself. . . . A witch-doctress uses no ochre.'

p. 53 ?Thembu: *khwetha* costume

'In 1910 . . . six boys, whose costumes were finished, had already begun dancing. A space had been cleared in front of the huts. Four women were beating a taut ox-hide for them. Their faces were veiled, so their presence did not matter, since boys may not look on a woman's face during this period.'

p. 54 Thembu: *khwetha* dress, costume

'For everyday wear in the camp the boys have sheepskin cloaks. . . . Their bodies are smeared with white clay. . . . The costume for dancing is made of palm leaves. The boy's father makes the costume.'

(1933) Anon. p. 116 Xhosa: dancing skirts

At an *intonjane* women were dancing in black skin skirts, and red breast-cloths.

(1937) Duggan-Cronin June Bomvana: skin-painting of *khwetha*

Figure.

(1939) Duggan-Cronin p. 26, pls 21, 32, 34, 36, 37 and legends — Xhosa: insignia, special dress

p. 26 — Xhosa: crane feathers, leopard tail

Nothing more.

pl. 21 and legend — Xhosa: diviners' dress

Nothing more.

pl. 32 and legend — Xhosa: *khwetha* dress

Nothing more.

pl. 34 — Thembu: men's dancing dress

Figure.

pl. 36 and legend — Xhosa: women's dancing dress

Nothing more.

pl. 37 and legend — Xhosa: men's dancing dress

'The constume consists of beadwork (the beads being strung on threads of ox sinew or thin strips of goatskin), brass rings and leggings of Angora goatskin.'

1945 Makalima chapters 6, 10, 14 — Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: special dress

chap. 6 par. 3 — Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: skins used by diviners for caps, cloaks

'Isikumba sengwe sitwalwa ngamagqira, kwenziwe izidlokolo nengubo.'

[The skin of the leopard is worn by diviners, and caps and karosses are made.]

chap. 10 pars 9–11, 13–14 — Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: special dress

Nothing more.

chap. 10 par. 17 — Fingo, Thembu, Mpondomise: dancer's dress

'*Isinxibo senxentsi* zizidabane, nentsimbi kwelixesha lesi Lungu ke.'

[The dress of a dancer is the hood (*isidabane*), and the beads, now in this modern age of things European.]

chap. 14 par. 22 — Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: *khwetha* dress

'*Izambato zabo*: Abakweta baganxa izambalo ezifakwa apa emqaleni zona, nentsimbi emhlope ezihlahleni, nasemqaleni, nasentloko, kwa nenyongo entloko. Kuncwelwa kule bokwe imhlope kwenziwe imitya, ebotshelelwe ezingalweni, bungasuswanga uboya. Ebusweni baqaba isiqungu.'

[*Their costume*: Lads who are undergoing the rite of circumcision wear necklets, and white beads on the wrists, neck and head, and a gall-bladder on the head. Narrow strips are cut from a white goatskin to make thongs that are tied round the arms without removing the hair. On the face they smear '*isiqungu*'.] (No informants found who knew this. May be *khwetha* or doctor's jargon.)

chap. 14 par. 27 — Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: *khwetha* dress

Nothing more.

(1949) Duggan-Cronin p. 17, pl. 76 and legend — Mpondo and Mpondomise: special dress

p. 17 — Mpondo and Mpondomise: initiation

'This custom was abandoned by the Mpondo during the reign of Faku (possibly

because it incapacitated fighting men, needed for protection against Shaka's raids), but it is still practised by the Mpondomise.'

pl. 76 and legend — Mpondomise: diviner's dress

'He is in full regalia with the monkey-skin cap, white beads, and the medicine horns of his profession.'

1949 Hammond-Tooke (1953) pp. 78–79, 82 — Bhaca: first-fruits costume

p. 78 — Bhaca: chief's costume

'The next morning (Wednesday) the chief goes to the newly built *isi6aya sengcube* wearing a special blanket called *isibalala*. . . . During Wednesday morning more men arrive from the out-lying areas. They come on horseback and on foot in groups of about thirty to forty under their headmen, dressed in full regalia and singing the traditional *ingcube* songs. Most discard European trousers and wear the traditional *unontswintswintswi,* or salampore loincloth, with circlets of skin or cloth on their shins and caps of animal skin. All carry sticks or spears, those on horseback carrying them in a skin scabbard behind the saddle, while many of the footmen carry large ox-hide shields and run round the horsemen of their group, brandishing their sticks in mock combat.'

p. 79 — Bhaca: women's costume at ceremony

'During the morning groups of women have also arrived at the Great Place clad in their *ingcube* attire of beadwork, freshly worked skin skirts and dyed ostrich plumes, with large leather rattles filled with pebbles tied to their ankles . . . they perform a slow . . . dance . . . accompanied by . . . ululation . . . and the slapping of small, round, hide shields against their thighs to accentuate the rhythm.'

p. 82 — Bhaca: chief's dress for ceremony

'The cattle, gasping . . . are met by the chief . . . clad in a loin covering made from long-haired angora skin, and wearing brass bangles on arms and legs.'

1952 Walton (Wilson *et al.*) pp. 204, 206, 212, 215 — Xhosa, Fingo: *khwetha* dress

p. 204 — Xhosa, Fingo: *khwetha* dress after coming out

'. . . after the festivities of the coming out ceremony; the youths . . . don new and distinctive clothing, paint their faces with red ochre, carry long black sticks and spend their days herding. . . .'

p. 206 — Xhosa, Fingo: *khwetha* dress before seclusion

'The boys who are to be initiated will advertise their intentions. . . . They are usually distinctively clad in brief shorts and vests, and wear big goatskin anklets with bells (*amanqafela*).'

p. 212 — Xhosa, Fingo: *khwetha* dress during seclusion

'The initiates keep themselves painted all over their bodies with white clay, devoting meticulous care to the working of designs on their faces, and completing the adornment with washing blue. At no time do they wear any covering other than their blankets and their *izidla* attached to the leather thong around their waists.'

p. 215 Xhosa, Fingo: *khwetha* dress after coming out

'After the rubbing on of fat, the initiates are lined up outside their lodge and their new blankets, black kerchiefs (*amaqhiya*) and new, knobless, long, black sticks (*umnqayi*) are placed in front of them.'

1949–55 Hammond-Tooke (1955*a*) pp. 17–18 Bhaca: novice diviners' dress

p. 17 Bhaca: novices' dress

'Both male and female novices wear a short white skirt and, in the woman's case, the breasts are covered with a breast cloth of the same material. The head is shaven and for ritual occasions a square of untanned cowhide is fixed to it to which three or four goat gallbladders are attached. For everyday wear the female novice binds a white cloth or handkerchief low over her forehead in the hlonipha custom of the young bride. The only ornament worn is a necklace of medicinal herbs threaded on a cord.'

p. 18 Bhaca: gall-bladder

'Two days later a goat was slaughtered and the blood smeared on the *ikhu6alo* . . . and the intestinal fat (*umhlehlo*) was twisted into coils and hung round Rosina's neck while the gallbladder (*inyongo*) was attached to a small square of hide and fastened to the head as the distinctive insignia of a novice.'

p. 18 Bhaca: diviner's costume

'A week previously Rosina visited the trading store and bought yards of white calico for her diviner's costume.'

1949–55 Hammond-Tooke (1955*b*) pp. 53–54 Bhaca: special dress

p. 53 Bhaca: diviner's dress

'The dress of the Bhaca diviner is characteristic. Dressed entirely in white, with a headdress made of a fringe of white beads, all *izangoma* have the dried gallbladder of a goat (the dwelling place of the spirit) fixed to the head. Divination by means of bone-throwing is not a Bhaca custom, although it appears to be practised to-day by a few diviners, and communion with the *amathongo* is established by means of trances accompanied by dancing.'

p. 54 Bhaca: feast of first fruits

Nothing more.

1949–55 Hammond-Tooke (1958*a*) p. 20 Bhaca: skin skirt, gall-bladder for *intonjane*

'It is stated, however, that formerly the initiate emerged from the seclusion hut at the end of the period dressed in the long goatskin skirt of a married woman, holding a spear, and wearing the twisted fat of the *umhlonyane* in a coil round her neck. The gall bladder (*inyongo*) of the goat was fastened to her arm and informants state that she and her female companions, also holding spears, performed a special dance in the *inkundla* (space between the cattle kraal and huts). The wearing of the married woman's skirt would seem to be symbolic of the newly acquired marriageable quality of the girl and to emphasize to the society generally her attainment of physical maturity. . . . Formerly also, on the final day of the ceremony, the initiate shaved her head, except for a tuft in front, smeared her face

with ochre and fastened the gall bladders of the cattle killed for the feast to her arms with strips of plaited *umkhanzi* rush. Her two assistants wore plaited ropes across the breasts but not the gall bladders. One rarely finds this done to-day.'

(1954) Duggan-Cronin pp. 31–32, pls 164, 170, 175, 176, 178, 189 — Bhaca, Hlubi, Xesibe: ceremonial and festive dress

pp. 31–32 — Bhaca, Hlubi, Xesibe: initiation

'Among the Hlubi, and possibly the Xesibe, boys at the age of puberty go through an elaborate initiation ceremony. The Baca are said to have had initiation ceremonies formerly, but these have completely died out to-day.'

legend to pl. 164 — Bhaca: gall-bladders

'Witch doctor (*isangoma*)

A distinction should be drawn between the herbalist (*inyanga*) and the witch-doctor proper (*isangoma*), sometimes called a diviner, who communes with the ancestral spirits (*amathfongo*). The white bead headdress and costume are distinctive, and on her head are the inflated gall bladders of goats, killed during her novitiate, in which the spirits are thought to reside. Practically all Baca witch doctors are women.'

legend to pl. 170 — Bhaca: women's *ingube* dress

'Married women also have their special dances, and dress in beads and ostrich feathers dyed various colours.'

legend to pl. 175 — Hlubi: boys' festive dress

'Hlubi *inkwenkwe* dressed for a wedding. Belonging to a group of uncircumcised boys, this Hlubi dandy is dressed in a tanned ox-hide skirt, studded leather belt and decorated headdress called *upetshe*.'

pl. 176 — Hlubi: bride's-party dress for man

Figure.

legend to pl. 178 — Hlubi: bride's dress

'Note the head-dress of *ujobela* feathers and the beadwork veil, called *imvabaza*, worn as a sign of respect to the parents-in-law. The hide skirt, work of a married woman, is elaborately decorated with white buttons bought at the store.'

legend to pl. 189 — Hlubi: diviner's dress

'A typical Hlubi witch doctor in her distinctive dress of white cloth. She is carrying the spear shown to her in a dream. . . .'

1949–62 Hammond-Tooke (1962) pp. 86, 106, 111, 244, 248 and note — Bhaca: ceremonial dress

p. 86 — Bhaca: girls' initiation

Nothing more.

p. 106 — Bhaca: bride's dress

'She . . . arrays herself in all the finery of her beadwork, in addition putting on special brass bangles (*amathfusi*), four on each upper arm. She now wears the long, fat-smeared, goatskin skirt of a married woman, the formal donning of which is called *ukuruqisa*. When all is ready she covers herself with a blanket and leaves . . . for the groom's home.'

p. 111 Bhaca: sacrifices for bride, bride's head-dress

'When they arrive at the girl's home yet another animal, called *umngcamisa* (farewell), is killed for them. This can be either a goat or a sheep and is killed "because the girl is leaving her home". The gall-bladder is emptied, filled with air and tied to her head "to show that it is a good farewell". "The gall-bladder shows that she has had the goat killed, and people who see it will know that she has been farewelled".[1]'

(Note 1:) 'Compare this custom with the wearing of gall-bladders by diviners where the ancestral spirit is said to reside with the bladder (Chapter 10).'

p. 244 Bhaca: diviners' dress

'Diviners are easily recognised as they invariably dress in white and wear a fringed head-dress of white beads as a mark of their calling.'

p. 248 Bhaca: novice diviner's dress

Nothing more.

p. 248 note 1 Bhaca: gall-bladders

'The gall-bladders of goats are worn by all diviners. The bladder is emptied of its contents, the blade of a certain type of grass inserted, and it is inflated being tied tightly to prevent the air escaping. It is then allowed to dry out thoroughly.'

1955 Hammond-Tooke (1957*b*) pp. 52–53 Gcaleka: initiation

p. 52 Gcaleka: boys' initiation

Nothing more.

p. 53 Gcaleka: girls' initiation

Nothing more.

1956 Hammond-Tooke (1958*b*) p. 52 Xhosa: boys' initiation

'Formerly periodic dances were held at which the typical khwetha costume of conical grass mask (ixonxo) and grass skirt (umhlambi) were worn. This custom died out in the late twenties. At the end of the seclusion period the initiates (abakhwetha) wash off the white clay with which their bodies have been smeared at the nearest stream and don new blankets to symbolize their new status. The lodge and the sheepskin karosses worn during the seclusion period are burnt and the initiates, now termed amakrwala, are fully-initiated young adults. The full rites are forbidden to Christians and many are resorting to European doctors for the surgical operation.'

1960 Campbell, A. C. (1965) p. 55 Xhosa: *khwetha* costume

' . . . they had on . . . a curious cardboard hat adorned with chicken feathers. . . . "It is a uniform", said one of the other boys, "in this *usuthu* we all wear this hat to band us together. If you go over the hill you will find several more groups of boys like us, but each group has its own uniform".'

1960 Gitywa (1970) pp. 11, 12–13 Xhosa: *khwetha* costume

p. 11 Xhosa: white clay

Nothing more.

p. 12 Xhosa: white clay, *ubulungu* necklace

Nothing more.

pp. 12–13 Xhosa: head-dress

'The initiates each had a form of head-dress, a roll of sheepskin and a roll of hareskin encircling the head. These are called *umqhele*. The hareskin head-dress indicated that the wearer was successful in a hunt, a feat which always boosts the ego of the individual. Bird feathers are also used to make this headgear.

Attached to the sticks, *iintonga*, of the initiates is a set of black and white check bags. There are normally three such bags to a set. The bags are used for carrying the few personal effects of the initiate The bags are called *iibhonsaka* and are made by the initiates' girl friends for them.'

1962 Anon. p. 15 Xhosa: staffs of office

'Sandile . . . distributed 14 "kieries" of authority to all his subordinate chiefs in order of precedence. "These 'kieries' symbolise power" he said "and mean that all the chiefs must partake in the great task of Government." '

1968 Holt (1969) pp. 110, 114, 123, 130, 131, 277, 281 Tshezi, Bomvana: dress of initiates and diviners

p. 110 Tshezi, Bomvana: *khwetha* dancing skirt

'They each wore a grass-skirt (*umhlambi*) and a high, pointed head-dress (*ingcambane*), as seen in tourist photographs. These dances in full regalia are said still to be seen in Bomvanaland. In Tsheziland, however, they had to be stopped, because they were the occasion of faction-fighting. . . . Now the novices are reduced to this dancing without costumes beside the lodge. . . .'

p. 114 Tshezi: initiates

'Here they drop their blankets and paint their bodies with bright red clay. . . . The guardians are insistent that every inch of the body shall be daubed with this clay. . . . Now they are no longer novices (*abakhwetha*), but initiates (*amakrwala*).'

p. 123 Tshezi: girls' initiation

'[There is] close affinity between the rite and marriage . . . for the one is a preparation for the other. This is further underlined by the fact that, behind her screen, the novice sits with her handkerchief flat on the crown of her head and down over her whole face in the approved manner of a bride. . . .'

p. 130 Tshezi: girls' initiation

'The gall-bladder of the sacrificed beast is flung into the fire just before the girls jump over it, the bladder having been preserved in the novice's hut for this purpose.'

p. 131 Tshezi: *intonjane*

'Third day . . . the initiate returns to her mother's hut . . . the strictness of her bridal manner of wearing her headkerchief is relaxed, and in another few days she may discard it altogether.'

p. 277 Tshezi: diviners' dress

'The diviners, some male, some female, were beautifully ornamented with white beads. I did not see the things that characterised the old-time pictures of "witch-doctors" that is skirts of monkey-tails, inflated ox-bladders in the hair, necklaces of horns, claws and so on. White is the diviners' colour. They wear white blankets and great quantities of white beads, with a chaplet of such beads around the head and long strings of them dangling from it as a marked feature.'

p. 281 Tshezi: diviner's dress

' "White beads of consent" alludes to the fact that the person who is undergoing *ukuthwasa* sits on a mat . . . and every member of his (or her) family comes and places two white beads from a common pile into the palm of his hand. He puts all the beads aside to be made into a special necklace or necklaces for him to wear as a diviner.'

(1970) Elliott pp. 82, 114, 116, 117 Xhosa: *khwetha*, diviners' caps

p. 82 Xhosa: *khwetha* caps

Photograph of *khwetha* wearing caps of sheepskin.

pp. 114, 116, 117 Xhosa: diviners' caps

Photographs of diviners wearing monkey-skin caps.

1972 Bigalke pp. 70–71, 79, 84, 89 Ndlambe: dress of diviners, *khwetha*

pp. 70–71 Ndlambe: diviner's dress

'Except when attending gatherings of diviners, they dress in the fashion of their respective sexes. Nevertheless a diviner is always identifiable by the wearing of some article made of white beads. The special dress worn by diviners at diviners' dances . . . is distinctive. Male diviners wear a mid-calf-length "skirt" (*unofali*) of white *ibhayi*, decorated with rows and geometric motifs of thin black braid. . . . The *unofali* is not sewn up, so the wearer merely winds the rectangle of cloth about the waist and tucks one end in. Over the *unofali*, a kilt of long strips of animal skins (*imithika*) with the hair on is worn specifically when a diviner is presiding at a ritual. The strips of skin . . . may be of goatskin or cowhide, but usually include strips of the skins of wild animals . . . but not of the wild animal . . . to which the diviner stands on a special relationship. A vest may be worn on the torso. Many diviners wear a hat made of animal skin (*isidlokolo*) somewhat like a mitre in shape. The kinds of skin most commonly used are those of the baboon, the vervet monkey and the black-backed jackal, but here also, the prohibition against the diviner's special animal applies.

Female diviners wear a white skirt (*umbhaco*) similar in shape and decoration to the red-ochred ones of ordinary married women. They also wear the breast cover (*incebeta*) in white or, less frequently, a blouse (*ihempe*) of *ibhayi*. . . . A white *bhayi* cloak with or without black braid decorations is worn for going out. . . . Women diviners . . . are not required to keep their heads covered at all times . . . they wear no head covering while dealing with people who consult them professionally or when they join the dances of other diviners. Skin hats (*izidlokolo*) or headcloths (*amaqhiya*) may be worn.'

p. 79 Xhosa: *khwetha* head-band

'*umqhele*, a wreath-like headdress, made of pieces of skin of animals or feathers of birds killed when the *abakhwetha* hunt to pass the time'.

p. 84 Ndlambe: men's festive dress

'Senior men wear traditional dress only when they officiate or are guests at feasts and weddings. At sacrifices it is usually only the officiator who wears traditional dress.'

p. 89 Ndlambe: diviners' dress

'. . . diviners . . . say that white is the colour chosen by their ancestors for them because it is associated with light and that diviners need light to clarify the problems brought to them by their clients. For this reason also, their clothing and ornament must be predominantly white.'

(1976) Broster pp. 41–50, 57, 60–61, 67, 96–98 Thembu: ceremonies

pp. 41–50 Thembu: *intonjane*

pp. 57, 60–61 Thembu: bridal dress

p. 67 Thembu: man's dress at wedding

pp. 96–98 Thembu: diviner's dress,

Full descriptions of dress for these ceremonies.

(1977) Sobahle p. 281 Xhosa: diviners' beads

'The only people who do not wear beads for ornamentation are the diviners (*amagqira*), who wear only white beads as status symbols. The diviners, commonly known as "white people" (*abantu abamhlophe*) or river spirits (*abantu bomlambo*), wear white beads which they believe to possess illumination (*inkanyiso*) from the ancestors.

The most essential bead ornaments for the diviners are as follows:

(a) Head Ornaments

Umthika. A band of white beads with a fringe right round the head worn in such a way that the fringes partly obscure the face. The fringe is sometimes sewn onto the animal skin head-dress *isidlokolo*. Novitiates, however, do not possess this bead ornament. Instead they wear a tuft of mane-hair from the jackal, *iNchi* [*sic*], decorated with a band of white beads at the base.

(b) Neck Ornaments

Umngqi. All diviners, including novices, wear prayer beads, *intsimbi yecamagu*, round the neck. For the full diviners this is a string of white beads with fringes hanging loosely over the breast. The novice wears a band of white beads.

(c) Ankle Ornaments

Amanqashela. A string of white beads. For the novice these consist of single wood plaits (from a climbing tree *imithwazi*). They are known as *inkaca*.

The above ensemble is worn by diviners when they are practising divination. There are, however, additional bead ornaments worn in the *intlombe* dances. Round the waist is a wide ornately beaded, many-tailed skirt of monkey skin, for male diviners. For female diviners the skirt is made up of cloth and is known as *umbhaco*. From his right shoulder hangs his beaded medicine horn from a goat.

From his left shoulder hangs a beaded medicine gourd *iselwa*. He carries a long medicine horn *uphondo lweNqu*, and a beaded thick animal tail switch attached to a short handle, *itshoba*.'

1982 Broster pp. 38–39, 46–47 Thembu: diviners' dress

pp. 38–39 Thembu: ornaments of novices

'All the students wear white beads Advancement in training is marked by increased ornamentation in beadwork—from the single strand of beads worn by the young student to the magnificent display exhibited by the qualified *igqirha*.'

pp. 46–47 Thembu: diviner's dress

'During the month while her family made arrangements for her graduation, Nombuso prepared her trousseau. Two long white skirts, braided at the hem and with matching shawls, were made with her tutor's assistance Her high fur hat was made from a baboon skin and her tasselled skirt from the skins of wild cat and jackal. Her fellow students assisted in making her head-dress which, in accordance with tradition, was of white beads'

COSTUME AND INSIGNIA: TERMS

isiduluka 1. nD. 2. ostrich-feather head-dress worn by chief, Vundla Quthing **721**

impikwane 1. short horns that diverge backwards like wings, D. 2. spreading war head-dress, D. 3. long crane-feathers, D. 4. not X or Xes, others not asked. (Diminutive of *iphiko* wing, D) **722**

indwe 1. blue crane, D. 2. head-dress formed of the feathers of this bird, D X Xes (X–Döhne 1844) **723**

isindwe collection of cranes' feathers, used by warriors as a head-dress when drilling or fighting; the right to wear this was conferred as a reward for great bravery, D X T not Xes; others not asked **724**

isidabane 1. 'skin of the *Ula*, *Punzi* or *Liza*. Properly it should be that of the *Ula*, used as dress in fighting parties, or in dances at marriage feasts; usually fastened round the neck so as to hang loosely down the back, as a kind of hood; it is bound round the loins of fighters', D X Bo T. 2. broad beadwork band round neck, Xes, not Mp nor Bh. (Note: by *Ula* D means *iula*, oribi antelope; by *Punzi*, *impunzi*, duiker; by *Liza*, *iliza*, vaal rhebok) **725**

isihlomo 1. war dress, D. 2. men's head-dress of fowl's feather, Xes. (From *-hloma* put on war-dress) **726**

umthika 1. tail, skirt, long garment; any part of a garment flying loose, D. 2. skin tails worn by doctors, X T, or by warriors (Mp–Poto Ndamase). 3. skin and feather head-dress for warriors, Xes **727** (734)

ichontsi 1. nD. 2. fringed bead head-band worn below cap, Bh **728**

incebetha 1. attire of beads used by the women as a breast covering when they take a walk; and by men, when they have no *isidabane*, D X T Vundla (X–Soga). 2. nowadays, a cloth with beads, X Xes. 3. white bead fringe

worn by doctors (Bigalke 1972). 4. *amecklāte* (misreading of bad handwriting: *incebetha*) fringe of beadwork, suspended from string around neck, worn by women (X–Fleming 1853: 221) **729** (674)

isala 1. nD. 2. cap of feathers, Xes **730**

isidlokolo 1. cap of baboon's skin, D X. 2. ditto or of other skin, T and others **731**

isidlukulu 1. (= *isidlokolo*) cap of baboon's skin, D X. 2. (= *isala*) cap of feathers, Xes **732**

umnqwazi 1. covering for the head of women, being a high cap made of skin trimmed with beads, bonnet, cap, hat, D, general. 2. narrow beadwork head-band round back of head for girls, Mp. 3. beaded head-ring (Mp–Beukes). 4. married woman's beaded head-ring, also called *isinqwazi* (Mp–UCT). 5. baboon-skin hat, Bh. 6. apex or topknot of modern hut, X **733** (51, 653, 805)

umthika 1. tail, skirt, long garment, any part of a garment flying loose, D. 2. skin tails worn by doctors, X T, or by warriors (Mp–Poto Ndamase). 3. skin and feather head-dress for warriors, Xes **734** (727)

iwatshi 1. nD. 2. white beadwork worn on wrists by *isanuse*, Mp (cf. *iwatsha* arm-ring) **735**

amafutha (rarely in sing. *ifutha*) 1. fat, oil, grease, D, general, and the common Bantu word for 'fat'. 2. white clay, with which circumcised boys smear their bodies, D **736**

igxaba 1. nD. 2. sheepskin cloak covered with white clay, of *abakhwetha*, T Herschel **737**

ingceke 1. nD. 2. white clay used by *abakhwetha* to smear on body, general. (Note: *inceke* (Em) white paint, D, is erroneous.) 3. small *ingobozi* basket, X Xes Mp **738** (535, 941)

ingcambane (cf. *isicamba*) 1. veil of rushes or palm leaves worn by an *umkhwetha* while dancing, D X **739** (503)

iphinga 1. nD. 2. horse's tail and skin of small animals worn round arm by *abakhwetha*, X (from *-phinga* intertwine, as wattling) **740**

iphunga the grass put by circumcised boys before their faces, D X not Xes **741**

isidanga 1. ornament of many strings of beads worn on the neck or across the upper part of the body; garland, D X Mp. 2. *isidanga samadoda* long necklace with squares (T–Mrs Goodwin). 3. long beaded blue necklace worn at *intonjane* by girls and 'witch-doctresses' (T–Louw) **742** (835)

isigoxo 1. nD. 2. necklace worn by girl dancers at *intonjane* (X–Louw) **743**

isitsaba 1. garland or bandage of an ornamented kind (beads) round the head or foot, D. 2. arm- and ankle-pieces of dancing costume (X–Schweiger). 3. ring, the size of a bangle and of various bead sizes, worn on the head, general. 4. long beadwork anklet, X Ciskei **744** (799, 911)

inkwintshi (pron. *inkwintji*) 1. head-gear or badge worn by chief councillors, warriors or *amagora* (heroes) only, D. 2. not confirmed **745**

isundu 1. the wild palm, *Phoenix reclinata* Jacq., whose leaves are used by the *abakhwetha* for making their kilts, D (X–Soga, –Sim). 2. *sintu* (X–Von Winkelman) **746**

ixonxo 1. nD. 2. head-dress of *abakhwetha* (X–Soga). (But verb *-xonxa* form in clay) **747**

izindwe (pl. of *isindwe*) 1. the two palm leaves stuck on either side of the head-dress worn by an *umkhwetha* when dancing, D X not Xes **748** (724)

umhlambi 1. the dress, made of palm leaves, worn round the waist by boys undergoing the rite of circumcision, D X (Bo–Cook 1931) (X–Schweiger). 2. girl's dancing skirt (Mp–UCT). 3. not Xes **749**

umwahlwa 1. nD. 2. head-ring worn by Thembu bride (T–W. Blohm corresp.) **750**

isibhalala rug or coloured blanket, D, general **751**

unontswintswintswi 1. nD. 2. loin-cloth of salempore, worn by men at first-fruits ceremony (Bh–Hammond-Tooke 1962) **752**

umsila tail of an animal; fig. messenger of a chief or of the court, D **753**

COSTUME AND INSIGNIA: DISCUSSION

'Costume', as distinct from 'clothing', is taken here to mean special garments worn by individuals or groups either because of their rank, or to distinguish them on special occasions. It does not include ornaments so used, unless these form part of the costume, as with the *abakhwetha*, though admittedly the distinction between costume and ornament is a little arbitrary (e.g. the crane-feather head-dress). Distinguishing ornaments are found under the appropriate section. Certain insignia, however, are included here because they too are indications of office.

CHIEFS

Chiefs were the only persons whose rank was indicated by their attire, yet they can scarcely be said to have had a special costume. They wore the same garments as other men, already described under clothing, but made of better materials, the cloaks notably being of leopard skin (Pl. 68: 3), the wearing of which was the royal prerogative. They wore in addition several distinguishing ornaments (p. 657 ff.). Today, although chiefs wear western-style dress, some retain a special skin cloak for certain occasions. For example, the Vundla chief in Quthing in 1961 wore a rabbit- and jackal-skin cloak over his ordinary western-style clothes, and an ostrich-feather head-dress, *isiduluka*, at a gathering where the people danced.

RECITER OF PRAISES

When a chief takes part in a ceremony he is accompanied by an official who recites his praises. For his duties this official will wear a skin cap and a cloak of many different skins (Pl. 92: 1, 2).

WARRIORS

The actual fighting dress of a Xhosa, Thembu or Bomvana man was his ordinary dress without his cloak. The sketches of Xhosa warriors of the Frontier Wars to about the middle of the nineteenth century show them as naked (Pl. 90: 1, 2) except, presumably, for the penis-sheath, but most of the authors state that they wore tied round the loins and hanging down at the back, the *isidabane*, a dressed skin of the oribi, or, according to a Thembu informant, the blesbok. All are agreed that the *isidabane* was worn by warriors for dancing, tied round the neck and hanging down behind, but in Bell's sketch of a war-dance, only a few dancers wear the *isidabane*, and those shown are of leopard skin (Pl. 89).

Ward, speaking of the 1840s, states that the Xhosa warriors wore their 'karosses', which may mean cloak or *isidabane*, and Bonatz says the same of the Thembu. Kropf, writing in the 1860s, states that they wore all manner of tails round waist and limbs, but there is no confirmation of this except Warner's note of an ox-tail worn just below the knee. Auld mentions a black mark on the forehead, put there by the doctor when doctoring the army for war.

The Fingo on the other hand wore a definite kilt of strips of monkey or wild-cat skin, made into tails, round the waist, and, sometimes for fighting and nearly always for dancing, round the neck as well (Pl. 90: 3). This relates back to their origin among the northern Nguni in Natal where such war dress is worn. They, too, sometimes wore the cape round the neck.

Mpondo and Hlubi warriors also wore a kilt, *umthika*, of strips of skin round waist and neck (Pl. 90: 4), and tufts of white ox-tail below the knee as well.

The most striking part of the Xhosa warriors' costume was the head-dress, *indwe,* of a pair of wings of the blue crane attached to a leather band (Fig. 20), which was sometimes decorated with beads or porcupine quills, and worn round the head so that the feathers stood up one above each ear and inclined slightly backward (Pl. 90: 1). These head-dresses were made by the same man who made the shields and sandals, and were the property of the chief, to whom all crane wings were given. When not in use, they were kept in a special hut at his homestead, with the shields, and given out before a battle, or on other specific occasions, only to those who had by their valour earned the distinction. Alberti stated that if such a man showed himself a coward in battle, he lost his life. According to Kropf and J. H. Soga the Xhosa army was divided in this way into two divisions, the distinguished veterans who formed the main body, wearing the wings, and others, 'the unhorned', who acted as scouts. According to Warner, the feather-wearers were the chief's bodyguard. Alberti, however, indicates that each man who wore the head-dress was a sort of company commander. The 'unhorned' wore ostrich and

PLATE 89

Warriors' dress at dance.

'War Dance', probably Xhosa; no locality, *c.* 1830, painting by Charles Bell (Elliott photograph, Cape Archives 4274).


War Dance.



Fig. 20. Crane-wing head-dress, *indwe*, Xhosa, 1827 (Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, PR77.L.14).

other feathers, or tails, especially of hartebeest or jackal, in a bunch on their heads. Bell's sketch shows all the men wearing crane feathers.

Distinguished Thembu warriors wore the crane feathers as well, and according to Smith they formed the vanguard, and the chief followed immediately behind. Other warriors wore ostrich feathers or animal tails on their heads.

The Fingo wore tails and feathers on their heads, and according to Baines' sketches (Pl. 90: 4) they too wore the crane feathers, but this is not confirmed, and could only have been adopted after they had settled among the Xhosa.

There is no specific mention of the Mpondo using this form of distinction, yet in Faku's praises, recorded by Fynn, there is the phrase 'You have crane feathers on your head'. This may have meant individual feathers, not the whole wing. Gardiner, who visited the Mpondo in 1834, refers to the principal warriors 'wearing plumes'. Modern Mpondo informants knew nothing of it.

It is of interest to note that a rock-painting copied by G. W. Stow from 'the banks of the Gxulube R.' depicts a man wearing the crane-wing head-dress. (There is a Xolobe River, a tributary of the Great Kei, which it joins just above Kei Drift, and which is probably the same.)

There is no information on the head-dress of warriors of the other tribes. Some modern Xesibe informants, however, knew the crane-wing head-dress, and stated that only one wing was worn; others said none at all.

Nowadays, of course, this aspect of life has disappeared, but at least until quite recently, men of the Xhosa still wore the *isidabane* for dances, and probably still do so in some places.

DOCTORS

The term 'diviner' is used here for *igqira* (Bhaca *isangoma*) instead of the misleading popular term 'witchdoctor'. Diviners are persons who have been initiated into a vocation to which they felt themselves called and who communicate with the ancestors. They are distinct from the medicine-man or herbalist, the *ixhwele* (Bhaca *inyanga*), who dispenses both protective and curative medicine but does not communicate with the ancestors nor undergo initiation, but rather an apprenticeship. One person may combine both professions. It is the diviner who wears a special costume—medicine-men may or may not do so as they feel inclined.

The dress of diviners described by early authors and until this century seems to have been the same throughout the Cape Nguni area, and consisted of a loin-dress or kilt, *umthika*, of monkey or cat tails or strips of skin, reaching to about the knees, and an indefinite number and variety, according to taste, of objects, including strips of skin, coils of entrails and horn or calabash medicine flasks, hung round the neck, wrapped round the arms and legs and tied to the hair, which was dressed in a wild style. The most characteristic item was an inflated gall-bladder or several of them attached usually to the hair (Pl. 92: 5). Backhouse and Kidd mention laymen of importance wearing gall-bladders, but this is unusual. Eastern Mpondo and Xesibe informants said that laymen of sufficient importance, when guests, might wear the gall-bladder of the goat that was slaughtered for their entertainment. Important diviners wore a high fur cap, *isidlokolo* (Pl. 91: 1–4), of baboon skin or, according to Backhouse, hyaena skin. Backhouse saw a diviner wearing a short skirt and short cloak of leopard skin in addition to the rest, but

this could have been a member of the royal family. (It is, however, confirmed by Makalima.) They carried a switch of tail-hair, *itshoba*.

Nowadays in the west the outfit is essentially the same, worn over a white loin-cloth or skirt and perhaps a blouse or T-shirt, with a white cloak if needed. White is the special colour of diviners and has a supernatural significance. Even when they are wearing ordinary dress they will usually wear something white as a mark of their calling. Many of the former ornamental items have been replaced by beadwork, nearly always white, but sometimes a little blue or red is added. Tails, gall-bladder and fur cap are worn by all practitioners, and below the cap there is usually a long fringe of white beads, hanging to the eyes or below, and other white beadwork (Pl. 91: 1–4). The cap is supposed to be of baboon skin, but according to one author may be made of goatskin. In addition, diviners in the west wear, hanging from the ears or round the neck, a bead fringe, *incebetha*, the same ornament as is worn by some women as a festive breast-cloth (Pl. 92: 2).

Among the Mpondomise, Mpondo, Bhaca and other eastern tribes, diviners are similarly dressed in white and wear the gall-bladders, baboon-skin cap and white beadwork. The Bhaca do not wear the loin-dress of tails, and their beadwork is entirely white. They have the gall-bladders attached to the white bead head-dress. Others may add a little blue, and some Mpondo women diviners seen in 1967 had their white skirts so covered with black and blue beads that the cloth was hardly visible.

Initiates into the profession wear white clothing during training sessions. A feather head-dress, *isala*, may be worn (Pl. 91: 5). Western Mpondo women initiates wear short unbraided skirts and white beads, and their head-cloths tied low over the forehead. Fingo initiates wear specially prepared goatskin thongs round the neck. According to Broster, Thembu initiates have a set series of head-dresses to mark each year of training.

INITIATION (see p. 820 ff.)

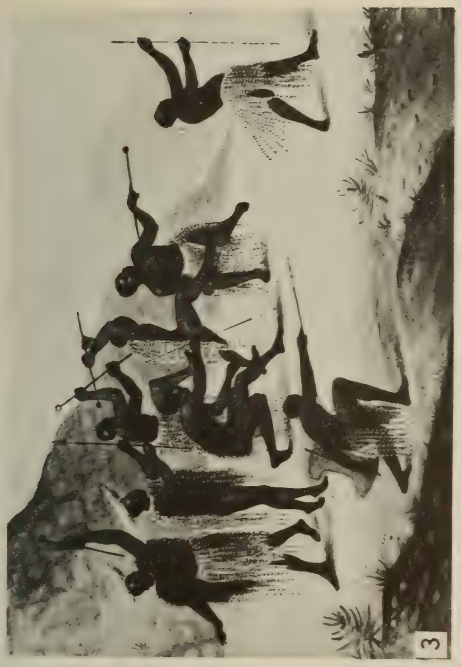
The rite of circumcision, and the period of seclusion for the boys, called *abakhwetha*, of which it forms part, were formerly general practice in this area. The earliest apparent record is that of Lavanha in 1593.

Initiation ceremonies are still performed regularly in some parts of the west of the territory. In others, however, they have been abandoned altogether or much

PLATE 90

Warriors' dress.

1. 'A Caffer man in his War Costume'; drawing attributed to Charles Bell, now in the Cape Archives, no data (print by Africana Museum, from negative presented by Prof. P. R. Kirby).
2. 'Amakosa Warrior'; no locality, *c.* 1850, drawing by J. W(alker) (AM 4443).
3. 'A Fingo War Dance'; painting by F. I'Ons, no locality, *c.* 1850 (AM 4436).
4. Part of painting entitled 'Col. Eyre's Division passing through the Camp of General Somerset with captured cattle driven by Butterworth Fingoes and Amapondo Kafirs, near Butterworth' by T. Baines; *c.* 1851 (AM 283) (see also Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981, pl. 46).



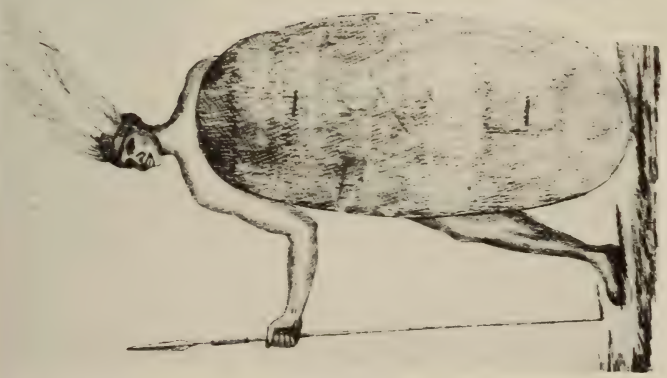
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reduced. The Mpondo abandoned them during the reign of Faku. This must have been after 1829 when Fynn visited the Ntusi clan. Some Xesibe still held the ceremonies up to 1948, but the practice has died out there. There is no record of the Bhaca ever having had initiation, but latterly some have adopted it from the neighbouring Hlubi. Boys from the age of 12 to 18 years were gathered together at a secluded place where a lodge was formed. They stayed there for about 3 to 6 months, and amongst other things they learnt there was a special dance that was performed in costume towards the end of the period, when the homesteads from which the initiates were drawn were visited. Von Winkelman states that the dance took place only at the end of the period as a final display, but according to later observers the dancing went on throughout the period, and this was confirmed by some modern informants, while some agreed with Von Winkelman. Others, and this seems to be the truth of the matter, stated that the dances had first to be learnt and were then performed daily for about the last month of the lodge.

During the period of their seclusion the boys are smeared all over with clay, *ingceke*, with the exception of their hair, which looks very black by contrast (Pl. 93: 1, 2). According to Alberti, Xhosa initiates wore white clay until healed, while according to Kropf they were smeared with ordinary mud until their wounds were healed, and thereafter with white clay. All other sources speak of white clay exclusively, and not only among the Xhosa, except that according to Fleming it was mixed with blood as well as water. For the dancing, spots and patterns in other colours are added to the white groundwork—latterly washing blue and even a cut beetroot were used (Pl. 94: 6). The styles vary from group to group and evidently the better the dancer, the fancier the patterns. According to Von Winkelman a plain coating of red ochre was used for the dance, but there is no other mention of this.

The orthodox outer garment for the period of seclusion, from the time of the earliest reports until now, has been a cloak of sheepskin, *igxaba* (Pl. 93: 1), but Thembu initiates seen in 1948 were wearing blankets (Pl. 93: 2), and blankets have replaced the sheepskin in most places. In some places the cloak was whitened as well as the body. Bomvana initiates were allowed no ornaments other than plaited sedge stems, and an *ubulunga* necklet, which latter was also worn by Thembu, but Fingo, Xhosa, and Thembu initiates wore all sorts of fantastic head-dresses and other ornaments at this time (Pl. 93: 3). Hlubi and Thembu initiates in the Herschel district were allowed to wear white beads round wrists and ankles. Among the

PLATE 91

Diviners' dress.

1. Fingo woman diviner; Peddie, *c.* 1950 (photo Mrs B. Jurgens).
2. Xhosa diviner; Peddie, *c.* 1950 (photo Mrs B. Jurgens).
3. *umnqwazi* (cap) and *ichantsi* (bead fringe), worn by doctor, Bhaca; Mt. Frere, 1948.
4. Cap and head-band, no scale, Mpondomise; Ntshiqo, Tsolo, 1945 (Alb. E503).
5. Feather head-dress worn by diviner initiates, Xesibe; Mt. Ayliff, 1944 (EL 2006). Height *c.* 250 mm.



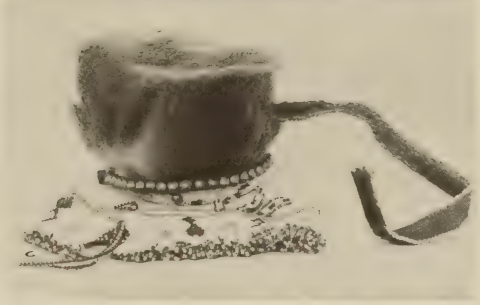
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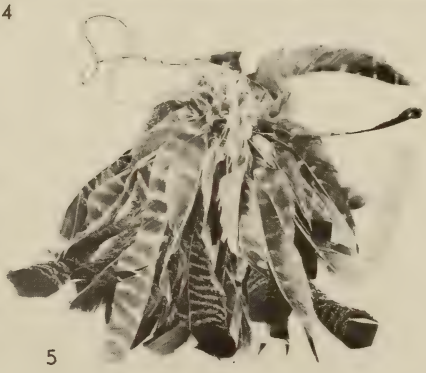
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Xhosa it seems to have been the fashion latterly to carry several black and white striped cloth bags (Pl. 93: 3) and have black and white cloth bands round wrists and ankles. Before entering the lodge, Hlubi boys in the Herschel district wore a head-ornament of dyed ostrich feathers, usually three if they could afford it.

The dancing costume, *umhlambi*, which has also not changed from that of the earliest records, is made of the leaf folioles of the wild date palm, *isundu* (*Phoenix reclinata*). The folioles are attached in bunches to a bark cord to make a thick fringe about 4,5 metres long. In 1593 this was described loosely as 'reeds fashioned like mats'. The folioles increase in length from about 12 cm at one end to about 45 cm at the other (Pl. 94: 1, 4). This fringe is wound round the waist, starting at the short end so as to make a short stiff kilt of four of five layers, which makes a clapping noise with the movements of the dance. The skirt is the same wherever initiation is practised. Some groups put together thinner strips of leaf to make a fringe, *isitsaba*, for the neck, and fringes for arms and legs. Others wear strips of the skin of sheep or goat (Fingo), white goat (Thembu) or other animals (Xhosa), or nowadays of gaily coloured cloths. All groups have a cylindrical head-dress, *isigcobo*, and a veil, *iphunga* or *ingcambane*, for the face. As part of the head-dress Xhosa, Fingo and Bomvana place two young unopened palm leaves, on the average about a metre long, one above each ear like the warriors' crane feathers (Fig. 20), which no doubt they represent, since they are called by the same name, *izindwe*. A stick is carried in the hand. The Fingo complete the costume with a necklace of large white clay beads (Pl. 94: 3) and the Bomvana with a whitened wooden imitation of the ivory arm-band. Bomvana costumes were made by specialists and paid for by the fathers of the boys. In other groups the boys or their fathers made their own.

This is the costume worn by Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, some Fingo, and Mpondomise. F. Brownlee in 1928 saw the Fingo initiates arrive for the dance wrapped in their sheepskins, which they then discarded, and dance naked but for some streamers of sheepskin at knees and elbows. Fynn, who visited the Mpondo in 1829, during the reign of Faku, described the dancing dress of initiates of the

PLATE 92

Special dress.

1. *umnweba, ingubo yenyamakazi* (diviner's kaross), made up of pelts of 13 different animals, 1 290 × 1 360 mm, Thembu; Cofimvaba, 1937 (FH, Hamilton-Welsh collection 617).
2. *imbongi* (reciter of praises) at installation of Xhosa Paramount Chief Zwelidumile Sigcau at Willowvale, 21 October 1960, with fur cap and cloak of pelts.
3. The Xhosa chief Kreli's brother Dema, and son Xotami, 1860–1875; photograph shows male dress, early use of blankets, and ivory bangle (*umxhaka*) worn by men of rank (photo W. H. I. Bleek, SAM).
4. *umthika wegqira* (diviner's rush skirt and maize-husk head-dress), for river rite, Xhosa; Ncera, Middledrift, 1960 (FH, Hamilton-Welsh collection 807).
5. Inflated bladders worn on the head by diviners, painting by F. I'Ons, 'Damo, a celebrated Fingo witch-doctor and rain-maker'; no locality, *c.* 1850 (AM 41/907).



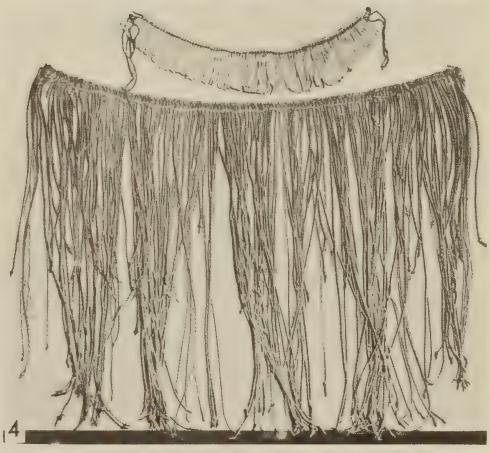
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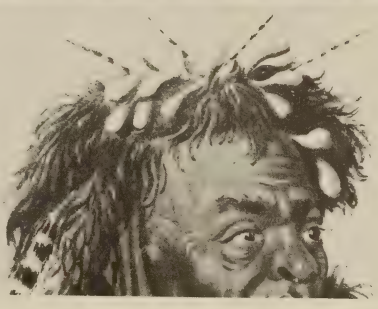
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Ntusi clan as being made of 'a kind of flaggy grass'. It is difficult to suggest what it was, other than a misidentification of palm-leaf fronds.

At the end of the period the initiates discard their dancing dress and sheepskin clothing, which, together with everything else connected with the lodge, are burnt in the huts in which they have lived. They wash off all traces of white clay, then grease and ochre their bodies, put on the penis-sheath, in areas where it is still worn, and return home to a feast at which they are given new clothing. In former times they were given a present of spears to show that they were now men of the tribe. According to a recent account, Xhosa and Fingo are now given a special black stick.

Girls' initiation is practised throughout these tribes, and is generally an individual affair. The principal herself is secluded for the whole period and does not wear any festive dress except her best clothing. The ritual dances that take place are performed by the women and the men of the neighbourhood, wearing their customary dancing dress.

Mpondo girls, for about a week after their period of seclusion, wore the long skirts of married women, their heads shaved and their head-cloths arranged over the face like a bride, before resuming the normal dress of unmarried girls.

Bhaca girls, similarly, emerged from seclusion wearing a married woman's skirt, but also a necklet of a twist of fat of the sacrificial goat, and its gall-bladder attached by a plaited rush cord. At the final ceremony they wore, attached to the arms in the same way, the gall-bladders of the cattle killed for the feast.

MARRIAGE

The dress of a Xhosa bride and her attendants in former days was a narrow apron of oribi skin in front, and a similar piece behind; they had ornaments round the waist, and a leather band round the head, with a hartebeest tail suspended from it at the back, hanging to the shoulders. They anointed the body with red ochre before dressing. For the greater part of the ceremony they were wrapped completely in their cloaks, and their heads and faces were covered with a softly dressed skin. By 1896 the latter had been replaced by a piece of black silk. According to MacDonald the chief's bride wore a leopard skin, but this is not confirmed.

It is probable that the same costume was worn by brides of all the Cape Nguni people, but there are no specific records of those other than the Xhosa.

Latterly, except where western dress is worn, bride and attendants in all the tribes, except some Xhosa, have worn a skirt of the ordinary pattern prevailing in

PLATE 93

Dress of *abakhwetha*.

1. *abakhwetha*, Thembu; no locality, 1848, painting by T. Baines entitled 'Tambookies after having been circumcised, white-washed' (AM 6330).
2. *umkhwetha*, Thembu; Engcobo, 1948.
3. *umkhwetha*, Transkei; *c.* 1954, no further data.



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the tribe, and ornaments round waist and neck and head, but no upper garment—even among the Mpondo. Xhosa brides should wear a short skirt of bushbuck skin, and their bridesmaids black handkerchiefs. Mpondo brides wear the long skirt and plenty of ornaments. Their bridesmaids wear the same. Hlubi brides wear a head-dress of feathers and a beadwork veil, and their long skin skirt is ornamented with white buttons. Bhaca brides wear skin clothing, and Xesibe brides wear a train of salempore cloth. They are covered from neck to feet with a blanket, and their heads and faces are veiled with a black silk head-cloth. When a Bhaca bride leaves for her husband's home she has the gall-bladder of a goat or sheep, killed for the ceremony, attached to her hair.

The Xhosa bridegroom wore the usual dancing dress, that is, a penis-sheath, ornamented with beads, and an oribi-skin dancing cape (*isidabane*), ornaments round neck, waist and wrists and in addition the leather head-band with hartebeest tail suspended from the back of the head. The bridegrooms of other tribes may have worn the same but there is no record.

Nowadays, bridegrooms wear their best, probably new, clothing, and a large number of ornaments, sometimes including a head-band of cowrie shells on leather. The old dress was seen as late as 1940 at a Xhosa wedding.

FESTIVE OCCASIONS

The principal festive occasions of the people of this area are the initiation of boys and girls, initiation as diviners, marriage, and, for the Bhaca only, the feast of the first fruits. Other tribes used to hold this latter feast, the Mpondo with dancing, the rest with ritual rather than festivity. The Bhaca now celebrate it in a modified form only. On such occasions there is a difference in the attire of the principal people concerned, the dancers and the ordinary guests. The latter simply wear their best clothes and ornaments (Pl. 96: 1), and it is worth noting that old styles of dress, such as the high beaded cap worn by women (Pls 69: 6; 70: 1), survived as festive wear long after they had gone out of ordinary use. According to Smith, Xhosa chiefs, attending wedding feasts in the early nineteenth century, wore the same dress as the bridegroom.

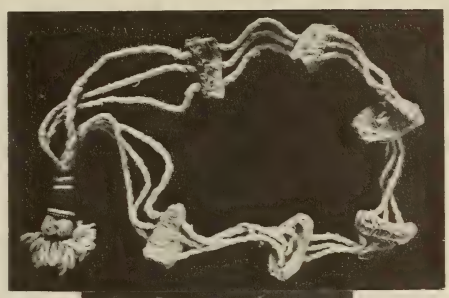
PLATE 94

Costume of *abakhwetha*; charm.

1. Short fronds at inside end of *abakhwetha* dancing skirt of palm leaf, Bomvana; Elliotdale, 1935 (TM 35/838).
2. *amakhubalo* (necklace of root sections worn by mother of baby), Thembu; Umtata, 1960.
3. Necklace of white clay beads worn by *abakhwetha*, Fingo; Trappes Valley, Bathurst, no date (Alb., no no.).
4. Long fronds at outside end of *abakhwetha* dancing skirt of palm leaf, Bomvana; Elliotdale, 1935 (TM 35/838).
5. *abakhwetha*, probably Hlubi; Mt. Frere, 1960 (photo C. L. L. Biden).
6. *abakhwetha* being painted for the dance, Bomvana; no locality, *c.* 1930 (photo A. M. Duggan-Cronin, MM).



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The dress of the principals has already been described, except that of the Bhaca chief at the first-fruits ceremonies. His costume throughout the ceremonies was, in addition to the penis-sheath, a blanket called *isibhalala*, which was discarded for certain parts of the ceremony. When he met the cattle after the cattle-race he wore an angora-goatskin loin-cloth with the long hair worn outside.

Those who took part in the dances that formed a part of these occasions, were the young men or formerly the warriors, girls and some of the married women. The men discarded their cloaks, and in the west they put on the *isidabane* cape. One early description of the Mpondo gave the same dress, another said the men were 'perfectly naked and painted', but generally men in the east wore the loin-dress and neck-piece of tails (Pl. 96: 4). The *isidabane* cape was seen up to the 1960s and may still be seen in some parts of the west, but, with local exceptions in the west, and universally in the east, men's dress for dancing is a loin-cloth. This is generally made of unbleached cotton sheeting, but the Bhaca used salempore cloth. Vundla men wore an *itshali*, a four-piece skirt, made of a type of sheeting called *umgadu*. Latterly leggings of angora goatskin, with the hair on, became fashionable in the west. A style seen in East Pondoland in 1948 was to have one corner of the loin-cloth taken loosely through the legs and pinned up in front (Pl. 86: 3). Bhaca men, when parading at the feast of the first fruits, wore a skin cap and bands of cloth or skin below the knees, in addition to the loin-cloth of salempore cloth, *unontswintswintswi*, and ornaments.

There is no early description of women's dancing dress but it was presumably their best garments minus the cloak. Norbury recorded, in 1877, that a bride's trousseau included a richly beaded cap, a leather belt studded with brass buttons and what was evidently a bead-fringe breast-cloth, and that these were for dancing. For the Mpondo feast of the first fruits, Bain described the women as wearing only a skirt, and this is how the Xhosa women are depicted in Bell's sketch of a war-dance (Pl. 89), though some have a breast-cloth as well.

Latterly, married women in the west wore a long skin skirt, cut fully (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981, pl. 43: 7; present paper, Pl. 105: 4) on the same pattern as their cloth skirts. Those, mostly older women, who owned one, wore a breast-cloth of long bead fringe, or of white unbleached cotton sheeting embroidered in black. A fancily tied black head-cloth was worn. Those who beat the oxhide for the *khwetha* dancing are said to have been veiled with a black cloth, so that the boys might not see their faces. There is no confirmation of this. Mpondo women do not wear special costume for dancing. The dancing dress worn by Bhaca women at the

PLATE 95

Festive dress.

1. Women dressed for feast of first fruits, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt. Frere, 1948.
2. Rear view of the same.
3. Dance, Mpondo; Tshonya, Lusikisiki, 1948.



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feast of the first fruits was the old-style skin costume, made new for each bride, of an apron and two skirts, with an enormous amount of ornament, including ostrich feathers stuck in their hair and ankle rattles of skin, and they carried whisks (Pl. 95: 1, 2).

Young girls in the west wear for dancing the heavy bead-fringe apron, with a short skirt, sometimes of white cloth, sometimes of a series of gay, coloured cloths, open in front to show the apron. Bhaca girls are similarly clad, but Eastern Mpondo wear a beaded loin-cloth. In the east a coloured handkerchief is worn round the breasts.

For a vivid account of a festive occasion see Wilmot 1856: 56–61.

INSIGNIA

Two items are mentioned in the literature as insignia of office—the elephant tail of the chief, and the leopard, lion or ox tail of the chief and his messengers.

According to most of the early authors a chief's kraal, hut, or homestead was to be distinguished by having beside it a high pole on which one or more elephant tails were suspended. This was recorded only for the Xhosa, others say it was by a lion or leopard tail on the roof. When an elephant was killed, the ears, the end of the trunk and the tail were taken to the chief, whose prerogative it was to receive them. Authors differ as to whether both ears and tail were suspended from the pole or whether it was only the tail, while the ears were buried with the trunk. The inference is that it was the tail only that was part of the royal insignia. The record is for the Xhosa, and according to one author 'the border tribes'. Moister's statement that the tail was carried before a Xhosa chief is not confirmed, and may well be a misunderstanding. At all events, by the middle of the nineteenth century the tails were seen less and less and eventually disappeared altogether, with the elephants.

The leopard or lion tail, *umsila*, was carried as a warrant by Xhosa and Mpondo chiefs' messengers. According to Alexander a jackal tail was used. Döhne, Ward and J. H. Soga, presumably speaking of later times or localities where supplies of lion and leopard had run out, state that ox tails were used and the Dictionary (1915) gives a white ox tail as an alternative, but leopard seems to have been the orthodox form. The uses specifically mentioned are: to distinguish the chief's hut, by hanging several tails on the roof, or placing a stick with a tail

PLATE 96

Dress for special occasions.

1. Khonjwayo woman at dance; near Ngqeleni, 1958.
2. Fingo (?) woman wearing beadwork (photo G. N. Tudhope of Hermon, 7 km east of Wepener, in *c.* 1876, SAM).
3. 'Caffer' (i.e. Xhosa) man with stick with leopard skin at top; near Fish River, *c.* 1777, Gordon collection (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).
4. Dancing dress, Mpondo; 1825–1829 (Kay 1833, frontispiece).



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drawn over it beside the door of the hut, and according to Smith and W. Shaw this was in addition to the elephant tail; to be carried by the messenger sent to another chief to declare war; to be drawn over a spear shaft and planted in the gateway of a cattle kraal to show that the chief had annexed all the cattle; or, in Pondoland, that the owner of the homestead or an accused person was summoned to the chief; or to be carried by the bearer of ordinary messages from the chief. According to Von Winkelman, the method of declaring war was to plant a stick in the enemy kraal and hang a skin on it—if the following morning the stick was knocked down the declaration was accepted. This may or may not be a reference to the leopard tail. In one of the Gordon drawings it is held by a man wearing a leopard-skin cloak; he may nevertheless have been a royal messenger (Pl. 96: 3).

The messengers were called *imisila* (tails) or *izigidimi*, and lived at the chief's homestead where the tails were kept. The Bomvana men might wear the tails instead of carrying them, and Döhne states that in a group of Xhosa messengers the one who actually carried the message wore the ox tail on his leg. In Pondoland it was said to be the messengers of the Paramount Chief only who carried the tails and it was a serious offence to resist them.

The importance of the insignia was recognized by the Cape Governor in the 1840s, when Sir Harry Smith presented Sandile with a brass-knobbed staff of office, an old practice of Government commenced by the Dutch East India Company for the Hottentots (Khoikhoi) and followed by the British. According to Ward, this staff was to be placed outside the chief's hut next to the cow's tail on a stick. Furthermore it was laid down that the Government would provide sticks to be carried by messengers from the British Commissioner in Kaffraria.

ORNAMENT

SOURCES

1554 Perestrello p. 157 North of Bashee R.*: red beads

'. . . d'entre todos hum só, de que os outros faziaõ mais conta, e era o que respondia a nossas perguntas, que elles taõ mal entendiaõ como nòs as suas; o qual posto que na pequena pompa, e pobre atavio de sua pessoa naõ tivesse differença de seos companheiros, por vir assim nu como elles; trazia de ventagem humas poucas de contas de sua laya, que saõ de barro vermelho, tamanhas como graõs de coentro, e assim redondas; as quaes folgàmos de ver, parecendonos que havia destas por ser perto de algũ rio onde viesse Navio de resgate; porque aquellas contas se fazem no Reyno de Cambaya; donde sómente pelas maõs dos nossos saõ trazidas aos lugares daquella Còsta.'

(p. 255. 'Among them was one of whom the rest seemed to make the most account, and he it was who answered our questions, which he understood as little as we did his, and though there was no pomp or dignity about his person, being

*Now thought to be Msikaba R. (Auret & Maggs 1982) (see p. 448).

naked like the rest, yet he was distinguished from them by wearing a few beads red in colour, round, and about the same size as coriander seeds [*c.* 3–5 mm], which we rejoiced to see, it seeming to us that these beads being in his possession proved that we were near some river frequented by trading vessels, for they are only made in the kingdom of Cambaya, and are brought by the hands of our people to this coast.')

1593 Lavanha (1597) p. 234 South of Umtata R.: chief's copper ornament

'Usaõ deste traje quasi todos os negros desta Cafraria, e os seos Reys e principaes trazem pendurada na orelha esquerda huma compainha de cobre sem badalo que elles fazem a seo modo.'

(p. 293. 'This dress is used by almost all the negroes of Kaffraria, and their kings and chiefs wear, hanging to the left ear, a copper ornament made after their own fashion.')

1687–8 'Centaurus' (Cape Archives) pp. 444, 447 Xhosa: ornaments

p. 444 Xhosa: arm-bands

'Gelijck de natalsche Hottentots het ijser soo konnen sij het metael tot armringen versmelten, en souden ook wel kennisse van enige mineraelen hebben.'

p. 447 Xhosa: copper and iron ornaments

'Komen dese Magosse de vreede met eenige van hunnen vijanden te breecken, en den oorlog anseggen, den buijt van ossen, die sij van den vijand rooven, werden onder de conincx, en andere grooten verdeeld, maar het cooper en ijser dragen sij, die het maar bekomt tot teecken van dapperheid.'

1752 Beutler pp. 298, 307, 309 Xhosa: ornaments

p. 298 Xhosa: chief's ornaments

'. . . om sijn hoofd waaren een meenigte strenge corallen op malkander gewonden en in de oore hingen hem eenige snoeren van verscheyde coleuren dog meest roode, die by haar meerder getrokken sijn als die van andere coleuren; om den hals droeg hy eenige coopere en ysere ringetjes op een riem aan malkander gereygt waaraan 2 yvoore plaatjes hingen, die tot suyveringe der oogen worden gebruykt en om de armen was hy rykelijk voorsien met copere en ysere ringen; hy hadde nog by hem verscheyde sakjes waarin de verdere rijkdom van corallen bewaard wierden.'

p. 307 Xhosa: cicatrization

'. . . sy smeeren hetselve sterk met vet, dog haare lighaam seer weynig, langs hetselve hebben se op een eevengelykiger afstand twee ryen vleesch knoopjes, op deselfde wyse gemaakt als die dewelke de Rio de Lagoa en Guineesche swarten meede op haare lighaamen hebben dog so hoog niet uytsteekende, deselve loopen van vooren over de schouderen op de rugge. . . .'

p. 307 Xhosa: men's ornaments

'. . . de mannen alleen dragen om den hals aan de armen en ook wel aan de voeten coopere en ysere ringen en aan de ooren coralen en ook wel in steede van dien een soort van gras die seer breed is, dog die veel corallen besitten vercieren ook wel de hals daar meede; haaren verderen rijkdom van corallen dragen se in

sakjes van leer geborgen aan de armen vast; om het lijf draagen se een band waaraan twee a drie riemtjes uyt beestevel gesneeden, tot onder de caros uythangen, de schutters onder haar dragen so wel als de Hottentotten meede aan de armen het vel dat om de oogen legt der grote dieren die se dood steeken, dog van de andere dieren van mindere soorten die se schieten dragen se allen een klaauw met het vel daar aan boven op den arm, ook hegten se wel in haare hairen de pluymen of de pooten dan wel het geheel vel van die vogelen die se needer vellen, en hoe meerder iemand van die teykenen om het lijf draagt, ook hooger soo een onder hun word geagt.'

p. 307 Xhosa: arm-bands

Nothing more.

p. 309 Xhosa: men's ornaments

'. . . terwijl se haare vrouwen niet veel beeter als voor slavinnen houden, alle haare cieraden so van corallen als van andere snuysteryen voor sig alleen houdende, sonder iets daar van in het minste aan haare wyven te geeven, daar de Hottentotten inteegendeel die sullen spaaren om haare vrouwen daarmede te vercieren.'

1772–6 Sparrman (1785) **2** p.8 Gonaqua, Xhosa: beads; Xhosa: ivory arm-rings

'With respect to beads, which, speaking of in a general way, they call *sintela*, the small red ones are much more coveted than the rest; these are called *lenkitenka*, ... The genuine Caffres had, in this point, exactly the same taste; but many of them had got ivory rings, of the thickness and breadth of about half an inch, and of such a size as to be strung upon the arms above the elbows. These, however, are worn only by the men; for which reason a Caffre, who had sold me his bracelets, seemed extremely distressed, saying, that he was now naked about the arms like a woman.'

1776 Swellengrebel p. 12 Xhosa: head and other ornaments

'Sommige hadden een ris couris om het hoofd, andere pluymen en quasten van beestestaarten, veele doppen van tonteldoozen en kopere plaatjes in 't oor, op 't hoofd, om den hals of in de nek hangen. Eenige hadden agter op de caros het schild van kleyne schildpadden. Sommige hadden een kopere knoop zitten op 't velletje, 't geen zij over hun schagt hadden getrokken.'

1776 Hallema (1932) pp. 133, 134 Xhosa: ornaments

p. 133 Xhosa: girdle, head-band, leg-bands, arm-bands, necklets, ear-rings

'Onder den buik droegen zij eene bandolier van verscheidene snoeren koralen . . . om het hoofd een ris couris, vele pluimen en kwasten, gemaakt van 't haar der springbokken; in de ooren de doppen van tondeldozen; om den hals eenige snoeren koralen; voorts eene menigte kopere plaatjes zoo in 't haar, in de ooren, om de hals, als in de nek hangen; om de beenen even boven de voet een band gemaakt van eene pees van eenig beest, van onderen fijn gesneden en gepluisd als franje.

De vrouwen . . . om de beenen een band even als de mans.

Mans en vrouwen om de armen kopere of olifants tanden ringen.

Zij schijnen sich met alles wat zij krijgen kunnen en op allerlei manieren op te schikken, doch het meeste houden zij van geel koper en roode kleine koralen.'

p. 134 Xhosa: beads, copper chest ornament

'Ieder dezer Capiteins werdt gelyk aan Jeramba was geschied, beschonken met eene strengen koralen en Oorbelletjes, alsmede eene kopere halve maan, waaraan eene ster hing.'

1776–7 Gordon (1776–95) Xhosa: ornaments, chest ornament

Figures by J. Schumacher.

1777–9 Paterson (1789) p. 93 Xhosa: ornaments

'The colour of the Caffres is a jet black, their teeth white as ivory, and their eyes large. The cloathing of both sexes is nearly the same, consisting entirely of the hides of oxen, which are as pliant as cloth. The men wear tails of different animals tied round their thighs, pieces of brass in their hair, and large ivory rings on their arms; they are also adorned with the hair of Lions, and feathers fastened on their heads, with many other fantastical ornaments.'

1778 Van Plettenberg p. 48 Xhosa: ivory arm-bands, copper breast-plate, red beads

'. . . hunne vercierselen zijn, by de mannen ringen van elephants tanden ter dikte van een vinger, die zommige tot ses toe om den linker arm boven de elleboog dragen, copere ringen onder de onder arm, copere plaatjes voor de borst en in 't hoofd hair gebonden, en coralen, voornamentlijk roode om de hals en copere en andere gecoleurde om 't middellijf. . . .'

1782 Dalrymple (1785) appendix p. 13 Tshomane: chief's ornaments

'. . . chiefs (as he afterwards knew them to be, by beads about their necks, brass rings about their wrists, *pieces* of copper in their hair, large white and blue glass beads about their waists, and ivory rings about their arms).'

1782 Hubberly pp. 72, 82 Mpondo: head ornament; Tshomane: chief's ornaments

Nothing more.

1788 Von Winkelman (1788–9) pp. 65–69, 86 Xhosa: ornaments

p. 65 Xhosa: head ornaments, leg-band

'Diese Zierde haben beide Geschlechter mit einander gemein. Die Männer schmükken so dann ihre Haare theils mit weissen oder rothen Korallen, theils mit Stückgen Messing oder Kupfer, oder auch mit Metallenen Knöpfen und dergleichen, die sie an die Trottelgen hinten, an den seiten und vornen am Kopf befestigen. Sie binden auch runde Plättgen von Messing, so viel sie deren besitzen, an eine lederne Schnur oder Sehne, die entweder über die, vornen in die Stirne hängende Haare wie ein Band—oder auch über die blosse Stirne nach hinten zugeht, und dort befestigt ist. Auch stückchen Elfenbein und alles was ihrer Eitelkeit schmeichelt dient ihnen zur Zierde ihrer Haare. Einst sah ich eine Frau, die ihre Haare auf eine sonderbare Art geschmükt hatte. An ettlichen Trottelgen

grade über der Stirne hatte sie eine alte verrostete stählerne Uhrkette, an welcher noch ein halber Messingerner Uhrschlüssel hieng, über die Nase abwärts hängen, die denn bei jeder Bewegung des Kopfs ihre Nase und den Mund nicht sanft berührte. Neben dieser Kette hiengen noch andere Zierrathen abwärts ins Gesicht. Ich fragte sie durch meinen Dollmetscher, ob ihr das so wohl gefalle und ob das ein zeichen ihrer Schönhet sei? worauf ich mit der Mine—der festesten überzeugung zur antwort erhielt: Aeoae (Ja!) Eine vorzügliche Liebelings Zierde der Männer ist die, dass sie vornen über die Haaren—grade über der Stirne, das schwarzbraune Ende eines Löwenschwanzes mittelst einer Schnur binden. Der gröste Busch steht in der Mitte, und die kleinern darueber. Diese gehört unter die vorzüglichsten Triumpfszeichen der Nation, so wie der übrige Theil des falben Löwenschwanzes, den sie vornen unter das linke Knie binden, dass er das Schienbein bedecht. Beides sind Beweise ihrer Tapferkeit, und scheint ihnen unter den übrigen einen gewissen Vorzug zu geben. Mann findet viele Kaffern, welche dergleiche Ehrenzeichen 4–6 um den Kopf und so auch mehrere übereinander unter dem Knie hängen haben. Da es nun aber nicht jedem glückt, Löwen zu erlegen, und sich denn doch damit Ruhm und Eitelkeit verbinden, so machen sie auch öfters um den Kopf die Spitzen von Goldfüchs—oder Jakhals und anderen Schwänzen und hängen denn vor das linke Knie die haarigten Riemen eines weissen Ochsen- oder Kühschwanzes.'

p. 66 Xhosa, Thembu: ornaments

'*Andrer Zierrath*. Die Ohren beiderlei Geschlechter sind wie der Hals mit Korallen geschmükt, sie haben daher fast allgemein Löchergen in den Ohren. Sie nehmen daher auch alles an was man ihnen zu dieser absicht in die Ohren und an den Hals hängen will. Ausser Korallen—als der gewöhnlichsten Zierde tragen auch viele vom männlichen Geschlechts eine Art von 2–3 Zoll langen, dikken, roth, oder gelb kupfernen Nadeln, mit einen Nadelnknopf welche Gewohnheit sich vorzüglich von der nordlicher wohnenden Nation der Tambucki herschreiben soll, welche diese Nadeln sehr geschikt mit Steinen aus ihrem Kupfer schmieden. Die Spize ist dann gegen den Knopf aufwärts gekrümt, und zwar so, dass bei dieser Krümming in der Mitte eine Art eines wirklichen Ringes entsteht, an welchem sie so denn in den Ohren hängen. Den Hals zieren sie mit Korallen, Knöpfen, Ringen, Slüsselgen, alten Stükgen Eisen, und einem rothem riechenden Holz, das wegen vermeinter Wunderkraft gegen die Zauberei von ihnen vor heilig und kostbar gehalten wird. Meist tragen sie ihre Zierathen so tief, dass sie ihnen biss auf die Herzgrube herniederhängen'

p. 67 Xhosa: red necklace, white beads

'Sie haben noch eine Art kleiner rother Glaskorallen, die van innen gefärbt sind, und die nicht häufig unter ihnen gefunden werden. Sie versicherten mich dass diese Gattung besonders geschäzt wäre, und den grösten werth unter allen besize, so dass eine einzelne Schnur schon eine gut bemittelte Persohn bezeichne. Die meinigen von gleicher Art verachteteten sie aus vorgefassten Meinungen, so sehr ich ihnen auch ihre Gleichheit begreiflich zu machen suchte. Als ich 9 lange Schnüren solcher Korallen, am Hals der Mutter des Königs bemerkte, sprach ich

sie darum an, indem ich ihr eine Entschädigung dagegen zusicherte; sie war so gleich bereit, sie mir zu geben, wenn ich ihr nur eben zo viele weisse Korallen dagegen mittheilen wollte; hieraus konnte ich also schliessen, dass der werth derselben gleichwohl nicht so allgemein seijn müsse. Ubrigens hängen sie auch noch an die Korallenschnüre, mehrere Löwen und Tigerzähne, auch die Nägel ihrer Tazzen, wenn sie dergleichen Thiere erlegen oder die Felle von Bauern erhandeln.'

p. 68 Xhosa: arm ornaments

'Ausser einigen Schnüren Korallen oder etlichen Ringen von dikken Messingdrath über den Knöcheln der rechten Hand fand ich bei keinem eine weitere Zierde, um den rechten Arm durch nichts zu beschweren.'

p. 68 Xhosa: leg-band

'Unmittelbar unter dem rechten Knie tragen viele, beinahe die meisten einige Schnüre von Korallen auch andere Zierrathen.'

p. 68 Xhosa: ivory arm-bands

'Über dem linken Ellenbogen findet man bei vielen vorzüglich bei Reichen und Vornehmen 2–5 grosse, gut gearbeitete elphenbeinerne Ringe, deren Peripherie gewöhnlich 1 zoll dick und $\frac{1}{2}$ zoll breit ist. Die dicke des Arms bestimt die weite dieser Ringe die dann über dem Ellenbogen auf einander liegen. Bei ihren Tänzen entsteht durch die Bewegung ihrer Arme ein klappern dieser Ringe, welches Harmonie für ihre Ohren ist. Die Kaffern verfertigen diese Ringe mit vieler Mühe, und können dazu nur die diksten Elephantenzähne gebrauchen. Eben diese daran verwendete Mühe, und die Beschwertigkeit immer die grösten Zähne zu bekommen erhöhen eben darum ihren Werth, daher forderten sie auch von mir für 2 solcher Ringe so viele Güter, als sie gewöhnlich für ein Stück Vieh erhalten.'

p. 68 Xhosa: arm ornaments

'Sonsten tragen sie auch zu Zeiten am linken Arm kleine Riemchen, getrocknete Neze von wilden Thieren, wie die Hottentottischen Jäger, welche glauben dass sie als denn viel Glück auf der Jagd haben würden. Ferner tragen sie auch noch (jedoch richtet sich dieses immer auch nach ihren Vermögens umständen) messingene und roth kupferne Ringe; auch Korallen oder Knöpfe um die Knöchel ihrer Füsse. Die Finger zieren sie nicht, ausser man stekte ihnen allerhand schlechte Ringe daran; womit ich selbst verschiedene ihrer Fürsten oder Kapitains beschenkte. Auch schmükken sie die Knöchel ihrer linken Hand mit dergleichen Zierathen.'

p. 69 Xhosa: arm and leg ornaments

'An ihren Armen, die auf diese Art ganz frei sind, tragen sie grössentheils vornen an den Knöcheln Ringe oder Korallen. Die Knöchel der Füsse sind gewöhnlich auch mit dergleichen Dingen geschmückt. Den rechten Fuss sah ich bei verschiedenen Mädchen 4–6 zoll hoch vom Knöchel aufwärts so dicht mit weissen Korallen umwikkelt, dass sie wie eine Stieflette daran anlagen.'

p. 86 Xhosa: ivory arm-bands

'Ihren elphenbeinernen Ringen, bei denen ihnen die Natur schon vorgearbeitet hat, geben sie die gehörige Weite, Dicke und Politur mittelst ihrer als Sägen

geformter Assogaïs und mit Steinen. Sie reiben und schleifen sie so lange, bis sie ihre Absicht ganz entsprechen.'

1796 Stout (*c.* 1810) p. 18 Thembu: ornament

'In a short time they perceived the caffers advancing. Most of them had assegays in their hands; others furnished with clubs; some were decorated with ostrich feathers, and their chief wearing a leopard skin.'

1797 Barrow (1806) pp. 126–128, 151, 161, 169 Xhosa: chiefs' and other ornaments

p. 126 Xhosa: chiefs' head-band

'In their dress they had nothing particular to distinguish them from those they commanded, except a slender brass chain which hung suspended on the left side, from a wreath of small polished copper beads that encircled the upper part of the head.'

p. 126 Xhosa: chiefs' ornaments

'Broad rings of ivory, cut out of the solid tusk of the elephant, were worn upon the left arm, above the elbow. Bracelets of copper and of iron surrounded their wrists, and rings of those metals were also worn on the legs above the ankles.'

p. 127 Xhosa: ornaments

' . . . Glass beads surrounded their necks; and many of the men had porcupine quills stuck through the ear. . . . Each [woman] seemed to have decorated their dress, without any fixed order, as caprice had suggested, or as their circumstances would allow. Small beads of copper, rings of iron, brass buttons, old knee-buckles, or whatsoever metallic material had fallen into their hands, found a place on some part of their dress. Some had a brass button stuck in one ear, and in the other a string of glass beads or shell. They had no change of habit, but each carried her whole wardrobe about her person. Some had not fewer than fifty different strings of necklaces about the neck; a number of rings round their legs and arms of copper and iron; and on their calf-skin cloaks were stitched several rows, from top to bottom, of old buttons, as various in shape, size and fashion, as a button-maker's card. Some had festoons of small cypraea shells round their caps; others had them made into bracelets and necklaces.'

p. 128 Xhosa: ornaments

'The young boys were perfectly naked; and the only ornament about them was a small tuft of the long white hair from the rump of the springbok, which was stuck upon the crown of the head.'

p. 151 Xhosa: chief's ornament

' . . . Like the chiefs in the colony, he wore a brass chain suspended, on the left side, from a wreath of copper beads that encircled his head. . . . '

p. 161 Xhosa: metal beads

'Every man is his own artist . . . he will finish a spear, or a chain, or a metallic bead that would not disgrace the town of Birmingham.'

p. 169 Xhosa: cicatrization

'In Kafferland it has passed into a general fashion. Every woman has a tatooed skin; and their ingenuity in this way is chiefly exercised between the breasts and on the arms.'

1797 Anon. pp. 283–284 'Caffre': ornaments

p. 283 'Caffre': brass collar of office

(During July some 'Caffres' came to visit Genadendal on their way to Cape Town.) 'One of them being a captain, was distinguished by his dress, and wore a brass collar round his neck, upon which the name and arms of the company were engraved.'

p. 284 'Caffre': ornaments, cicatrization

'They dress very gaudily, decorating themselves with beads, and their arms and fingers with brass rings. Their bodies are marked with all manner of figures by scarification.'

1796–1801 Renshaw (1804) pp. 18, 19 Xhosa: beads, arm-ring

p. 18 Xhosa: beads

Nothing more.

p. 19 Xhosa: ivory arm-ring

'The prince was distinguished by an ivory ring round the upper part of his arm. This dignity is not hereditary among them, but must be acquired by feats of courage and activity; a prince must have killed a lion, a bear and a Bosjesman, ... '

1800 Van der Kemp (1804) pp. 439–441 Xhosa: ornaments

p. 439 Xhosa: head-band, ear ornaments

'Their heads are always uncovered, but ornamented either with a chain of hemispherical brass, or copper grains, of about one quarter of an inch diameter, in the form of a diadem, or with a ribbon of an inch broad, composed of small beads of two or three different colours, put close together. Sometimes they wear both these diadems, the one above the other; from their ears they suspend a little chain of beads, sometimes three or four inches long, or two or three buttons, or a metal wire, contorted in diverse manners, etc.'

p. 439 Xhosa: ivory arm-ring

'Round their left arm they put several rings of ivory (from two to ten) above the elbow. On some, who have worn these rings from their youth, they are so tight that they cannot get them off, and I have several times been obliged to file them through to deliver them from the horrid swelling and inflammation which was produced by the pressure; commonly these rings are three-fourths of an inch broad, and five of them are sold for a cow. They are an ornament peculiar to the subjects of Gika.'

pp. 439–440 Xhosa: ornaments

'On the right arm just above the elbow they tie five or six teeth of a tiger standing upright, and pointing backwards.

On the crown of the head stands a bunch of jackall's hair, fastened into a

handle of brass. Round the wrist of both the arms rings of various metal are bent; they are thin, and being flexible can be taken off and put on at pleasure.

Their loins are encircled by a single string of iron or copper beads, which are cylindrical, about one third of an inch thick, and one-eighth high. They are very fond of many strings of beads, or metal chains, hanging round their necks, the lowest of which hang down to the stomach.'

p. 440 Xhosa: leg-band

'Round the left leg, just below the knee, they tie a fillet, from which a piece of an ox-tail of about a foot long is suspended in front. Their right leg is sometimes adorned with a kind of garter, composed of very small yellow glass beads, which give it the appearance of gold lace.'

p. 440 Xhosa: rings

'Both sexes wear rings of metal on their fingers and great toes, ... '

p. 441 Xhosa: cicatrization

'Men and women, especially the latter, adorn their arms, backs, and breasts with cicatrices of the size of grains of wheat, placed in regular rows, which are commonly double, triple, and sometimes quadruple. These cicatrices are formed by thrusting a pointed iron through the skin and pulling it forcibly up so as to remain prominent above the surface of the body and to form a kind of basso relievo work.'

1803 Howen Three paintings Xhosa: head-bands

Figures.

1803 Janssens pp. 138, 142–143, 169 Xhosa: copper and other ornaments.

p. 138 Xhosa: copper badge of office

'Heeden arriveerde een zendeling van de Caffercapitein Jalouze met een kopere plaat, waarop het Engelsche wapen, gelijk aan die welke de Hottentotsche capitein Claas Stuurman om had, maar iets kleynder. . . .'

p. 142 Xhosa: arm-rings

Nothing more.

pp. 142–143 Xhosa: girdle

'Om zyne lendenen twee snoeren kleyne ronde koopere oogen van kopere plaaten, in kleine ruitjes gesneeden en dat in 't formaat van kraalen opgerold;'

p. 143 Xhosa: head-band

'. . . om zijn hoofd had hy een krans van byna een duim breed, gemaakt van proper in punten uytgecampaande blaauwe en witte kleine coraalen, op verscheide draaden gereegen en tegens elkaar vastgehegt; boven op zijn hoofd een overeindstaande vlok paarde of bokke haar met een leerdere riemtje, waaraan verscheide kopere knoopen vastgemaakt, en aan zijn regterbeen onder die knie een krans kopere opgerolde coraalen.'

p. 143 Xhosa: copper badge of office

'Voor de borst had hy een aan coraalen hangende ronde kopere gedreeven plaat daar het bovenste gedeelte van het wapen van den Engelschen generaal

Dundas op staat, hetwelk hy van den landdrost Maynier, beneevens de naam van Andrec Zwartboy bekomen had.'

p. 169 Xhosa: chief's necklace

'De kleedingen, zo van deeze vrouw als van den koning verschilde in niets van de overige Caffers, alleenlijk had Gaicka eenige lange snoeren fyne witte coraalen om hangen, welke by uitsluiting het optooysel en teken van opperchef of koning zijn.'

1803 Paravicini di Capelli pp. 71, 81, 82, 102, 132 Xhosa: ornaments, badge of office

p. 71 Xhosa: copper badge of office

Nothing more.

p. 81 Gqunukhwebe: ornaments

'Hy [Nacabanée] had agt zeer schoone yvoore ringen (uyt een stuk ieder) boven den elboog van de linke arm. Aan de rechter had hy boven de hand een kopere ring en een anderen boven de elboog. Om zyne lendenen twee snoeren kleine kopere oogen van kopere platen in klein regeltjes gesneden en dan in 't formaat van kralen opgerold.'

p. 82 Xhosa: ornaments, badge of office

Nothing more.

p. 102 Xhosa: copper and beads

'Wy ruilde eenige van hunne hassagayen, tegens kopere platen en coralen, waar zy zeer verzot op zyn. . . .'

p. 132 Xhosa: ornaments

'Roodkoper is by hun een schat; zy snyden dit in smalle reepjes die in het formaat van koralen worden opgerold, en aan pezen geregen om het lyf, armen en beenen worden gedragen; op het hoofd hebben zy gemeenlyk een kransje koralen uyt de schel van struyseyeren zeer kunstig gesneden, en midden op de kruyn plaatzen zy de staart van een jakhals of ander wild gedierte hetwelk zy machtig kunnen worden. De linke arm is gewoonlyk versierd met ses of agt yvoire ringen ter dikte van ongeveer een duim, uyt de tand van een olyphant gesneden.'

1802–6 Alberti (1810*a*) pp. 32, 60–62, 145–146, 155, 157, 174, 202 Xhosa: ornaments

p. 32 Xhosa: red beads, copper

'Roode Glaskoralen behagen hun bovenal, en koper, minder echter het geele, heeft hen de waarde van goud.'

p. 60 Xhosa: ivory arm-band

'Een der voornaamsten bestaat bij de Mannen in Ringen van Olifantstanden, waarvan zij er dikwerf 9 of 10 aan den linker Bovenarm dragen. Terwijl nu alle die Tanden, welken men slechts kan bekomen, aan het Opperhoofd der Horde in eigendom behooren, dan is ook het bezit van dergelijke ringen een louter gunstbewijs; mogende dezelve in den eigenlijken zin, buiten toestemming des gevers, nimmer vervreemd worden. Nu en dan wordt ook de Bovenarm met eenen Riem omgeven, waaraan de tanden van eenen Tijger of een wild Zwijn geregen hangen.'

p. 61 Xhosa: leg-band, girdle

'Nog algemeener is de dragt, aan het eene of andere Scheenbeen, van den Staart eens Os of Elands,' (His note: 'Corrig. Antilopenaarts') '(dien men aan de Kaap Hertenbeest noemt,) en die onder de knie wordt vast gebonden. Even zoo dragen sommige Mannen eene reeks van koperen of ijzeren kleine Ringen, waarvan reeds meermalen gewaagd is, om het onderlijf, waarvan zeker bepaald getal de waarde van een Rund of iets anders bedraagt, en waardoor alzoo het gemis van geld vergoed wordt.'

p. 62 Xhosa: cicatrization

'Alle Kafferinnen vertoonen op den rug, aan de armen en tusschen de borsten, een aantal rechtststandige evenwijdige Naden, die zij als eene bijzondere verfraaijing des ligchaams aanmerken, en daardoor ontstaan, dat een Priem, van 2 tot 3 Lijnen lang, onder de Bovenhuid doorgestoken, en dat gedeelte der huid alzoo op den priem zelf doorsneden wordt.'

p. 62 Xhosa: ear-rings

'. . . en die tamelijk wijd doorgestoken ooren met snoeren van Glaskoralen van de kleinsten soort versierd, waaraan dikwerf nog al grootere hangen. Bij de geringere klasse wordt al dit sieraad dikwerf alleen door eenen geruiten en zamengeknoopten Riem vervangen.'

p. 145, 146 Xhosa: buttons

Nothing more.

p.155 Xhosa: arm-band

'Hij, die eenig Wild doodt, neemt eenen Klaauw, met een gedeelte der huid van het Been afgehakt, en maakt dien om zijnen linker Arm van onderen vast, om dus te toonen, hoe vele dieren hij geveld hebbe.'

p. 157 Xhosa: ivory arm-band

'De Olifanten-jagt is de moeijelijkste van alle. Slechts zelden wordt een Olifant door den Kaffer geveld, en van daar blijft de waarde der Ringen, van deszelfs tanden vervaardigd, onveranderlijk dezelfde.'

p. 174 Xhosa: arm-ring

'. . . de Kraanveders tot teekenen van onderscheiding in den krijg, waarvan nog nader zal worden gesproken, en de Olifantstanden, zoo als reeds gemeld is, tot Armringen, die al mede aan Gunstelingen vereerd worden.'

(His note:) 'Bij het dragen dezer Ringen schijnt nu en dan, en dus niet altijd, zeker bijgeloof plaats te hebben, welks oorzaak ik nimmer heb kunnen ontdekken. Sommige Kaffers verruilen die gaarne; andere weigeren zulks stellig. Op zekeren tijd ontmoette ik eenen Kaffer, wiens ringen, bij eene toenemende vetheid, te naauw waren geworden, met eene zeer gevaarlijke zwelling en ontsteking aan den arm, waardoor hij onuitsprekelijke pijn leed. Zijn toestand was zoodanig, dat ik voor het koud vuur en voor zijn leven vreesde. Hij, echter, durfde het niet wagen, het eenige middel van redding, de doorvijling der ringen, te bezigen, te meer, omdat het Opperhoofd zelf, zoo als men verzekerde, de vrijheid daartoe niet konde geven, zonder de oorzaak zelve naauwkeuriglijk te kennen. Al wie zoodanige ringen, als geschenk ontvangen, in welk geval ook, opzettelijk durft ver-

breken, heeft het verlies van alle zijne goederen, tot den dood zelfs, te vreezen. Vindt men die na het gevecht bij eenen Gesneuvelden, worden zij zorgvuldiglijk bewaard en bij den vrede aan deszelfs Opperhoofd te rug gezonden.'

p. 202 Xhosa: mourning ornament

'Bovendien neemt de Weduwenaar eenige hairen uit den staart van eenen Os, reigt aan dezelve eenige koperen kleene Ringen, en draagt dit snoer om den hals, totdat de hairen vergaan.'

(See also Alberti 1810*b* (English edition): 33, 35, 75, 76, 83–84, 95.)

1802–3 De Mist (1835) p. 115 Xhosa: ornaments

'De mannen . . . dragen wel eens om den linkerarm een lederen riem, waar aan tanden van den tijger of het wild zwijn zijn aangeregen. Eenige hebben de staart eener antilope van eenen lederen band voor het hoofd, of zij versieren het voorste deel van het been, met de pluim die aan het einde van de staart der koe is.'

1803–6 Lichtenstein (1811) pp. 407, 451–455, 477 Xhosa: 'tattoo', ornaments

p. 407 Xhosa: 'tattoo'

'Nur wenige *Koossa* findet man tattowirt, aber bei den fernern Kafferstämmen kommt diese Sitte ziemlich häufig vor.'

p. 451 Xhosa: buttons

'Die Mäntel der Frauen sind gewöhnlich mit mehrern Parallel-Reihen kupferner Knöpfe besetzt, deren grössere oder geringere Zahl auf den Rang oder Reichthum der Besitzerin schliessen lässt. Sie lieben solche Knöpfe ungemein, und wer dergleichen an seinen Kleidern trägt, wenn er die Kaffern besucht, ist kaum im Stande sich ihrer zudringlichen Bitten zu erwehren. Doch müssen sie vollkommen glatt sein, denn solche, auf denen erhabene Figuren befindlich sind nennen sie räudig.'

p. 452 Xhosa: head-band

Nothing more.

p. 453 Xhosa: head-dress

Nothing more.

pp. 453–454 Xhosa: necklaces

'Um den Hals tragen sie Schnüre von mancherlei Art und kleine metallene Ketten. Kleine rothe Steinchen, Seemuscheln oder Glaskorallen, auch Stückchen von wohlriechendem Holz werden auf Schnüre gezogen und um den Hals gehängt, so dass sie bis an die Brust herabhangen. Glaskorallen lieben sie besonders; doch herrscht darin bei ihnen auch die Mode und nicht zu allen Zeiten sind dieselben Farben und Sorten bei ihnen beliebt—Besonders hoch schatzten sie zu dieser Zeit eine kleine Art von Korallen, die sie von dem Stamme der *Imbo* bekommen und die einen solchen Werth haben, dass sie für zwei kleine Stränge eine Kuh und ein Kalb bezahlten. Sie wollen wissen, dass diese Korallen, gleich Würmern aus der Erde kriechen und von den *Imbos* mit Hassagayen abgemäht werden. Nach van der Kemps Beschreibung sind es aber wirkliche Glaskorallen oder Paternoster-

kügelchen, die von den Portugiesen in jene nördlichere Gegend eingeführt sein mögen und von dort hierhergekommen sind.'

p. 454 Xhosa: ear-rings, ivory arm-bands

Nothing more.

p. 454 Xhosa: arm-bands

'Am rechten Arm, gleich über dem Ellenbogen, wird oft ein Riemen befestigt, auf welchem fünf bis sechs Tigerzähne sitzen, alle mit den Spitzen aufrecht und nach aussen gekehrt; an dem Unterarm, nach dem Handgelenke hin, mehrere kupferne und eiserne dünne Armbänder oder Ringe, die an einer Stelle durchbrochen sind und durch Beugen geöffnet und geschlossen werden können.'

pp. 454–455 Xhosa: girdle

'Um die Hüften tragen die Männer schmale lederne Gürtel, so dicht mit Knöpfen oder eisernen und kupfernen Plättchen besetzt, dass man von dem Leder nichts sieht.'

p. 455 Xhosa: rings, leg-bands

'Die Finger, besonders die Daumen, ja selbst die grossen Zehen sind mit Ringen von Kupfer- und Eisendrath geziert, und die Männer führen meistens an einem Knie einen Schönen federbuschartigen Schweif von Quaggahaaren oder Löwenmähnen, auch wohl den Büschel eines Löwenschwanzes, der fast bis auf das Fussgelenk herabhängt."

p. 477 and note Xhosa: ear-rings, ivory arm-band

Nothing more.

1804–5 Daniell (1820) no. 14 Xhosa: head-dress

Figure.

1809 Collins (1835) pp. 10, 31 Xhosa: neck and ear ornaments

p. 10 Xhosa: neck and ear ornaments

'. . . een van diegenen die by hem waren, had een koperdraad om den hals, en eenige kralen hingen aan een zyner ooren; anderen waren versierd met een enkel of klaauw van een dier.'

p. 31 Xhosa: Ngqika's necklace

(Ngqika stated) '. . . dat hy als de zoodanige aangewezen zynde geworden, een ketting van veel waarde om zynen hals was gedaan, waarby hy bekleed werd met het oppergezag over zyns vaders gebied;'

1806–15 Carmichael (1831) pp. 287–288 Xhosa: ornaments

p. 287 Xhosa: head ornament

'The most fashionable female ornament is a series of short, twisted strings of copper, which hangs over the forehead like the bullion of an epaulette. This singular piece of finery, which adorned the brows of only a few distinguished females, though it seemed to us misplaced, to say the least of it, appeared to add greatly to their appearance in the eyes of their own people.'

p. 288 Xhosa: ornaments, ivory arm-bands

Nothing more.

p. 288 Xhosa: head ornaments.

'The head-ornaments of the men are as various as they are fanciful. A tuft of white hair from the rump of the *Springbock*, a string of nerite shells, a fillet of monkey's skin, a plume of ostrich feathers, or the tail of a *Caffre Finch*.'

p. 288 Xhosa: girdle

Nothing more.

1812 Officer, 21st Lt. Dragoons (1822) pl. 8 Xhosa: chief's ornaments

Figure.

c. 1813 Campbell, J. (1815) p. 369 Xhosa: jackal-tail ornament, finger-rings

Nothing more.

1819–20 Stocker pp. 51–52, 65 Xhosa: ornaments

pp. 51–52 Ngqika: ornaments

'Of ornamental appendages, (which the Kaffers consider indispensable to their dress) buttons of the bell shape and solid are pre-eminent in value. A copper or brass zone of wire encircling the waist is also considered highly decorative, and is by no means unbecoming the figure. Ivory rings made from the teeth of elephants, rhinoceros, and hippopotami, are in great request also, worn round the wrists and ankles, and a distinguishing mark of royal favor, being presented by the King as a reward of valor in war or expertness in the chase. Teeth extracted from the fangs of serpents or jaws of animals and fish are likewise observable, depending from the neck and ears. . . .'

p. 65 Gcaleka: ornaments

'Hinza's Kaffers are clothed similarly to Gaika's, but less profusely decorated with ornaments, to make up for which they smear their bodies abundantly with a red ochre and grease. . . .'

1821–4 Thompson, G. (1827) **2** p. 359 Xhosa: girdle, ornaments, 'tattoo'

Nothing more.

1819–29 Moodie, J. W. D. (1835) p. 248 Xhosa: head-band

Nothing more.

c. 1824–5 Smith pp. 63, 89, 281–282, 393 'Kaffir': ornaments

p. 63 'Kaffir': various ornaments

'. . . They have also metal chains and strings of pieces of wood, shells, etc. round the neck. These are not always held in the same estimation sometimes one sort of colour is more regarded than another, and thus they have the regular fashions which prevail amongst civilised people. The men have ivory bracelets on the left arm and on the other or even on the left they have sometimes a strap of leather to which are attached the teeth of a tiger or the canines of a jackal. These are also sometimes worn round the neck. Between the wrists and elbows are often worn bracelets of copper or iron in numbers, and round the waist a leather band studded with pieces of [iron] copper [or] beads also cylindrical lines of small beads small and placed closely together on their fingers particularly the thumb and even

sometimes the great toes with iron or brass wire rings. The men have often the portion of the mane of a zebra or quagga or the tail of an ox or cow fastened round below the knee and hanging down almost to the ankel. A jackal's tail the bush often fixed on the centre of head above the forehead.

On the arms above the elbow often a [string] with some tiger or cats' teeth. The right arm most common. Below the knee the tail of an ox pressed out. Sometimes below one knee a garter of fine beads.'

p. 89 'Kaffir': cicatrization

'The women principally indulge in this practice and the favourite spots for it are the breasts and arms, also sometimes the face—the shoulders in both are often tatooed.'

pp. 281–282 'Kaffir': ornaments

'Ornaments are eagerly sought after by all classes of people in cafferland and are worn either attached to the articles of dress or fixed to their hair or encircling their necks, arms, legs, waists, etc. . . . The ornaments which the kaffirs employ are nearly the same in both sexes. The men however seldom indeed never make the streaks crosses and circular spots of red clay and grease on their cheeks brows and chins that the women do nor do they almost ever fix small strings of beads amongst their hair. Shells are a common form of necklace and are worn by both sexes suspended round their necks by thin pieces of cord which last they form from the inner bark of trees. In young children particularly but sometimes also in grown up women they suspend short strings of beads of about two or three inches in length from the hair on the sides of the head sometimes all round and on other occasions only about the temples. They also often surround the wrists and ankles as well as the upper part of the leg just under the knee joint with one of more strings of beads. They also often surround the same places with the skin of the legs of bucks to which the hoofs adhere, and also occasionally with the tail or only the hair of a cows tail. The last is most frequently made to surround the last-named situation and the bushy part hangs down the leg. They also surround the wrists and lower part of the arm when they can get sufficient with rings of thick brass wire and the swell of the arm above the elbow in some of them is surrounded by more or fewer rings of ivory formed from a transverse section of an elephants tooth.'

p. 393 'Kaffir': cicatrization

'Different appearances in tatoo some lies level or raised others nobs varying in size to marbles. On different parts shoulders and breasts the principal parts cuts made with sharp stones or glass—obsidion. Besides lines and nobs frequently had devices on the breast and the arms and many of those were coloured blue, yellow etc.'

1820–31 Steedman (1835) **1** pp. 254, 260; **2** p. 262 Mpondo: ornaments

1 p. 254 Mpondo: head ornament

'The Amapondas have a small breed of poultry about the size of the English partridge, reared exclusively for the sake of the feathers, which they use to ornament their heads;'

p. 260 Mpondo: ornaments

'The ornaments of the men are armlets of brass or ivory, and many wear girdles of slight metal chains round their loins, together with strings of blue and white beads suspended from their necks.'

p. 260 Mpondo: necklaces

'According to their rank and respectability they possess strings of various-coloured beads, which are worn round their necks.'

2 p. 262 'Mambookie': ears pierced

(Quoting W. Shaw:) 'The Amaxosa, commonly called Caffers; the Amatembo, called Tambookies; the Amabambo, called Mambookies; and the Amaponda. The three first-named nations are very much like each other in dress and appearance, excepting only that the Mambookies have very large holes cut in their ears;'

1815–37 Shaw, B. (1840) pp. 57–58 Xhosa: ornaments

Nothing more.

1827 Hallbeck & Fritsch (1826) pp. 303–304, 311 Xhosa, Thembu: ornaments, girdles, cicatrization

p. 303 Thembu: ear ornaments, arm-bands, cicatrization

'Both sexes wear beads in their ears and round their necks, with brass rings on their arms. The men likewise wear a girdle with small brass rings. The men are not tatooed, but all the women are tatooed between the breasts and shoulders. The feet and head of the males are not generally covered, but we saw some who wore skin shoes, and kerchiefs on their heads.'

p. 304 Xhosa, Thembu: buttons, beads

'Among the Tambookkies and Caffres, these buttons pass for money; the colour of the beads is regulated by the prevailing fashion, which is as much attended to here as at Paris; so that many traders at Grahamstown have suffered considerable loss by not having them of the fashionable colour. As the women are exceedingly fond of both beads and buttons, they put their husbands to great expense. The dress of a woman in many instances costs twelve or twenty oxen.'

p. 304 Thembu: brass bangles

Nothing more.

p. 311 Thembu: brass gorget

'As a proof of peculiar respect, I presented him with a gilt brass gorget, which, (with other old clothes received from England sometime ago), belonged to the uniform of an officer; and to his son, Malpas, I gave another brass plate, with the arms of England engraved upon it. This pleased them much; and Bowana inquired whether he might wear it when he visited the colony.'

1825–9 Kay (1833) pp. 42–43, 115–117, 120, 294, 373–374 Xhosa: ornaments

p. 42 Xhosa: Ngqika's head-band

'Around his head was a narrow band, studded with white and black beads, disposed in such a manner as to form the shape of diamonds or triangles.'

p. 43 Xhosa: bangles, finger-rings

'His right fore-arm was in a great measure covered with metal rings, as were also the two thumbs and third fingers of each hand with brass rings, that had been presented to him by different visitors.'

p. 115 Xhosa: ornaments

'The only visible difference between the most exalted and poorest females of the land consists in the quantity of ornaments they possess. Of these, bracelets, necklaces, and ear-drops form the principal. Some have as many as fifty, and others more than three times that number of bead-strings around the neck.'

p. 116 Xhosa: ivory arm-bands, ornaments

Nothing more.

p. 116–117 Xhosa: head-band, leg-band

Nothing more.

p. 117 Cape Nguni: ear ornament

'The ears of all, with comparatively few exceptions, are bored; and amongst some of the tribes, this practice is carried to an extravagant extent, distending the lobes to the very uttermost, and leaving holes of enormous size.'

p. 120 Xhosa: ivory arm-bands

'For the elephant's tusk they had formerly no other use than that of cutting it up into rings for bracelets; but, now that they have a regular market, that class of ornaments has in a great measure disappeared.'

p. 294 Thembu: head-dress

'. . . in return for which, Mr H. gave him a half-penny, informing him that the figure thereon was the likeness of our King. This would, doubtless, be polished immediately, and attached to some part of his wig or mantle.'

p. 373 Mpondo: head- and shoulder-bands

'Many of the Amaponedae are much more particular in their mode of ornamenting themselves than the Amaxosae. . . . Across his jet-black forehead were tied two or three strings of fine white beads, very tastefully arranged. From the shoulder was suspended, like a soldier's belt, a band of larger beads; two of which are not unfrequently worn transversely.'

p. 374 Mpondo: ornaments

'Necklaces, ivory and copper rings (of enormous size and thickness) constitute their principal and almost only ornaments. The latter, of which I have several specimens in my possession, are obtained from the tribes to the eastward, in exchange for corn and maize.'

(1829) Rose pp. 87, 187 Xhosa: ornaments

p. 87 Xhosa: chief's head-band

'The Chief is generally distinguished from his followers by a carosse of tiger's skin, and by a narrow tasteful beaded band worn round the head;'

p. 187 Xhosa: ornaments

Nothing more.

1829 Bain pp. 104–105 Mpondo: ornaments
p. 104 note 54 Mpondo: beads, arm-bands, neck-rings
'. . . the less wealthy Amapondo dame waddles about in a scanty unadorned cloak of the same stuff [ox-hide] and is content with the simple head dress which nature bestowed upon her. Their other ornaments consist of common beads, ivory rings and large copper neck rings, some of which weigh several pounds.'
p. 105 Mpondo: chief's head ornaments
'Faco was now pointed out to us . . . a tall good looking man, . . . in no way distinguishable from the rest of his people except by a bunch of red Lawries' feathers which hung behind his head.'

1829 Boniface p. 21 Xhosa: arm- and leg-bands
'Au surplus, il y a tout à croire que la quantité plus ou moins grande d'anneaux d'ivoire ou de métal qu'ils portent aux bras et aux jambes, est le signe distinctif de la supériorité du rang parmi eux, car nous nous sommes apperçus que les chefs en avaient beaucoup plus que les autres.'

c. 1831–2 Drège p. 35 Ntinde: ornament
'The Matindes [AmaNtinde] like all the Kaffers we have hitherto seen wear more karosses, beads, yellow buttons and copper rings.'

c. 1831–2 Smith pp. 106–108, 121, 124 Mpondo, Thembu: ornaments
p. 106 Mpondo: ornaments, ivory arm-bands
'Their faces they [the men] paint in different ways and with different colours, such as red, yellow greenish and white. They often have a string or two of beads encircling the head just above the eyes and from it short strings hanging from various parts of the circle. They are partial of brass and copper neck rings, and some they have [are] as thick as the finger. They have also rings of brass and iron round the wrists and ivory rings round the thick of the arms above the elbows. . . . Sometimes they have the whole face without any regularity coloured yellowish white and red.'
p. 106 Mpondo: arm- and leg-bands
'They tie pieces of leather and skins round the arms and wrists and attach cow's tails to the legs below the knees and at the ankles.'
p. 107 Mpondo: ear ornaments
'Some that do not make snuff boxes for the ears merely fill the holes full of small pieces of wood; sometimes one large piece, at other times more. In forming the hole they generally enlarge it in the last way. Some wear a small bunch of feathers. . . .'
p. 108 Mpondo: 'tattoo'
'They tattoo in longitudinal stripes, principally above the shoulders and the lines of those often extend down from the top of the shoulder to the loins, at other times not below the inferior extremity of the shoulder blade.'
p. 121 Mpondo: ivory
'When [they] kill an elephant must give the one tusk to Facu.'

p. 124 Thembu: mourning

(After death of Vosanie:) 'All ornaments were taken off the body and carosses.'

1832 Bonatz (1831) p. 340 Thembu: amputation of finger joint

'As a proof how the Tambookies cleave to their heathenish customs, I may mention, that many of them have but nine fingers, the tenth being cut off as far as the middle joint: they profess to believe that a child will thus get more strength, and grow wiser; and in many families the parents act thus towards all their children, though they love them much.'

(1833) Morgan, N. pp. 36, 37, 46 Xhosa: ornaments

p. 36 Xhosa: ornaments

Nothing more.

p. 37 Xhosa: ivory arm-bands, necklets

'. . . Ivory rings in various numbers are worn on the arm above the elbow by both sexes, as are also brass rings on their right wrist. The covering of rings extends some height up the forearm, and appears to be useful as well as ornamental, as it affords a support to the tendons of the hand and wrist in the violent strain which the action of throwing the assegai produces. A number of strings of beads of various colors worn loosely about the neck complete the dress and ornaments of the Caffer man.'

p. 46 Xhosa: head ornament

'After some time the ranks of the upper party opens in the centre, and a party of young men appear all ornamented alike; having their heads neatly dressed with red clay, and bound with fillets of beads, from which at the back is suspended a bunch of black horse hair about half an inch in diameter and seven or eight in length.'

1834 Bonatz (1834*b*) pp. 350, 404 Thembu: ornaments

p. 350 Thembu: ornaments

Nothing more.

p. 404 Thembu: amputation of finger joint

'Many, if not most, adults and children, have one finger mutilated. It is usually the third finger on the right or left hand, from which the first joint is removed, so as to make it of the same length as the little finger. This abominable mutilation is accounted among them as an ornament, or a mark of honour.'

1834 Godlonton (1835–6) p. 229 'Kaffir': royal red beads for killed elephant

'. . . and finally an offering of beads of a blood-red color, formerly an ensignia of royalty, is then made; and when all this is done the parties consider that they have discharged a sacred obligation.'

1835 Alexander p. 318 Fingo: ornaments

'The Fingoes . . . ornaments are bead earrings, tufts of jackals' tails on their heads, bead necklaces, generally blue and white, brass rings on their arms, and a

belt of small brass rings, strung on leather, round their waist . . . The women . . . also wear bead necklaces and brass bracelets.'

1835 Alexander (1837) **1** p. 387 Xhosa, Thembu: ornaments
p. 387 Xhosa, Thembu: necklets
'Round the neck are a row of garnet and white spotted beads, with occasionally pieces of sweet-scented wood; leopards' teeth, either real or imitated in brass; and a long needle in a leather sheath.'
p. 387 Xhosa: arm-bands
'On these occasions, indeed, the Kaffir often adopts a more useful ornament: pieces of hide with some flesh attached are worn as bracelets on the left wrist, to be applied to occasionally for sustenance.'
p. 387 Xhosa: girdle
'Round his loins is a double thong, also thickly set with brass rings. This is regarded as a great ornament in South Africa; and it also serves as a girdle of famine to confine the stomach, if on a journey food runs short.'

(1836) Martin pp. 148, 153 Thembu: amputation of finger joint, ornaments
p. 148 Thembu: amputation of finger joint
Quotation from Bonatz (1834*b*).
p. 153 Thembu: leg-band, belt, arm-bands
Nothing more.

1820–56 Shaw, W. (1860) pp. 333, 334 Xhosa: ornaments
p. 333 Xhosa: Ngqika's head-band
'He wore round his head a band studded, not with diamonds, but with white and black beads, so disposed as to form the shape of half-diamonds, or triangles.'
p. 333 Xhosa: bangles
Nothing more.
p. 334 Xhosa: finger-rings
Nothing more.

1837 Döhne p. 61 Xhosa: ornament
Nothing more.

1839 Backhouse (1844) pp. 249–250, 263, 269 Xhosa, Mpondo: ornaments
p. 249 Xhosa: bangles
'The Head man of the kraal at which we halted to-day, was a person of striking appearance, and of remarkable character; his figure was unusually fine, his head well-developed; he wore a large number of brass rings around his right arm, encasing it from the wrist to the elbow, which is an uncommon kind of ornament for a man;'
pp. 249–250 Xhosa: girdle
Nothing more.
p. 263 Mpondo: ornaments
'A ring of flattened copper, half an inch wide, encircled one wrist. They do

not practice the rite of circumcision: some of their ornaments are polished nuts, or small, decorated calabashes.'

p. 263 ?Natal: necklace

'Further northward, massive rings are worn about the necks of people of rank; these are said to become so much heated by the sun, that a servant is often kept in attendance, with a calabash of water to cool them!'

p. 269 Mpondo: neck-rings

'Some of them have copper rings about their necks, and wear numerous strings of small beads, of British manufacture.'

p. 269 Mpondo: grass ornaments

'Like other Amapondas, they wear bands of platted grass about their loins, wrists, and arms, and take snuff, but do not smoke.'

1836–44 Döhne (1844) pp. 38, 42 Xhosa: brass and grass ornaments

p. 38 Xhosa: girdle

'Sie arbeiten ohne Feuer und verfertigen aus Metall, das aus der Colonie von den Engländern kommt, die Arm- und Fingerringe und den Gurt, welchen sie über den Hüften um den Leib tragen. Dieser besteht aus lauter glattgehämmerten, schön abgerundeten Ringen, von ½ Zoll im Durchmesser, die, an einen Riemen gereiht, als Zierrath getragen werden. 3–400 gehören zu einem Gürtel, und für 2 Gürtel bekommt der Meister eine Kuh.'

p. 42 Xhosa: grass arm-bands

'Als Gesammtarbeit aller Frauen und Kinder ist endlich das mannichfaltige, sehr künstliche Flechten anzuführen. Aus Grashalmen und Binsen flechten sie Armringe von 10 bis 50 Stricken;'

1846 Napier (1850) p. 315 Fingo: slit in ear

'Another distinguishing mark of this people is a slit in the upper part of the ear, and which the Fingo immediately shows as a sign of identity, if accused of being of the hated Amakosa race.'

1842–53 Baines **1** pp. 42, 81, 206–207 Xhosa, Fingo: grass and other ornaments

p. 42 Xhosa: grass ornaments

(1848) 'The girl wore, instead of brass rings, amulets of straw neatly plaited, and one of the men had a coronet or head-band of cowrie shells procured from the mouth of the Buffalo and other rivers, and, as a gentleman who halted as he passed informed us, so highly esteemed that ten shillings would not tempt a Kafir to part with a single row of them. On this point, not being given to contradiction, I shall say no more than that I abstained from making the offer lest it should be accepted. . . .'

p. 81 Xhosa: ornament

(1848) 'While I was engaged in sketching a petty captain who stood profusely decorated with brass but otherwise unclad before me supporting at the level of his shoulder a basket of milk on the palm of one hand and shading his eyes with the other, the proprietor of the basket, having learned from Baviaan at the Winkel the

value of money, returned shortly after the wagons had started demanding a "great white money," a shilling, in exchange.'

pp. 206–207 Fingo: holes in ear

(1849) 'During the day I made two or three contributions to Mrs. Shepstone's album and sketched a Fingo with large holes bored through his ear, a common practice with them. Mr. S. told me one man had so enlarged these holes that the lobes of his ears hung down upon his cheek, connected with the other part only by two slender pieces of skin; of this he was very proud, till, coming into civilised society, he found it subjected him to so much ridicule that he cut off the dependent pieces.'

c. 1850 C. B. (?Charles Bell) Sketches Xhosa: chief's staff

Figures.

1848 Baines (1848–52*a*) no. 1 'Kafir': cowrie necklace

Nothing more.

1837–63 I'Ons (Redgrave and Bradlow 1958) pls opp. pp. 22, 30, figs [nos 19, 35] Xhosa: ornaments

opp. p. 22 Xhosa: men's necklaces

Figure showing wood or claw and white beads.

opp. p. 30 Xhosa: men's head-bands, necklaces

Figure showing single strand of blue or white beads.

fig. [19] Xhosa: women's necklace, arm-rings

Single strand of beads, brass bangles.

fig. [35] Xhosa: ear-rings, head-band

Sandile's ear-rings, head-band.

1851–52 King (1853) pp. 41, 169–70 Cape Nguni: ornaments

p. 41 Xhosa, Fingo: ear-rings, necklaces

' . . . to which may be added the similarity of national dress—viz., a kaross of the skins of wild beasts, a bull's hide, or a loose blanket, with earrings and necklaces of tiger's teeth, shells, or seeds;'

p. 41 Xhosa, Fingo: bangles

'. . . while anklets and armlets of black and white beads, tastefully worked, are worn by the women, with smooth, brightly polished brass rings reaching from the wrist to the elbow, gradually increasing in size.'

pp. 169–70 Cape Nguni: necklaces, arm-bands

'In necklaces, armlets, etc., they show great taste and ingenuity, and some of them are very interesting; here again the tiger's teeth are appropriated to aristocratic use; one, which was cut from the neck of a dying chief, and presented to me at the time, consists of alternate bunches of teeth and large white beads, on a cluster of strings of small black ones. Another is composed entirely of the lower joints of human finger bones strung through the knuckles, to the number of twenty-seven.'

p. 170 'Caffer': 'tattoo'

Nothing more.

p. 170 Cape Nguni: ear ornament

'The men stick through their ears a straw, a porcupine's quill, or ostrich feather;'

(1853) Fleming pp. 110–111 Cape Nguni: ornaments, cicatrization

p. 110 Cape Nguni: ornaments

'The principal of these are the frontlet (generally a string of cowry-shells,) the armlet, anklet, earring, and necklace. The four last they form of beads—black, white, and dark crimson, being their three favourite colours. With the chiefs, however, the armlet and anklet of ivory, the necklace of wolves' or tigers' teeth, and the ear-ring and frontlet of cowries, are nearly universal. The commonest class of Kaffirs are fond of wearing a feather, or a porcupine's quill, through the ear, and often make their armlets and anklets of large brass rings, which are now imported plentifully from Europe. They often wear ten or twelve of these upon the arm reaching from the wrist to the elbow, and three or four round the ankle.

p. 111 Cape Nguni: cicatrization

'Instead of practising this mode of adornment [ochre], the men tattoo themselves in rows, on the arm, side, and chest, and seldom use ochre, except in dyeing their blankets or karosses.'

(1853) Kretzschmar p. 236 Xhosa: no tattooing

'Sie tättowiren nicht, aber beschmieren in der Kriegszeit ihre Gesichtern mit weissen und rothen Streifen und reiben den ganzen Körper mit einem fetten, rothen Thon.'

1855 Lindsey & Lindsey (1886) p. 117 'Kaffir': ornaments

Nothing more.

(1856) Fleming pp. 202, 206, 220 Cape Nguni: ornaments

p. 202 Cape Nguni: arm-bands, girdle

Nothing more.

p. 206 Cape Nguni: ear-rings

'In addition to their armlets, anklets, and girdle, they wear ear-rings and necklaces. The former of these are usually made (except when rings only) of quills, either from birds or porcupines, with the tail-tuft of the Lepus-Capensis, or Cape-hare, or that of the Jerboa, fastened as a pendant from the points.'

p. 206 Cape Nguni: necklace

'Their necklaces are varied: those usually worn amongst chiefs are made from the teeth of the wolf or tiger; those amongst the commoner people, from shells and berries. They wear beads in great abundance, strung round their necks, and hanging in long bunches on their broad open chests;'

p. 206 Cape Nguni: head-band

Nothing more.

p. 220 Cape Nguni: ornaments

Nothing more.

(1858) Drayson pp. 39–40 Fingo, Xhosa: ear ornament

'The Fingo for instance, always bores holes in his ears, and frequently carries things in them, which is not the case with the Kaffir.'

(1858) Maclean pp. 92–93 Xhosa, Thembu: amputation of finger joint

'The "isiko lengqiti" consists in cutting off the first joint of one of the fingers, generally the little finger; a cake of new cow dung is held under the child's hand, to catch the blood; the part of the finger which is cut off, is also placed in the dung, and then the whole is plastered up in the top of the hut inside.'

1863–6 Fritsch, G. (1872) pp. 59, 60–62, pl. 9 Xhosa: ornaments

p. 59 Xhosa: girdle

'Trägt der *Xosa*, wie es allerdings häufig der Fall ist, einen schmalen Ledergürtel um die Hüften, so dient derselbe wesentlich zur Zierrath, wird als Regel (im Unterschiede von den *Zulu*) nicht zur Befestigung irgend eines Schurzes benützt und ist nur reich mit Glasperlen, blanken Knöpfen, Kupferplättchen und dergleichen Gegenständen geschmückt.'

p. 59 Xhosa: head-band

Nothing more.

pp. 60–61 Xhosa: ivory arm-band

'Alles Andere, was der Kaffer sonst zur Ausstaffirung seiner Person verwendet, gehört in das Gebiet der Zierrathen und nicht der Bekleidung. Davon fallen besonders die mächtigen Elfenbeinringe in die Augen, welche die Häuptlinge und angesehene Männer aus ihrer Umgebung um den Oberarm zu tragen pflegen. Diese Ringe werden aus dem mittleren Theil starker Elephantenzähne geschnitten und die natürliche Höhlung des Zahnes wird so weit vergrössert, dass man den Arm gerade hindurch stecken kann; die Dicke des Ringes beträgt dann etwa 3 CM., die Höhe gewöhnlich gegen 4 und doch schleppt ein Mann zuweilen eine ganze Reihe solcher unbequemen Zierrathen am Arme, in der Regel sieht man aber nur einen Ring.'

p. 61 Xhosa: ornaments

'Der originellste Schmuck sind die Halsbänder aus dunklen Glasperlen und den Zähnen reissender Thiere (Schakal, Hyäne, Leopard), von welchen die Letzteren quer an der Wurzel durchbohrt sind und sich meist zu mehreren aneinanderfügen.'

p. 62 Xhosa: finger- and toe-rings

Nothing more.

pl. 9 Xhosa: necklace

Figure.

c. 1864 Stanford (1858–89) **1** pp. 18, 47 Cape Nguni: ornaments

p. 18 ?Mpondo: arm-ring

'Occasionally a special embassy came from distant chiefs not included in Mr. Warner's ordinary jurisdiction. . . . Some still wore the head ring which has passed into disuse nowadays. The ivory arm ring was constantly worn.'

p. 47 Cape Nguni: cowrie shells

'Before their contact with our civilisation barter was the only form of trade known to them, except that near the coast there seems to have been a fixed value for cowrie shells,' (Note: 'The Xhosa names are InGqoqo and InGcaca') 'in the number of small stock paid for them. These shells were highly prized for decorative purposes; they were worn as necklets and were also much admired on the full dress mantles worn by the women on festive occasions.'

1866–7 Wangemann (1868) pp. 200, 268 Xhosa, Fingo: ornaments

p. 200 Xhosa, Fingo: ornaments

Nothing more.

p. 268 Xhosa: teeth, shell necklaces

'Um ihn her alle seine Grossen und Geheimenräthe, vielfach noch mit Tigerfellen, dem Zeichen der Häuptlingswürde bekleidet, und mit Halsbändern von Tigerzähnen (dergleichen auch Sandile trug) geschmückt. Etliche trugen auch Halsbänder von einer gewissen Muschel, die auch nur Häuptlinge tragen dürfen.'

1845–89 Kropf (1889*a*) pp. 105–106, 113–114 Xhosa: ornaments

p. 105 Xhosa: girdle

Nothing more.

p. 106 Xhosa: ornaments

'Ein anderer Schmuck, besonders der Frauen, besteht in Messingdraht, der bis zu einer Länge von acht bis zwölf Zoll dicht um den Unterarm oberhalb des Gelenkes oder um den Unterschenkel gewunden wird, wodurch Schmerzen und Behinderung beim Laufen und Arbeiten verursacht werden. Messingringe um Finger und Zehen, Perlenbänder um die Stirn, um Hand- und Fussgelenke, Haarbüschel und Schwänze um die Waden, Schnüre von Perlen und Muscheln, von kleinen perlartigen Früchten um den Nacken und kreuzweis über die Brust gehängt, Brustlatze von Perlen in allen Farben, oft in geschmackvollen Mustern, werden sehr geliebt. Die kurzen Haare der Frauen werden durch Perlenschnüre als lang dargestellt. Bei dem männlichen Geschlecht zieren Federn von allerhand Vögeln und deren Bälge, ebenso das Bläschen eines Lammes oder das Schwänzlein eines wilden Tieres das Haupthaar, Holzstückchen, Federn oder grosse Messingringe die Ohrläppchen.

p. 106 Xhosa: breast-plate, ivory arm-band

'Zur Auszeichnung vornehmer Personen, wie die Orden in zivilisierten Staaten, diente früher ein Brustschild, eine Messingplatte, mit Schnüren auf der Brust befestigt, später elfenbeinerne einzöllige Ringe, die am Oberarm getragen werden.'

pp. 113–114 Xhosa: girdle

Nothing more.

(1874) Körner p. 174 Xhosa: ivory arm-ring

'An Arme und Füsse streift er sich Elfenbeinringe, die er mühsam mit der Lanzenspitze, seinem einzigen Schneiderwerkzeug, aus einem Zahne des

Elephanten ausschnitt, ausarbeitete, glättete und darauf Zickzacklinien, Dreiecke und Vierecke einzeichnete.'

1872–9 Durnford (1875) p. 2 Xhosa: metal ornaments

'They [the women] wear brass rings from wrist to elbow, and steel chains hanging all round them'

1876 Witcher, Dyer & Dyer p. 1 Cape Nguni: ivory arm-rings

Advertisement of ivory arm-bands for sale.

(1877) Cripps p. 334 Mpondo: ornaments

'They are very fond of ornamenting themselves with brass wire, and it is not unusual to see a woman wearing such massive brass arm and anclets as to render her power of progression extremely feeble. They also wear beads, which are generally very tastefully arranged, black and white being more appreciated than coloured ones.'

1877–8 Norbury (1880) pp. 8–9 Xhosa: necklets, arm-rings

'One of the fore-arms is generally covered by a series of plain brass rings or coils of highly burnished brass wire; these are put on very tightly at first, and are often the cause of intense suffering, occasioning great inflammation of the hand, but all this is patiently borne for the sake of the ornamentation. On the opposite arm copper or steel bracelets are usually worn; . . . while around the neck is a collar of teeth—those of a dog, or sheep, or jackal—but this collar is sometimes formed of scented wood.'

1877–9 Ex C.M.R. (1881) pp 97–98 Xhosa: 'tattoo', ornaments

'. . . some Fingoes brought in the head of 'Nita, the famous "witch doctor" of Kreli. Her body some hours afterwards was also brought in. . . . Her body was tattooed nearly all over, and her legs and arms were covered with small chains, brass rings, and leather straps.'

1878 Streatfeild (1879) pp. 42–43 Xhosa: ivory, metal ornaments

pp. 42–43 Xhosa: ivory arm-band

'I saw a Kafir on this day get wounded, and directly he fell, he set to work to smash his ivory armlet against the stones. I have seen this done twice. They are very jealous of these armlets, and if there is any life left in them, will always smash them sooner than let them be taken. To those who may not have seen one of them, I ought to give a description. They are made of a slice cut from an elephant's tusk, where it is about five inches in diameter, the slice being rather more than an inch thick. It is then hollowed out so that it can be worn above the elbow. There is an idea that only chiefs wear these rings, but this is a mistake; any one wears them who can afford to buy one, and I have seen both men and women of no particular position among Kafirs wearing them.'

p. 43 Xhosa: bangles, finger-rings

'Almost all of them wear brass rings both on their fingers and arms, very often as many as ten on one hand; and I have frequently seen a man's arm, and oftener

still, a woman's, entirely hidden from wrist to elbow by brass rings fitting tightly to the arm. There are people among them who make it a special study to fit these rings to the arm. They are cut to the proper length, and then joined over the arm, and there remain always. They also wear iron and steel rings, with devices filed on them of a very simple nature, such as squares and crosses.'

(1881) Nauhaus, C. T. p. 344 Xhosa: metal ornaments

p. 344 Xhosa: girdle

'Grosses Interesse erregte ein Gegenstand, welcher als Kleidungsstück eines Mannes bezeichnet wurde, aber in weiter nichts bestand, als in verschiedenen dünnen weich gegerbten Riemen, die in Dicke eines kleinen Fingers zusammengelegt, von Messingringen, die in Abständen von 2 Zoll wiederkehren, zusammen gehalten werden, an dem einen Ende mit einem Knopf, am andern mit einer Oese versehen sind, um oberhalb der Hüfte um den Leib gelegt zu werden. Von diesem stärkeren Bande herab hängen dann an der linken Lende 5–6 dünne, 2 Fuss lange Riemchen, die beim Gehen hin und her spielen.

p. 344 Xhosa: copper arm-ring

'Endlich wurden auch Armringe gezeigt, aus Kupfer, Messing und Eisen gefertigt. Die kupfernen sind etwa $\frac{1}{4}$ Zoll dick und werden meistens dicht am Handgelenk getragen, oft in weit schöneren, bisweilen reich ornamentirten Formen, als die vorliegenden. Die eisernen Ringe werden von Bassutos getragen, die messingenen von den Kaffern (wenigstens hat Referent bei Kaffern noch keine eisernen gesehen).'

1875–87 MacDonald (1890*a*) p. 224 Mpondomise: head ornaments

'The hair is often adorned with feathers, tufts of rat or monkey skin, and the fantasies of magicians. The most extraordinary head-dress I ever saw was composed of blown bladders in the form of a coronet. The wearer, a royal messenger, had been on a long journey, and, according to custom, was presented with the bladders of all animals killed in his honour.'

1875–87 MacDonald (1890*b*) p. 269 Cape Nguni: cicatrization, ear-piercing

p. 269 Cape Nguni: cicatrization

'There is no tattooing, knocking out of teeth, or any malformation whatever connected with the initiatory rites, nor are these ever practised except as a matter of personal choice or adornment. Various parts of the body are tattooed, but from the throat to the abdomen is most frequently selected, and the marks are generally in groups of parallel rows, thus:—

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with considerable variety of detail in the case of individuals. The face is very rarely tattooed, and in no case do such marks serve as distinguishing badges for either men or women.'

p. 269 Mpondo: ear ornaments

'Among both Zulus and Pondos the ears of boys and girls are pierced, and distended so as to admit a very thick quill; but this practice is not connected with any period of life, and is merely intended as a personal adornment or, more correctly, a receptacle for ornaments in the form of earrings or small tapering horn-shaped reeds, which hang dependent over both shoulders, the points looking forwards and upwards, the reed being fixed in the lobe of the ear as if in a socket.'

1883–8 Bachmann (1901) pp. 134, 180 Mpondo: ornaments

p. 134 Mpondo: brooch

'. . . der ockerfarbenen Wolldecke, die auf eine Schulter oder auf dem Nacken, mit einer grossen Broschen-Nadel befestigt, ...'

p. 134 Mpondo: arm- and leg-rings, head ornament

'Um Beine und Arme trugen sie grosse Mengen von Ringen aus Kupfer-, Messing- oder Eisendraht, oder auch Riemen. Die nackten Füsse hielten mit den grossen Zehen die Steigbügel; als Sättel dienten ihnen Schaffelle. Das kurzwollige Kopfhaar war meist mit einer Feder an dem Scheitel geschmückt, die Schnupftabakdose stak bei vielen in einem schlitzförmigen Loche des Ohrläppchens, der knöcherne Schnupflöffel über dem rechten Ohre im Haar.'

p. 134 Mpondo: ear-plug, tattoo

'Mehrere trugen in einem oder auch in beiden Ohrlöchern grosse Manchettenknöpfe, um die Stirn rote Bänder. Der sogen. Pondostreif, eine blaue tättowierte Linie, liess sich bei allen senkrecht über der Nasenwurzel erkennen.'

p. 134 Mpondo: ornaments

Nothing more.

p. 180 Mpondo: ornaments

'Die Pondos tragen lange nicht so viele Zierraten am Leibe, als die Natalkaffern.'

(1893) Bartels p. 320 Fingo, Xhosa: arm-ring, necklace

'(1) von den Fingu, in der Cap-Colonie, einen zierlichen Armring aus Kupferdraht; von den Xosa-Kaffern aus Emsebeni, in der Cap-Colonie, ein als Tabakspfeife benutztes Metallstück europäischer Herkunft, eine Halskette aus Früchten, kleinen Perlen und vielen oberen und unteren Eckzähnen von Wildkatzen, sowie einen Armring aus der Haut von dem linken Vorderfusse einer grossen Landschildkröte (Testudo pardulis).'

(1900) Lowndes pp. 115–116 Xhosa: bangles, cicatrization

pp. 115–116 Xhosa: bangles

'One kind of bracelet is put on in childhood; it consists of fine rings, reaching from the wrist nearly to the elbow, each increasing slightly in size. When the child has grown up these rings cannot be taken off, and if the arm of the wearer should become rather larger than the average, the smaller rings at the wrist become too

tight, causing the arm to swell and pain badly; sometimes rendering it almost useless. Occasionally they will have the tightest rings filed and opened slightly so as to loosen them; but nothing will prevail on them to have the rings removed. I could not discover why. The farmers say it is only pride, but I think there must be some superstition connected with them. Only a few women have these tight bracelets, most wearing thick loose ones.'

p. 116 Xhosa: cicatrization

'A species of tattooing is resorted to as a means of increasing their beauty—not on the face, but on the arms, neck, and body. I must confess that I rather admired it. I am told that it is done by pricking the skin with a hot needle; the colour is not changed by the process, but a sort of pattern of little elevations and indentations is made, as if there were a string of beads under the skin.'

1900 J. de N. R. p. 446 'Kaffir'?: 'tattoo'

Nothing more.

(1904) Kidd pls 2–4 and legends; pp. 20, 160 Cape Nguni: ornaments

pl. 2 and legend Bomvana: head-band

'Note the shell ornament, which is a favourite with this man's tribe.'

pl. 3 and legend Thembu: head-dress

'This Tembu is dressed for an afternoon call. The top-knot on his head is made from feathers, and is worn on special occasions only.'

pl. 4 and legend Mpondo: bangles

'Her bangles, made of iron, are very massive.'

p. 20 Cape Nguni: ornaments

'Bracelets, armlets, necklaces, anklets, and similar "lets" around the upper part of the calf, the thigh, and the waist, are always more or less in fashion, finger-rings being strangely rare.'

p. 160 'Kaffir': gall-bladders

'It is true that other people sometimes wear gall-bladders when they are considered personages and have had oxen killed in their honour; but usually the gall-bladder is a sign of a diviner.'

1925 Thompson, H. Q. F. pp. 493–495 Cape Nguni: amputation of finger joint

'. . . Never more than the terminal joint is amputated and only one finger is operated on . . . of either right or left hand; the thumb is never mutilated. The operation may be performed at any time from birth up to old age, and is usually done by an old woman.

The following tribes practise this rite or have clans among them who do so:—AmaZulu, AmaBaca, AmamPondo, AmaHlubi, AmamPondomise, AmamBomvana, AmaTembu, AmaXosa. . . . Among the AmaTembu, all clans amputate the last joint of one finger. The left little or ring fingers are the fingers preferred, but sometimes [others]. . . . The amputation is performed at any time. . . .

A thread made from the fascia covering the shoulder muscles of an ox is tied tightly over the terminal joint of the finger to be operated on, and when the finger has swollen the joint is amputated. Any sharp object is used nowadays, but formerly it was a stone. In any case, the instrument used is buried and never used again. Freshly ground rat's dung is powdered on the bleeding stump until clotting takes place. The piece of finger taken off is covered with fresh cow's dung and is smeared on the wall inside the hut near the thatch. . . .'

(There follows a summary of methods used by each of the individual tribes mentioned, the operation being the same as described above.)

(1927) Vogel, J. p. 4 — Xhosa: ornaments

Nothing more.

(1931) Cook p. 101 — Bomvana: cicatrization

'*Umvambo* (Tatooing or Scarification).—If the elder twin girl is afraid to have her body decorated with scars the younger may not have her body so decorated.'

(1932) Soga, J. H. pp. 31, 219, 241, 242, 291–292, 411–413 — Xhosa: ornaments

p. 31 — Xhosa: royal necklace

'*Ubu-Hlalu*—Royal Necklace.

Ubu-hlalu is the generic term in Si-Xosa for beads. Royal beads were red in colour. When a chief was to be installed into the chieftainship a heavy necklace of red beads was prepared, and on the day appointed, chiefs of standing in the tribe were commissioned by the councillors to invest the new chief with this badge of royalty. It takes the place of the crown usually placed upon the head of a king in civilized countries.'

p. 219 — Xhosa: beads

Nothing more.

p. 241 — Xhosa: head-band of new wife

'Sometimes the handkerchief is held in place by a band of cowrie-shells—*in-gcaca*.'

p. 242 — Xhosa: brass buttons on cloak

Nothing more.

pp. 291–292 — Xhosa: girdle

'*Umkwinti (Gezania integrifolia)*

A string of cord may often be noticed encircling the waist of a Xosa child; this is the *umkwinti*. Its purpose is more prosaic than that of any of the plants already mentioned. Its use is to measure the child's growth.

The outer covering of the leaf of the gezania integrifolia is peeled off, and the threads which formed the veins are plaited or woven into a cord of a soft and pliable texture, and are thus less liable to produce irritation of the skin than would the ordinary cords made of the bark of trees. This *umkwinti* cord is tied round the infant's waist at about the second week of its life. It is made to fit exactly, but is of sufficient length to permit of extension. The purpose of the cord is a primitive way of testing the growth of the child.'

p. 411 Xhosa: necklace

'*Isi-Danga*. A long necklace of beads of many strings, each string not less than four feet in circumference. The prevailing colours are either pale blue or white. The necklace hangs down in front as far as the lower ribs. It forms a great feature in dancing, especially in the *um-tyulubo*, when from the quivering imparted to the muscles of the breast in this dance, the beads dance about also in what is considered an appealing manner.'

p. 412 Xhosa: bangles

'*Is-Acolo* and *I-Watsha*. Both these terms apply to bracelets and arm rings. The more arm rings a woman has the happier she is, as it is a mark of social distinction. These rings begin at the wrist and mount up towards the elbow. They are made of thick brass wire, and may number as many as thirty or even more. They are measured, cut and fitted on by an expert. As the term *i-Ncibi* (expert) is a relative one, so the experts vary in their qualifications, consequently many women, through undue compression of the muscles of the arm, lose the use of this member as in course of time it becomes atrophied.'

p. 413 Xhosa: girdle of brass rings

Nothing more.

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 102, 149, 222, 223 Mpondo: ornaments

p. 102 Mpondo: ornaments

'For festivals both men and women wear quantities of bead necklaces, and coils of twisted brass wire round leg, arm, and waist. One young man's ornaments which he left in the store before going to the mines weighed 14 lb.'

p. 149 Mpondo: necklace

'When a bride gets her *isihlambezo*, she puts on a double string of white beads to advertise her happy state. At the same time she takes off her other ornaments. "If she does not do so the child will be born with the umbilical cord twisted round its neck", as the mother's brass ornaments are twisted round her legs, arms, throat and waist. The *isihlambezo* is drunk for all children, but only for her first child is a woman made to confess in public and wear the white beads.'

p. 222 Mpondo: tattoo

'In some districts most women, and some men, have a line tattooed down the forehead, nose, and chin. Some have rows of dots or stripes on the cheeks. The skin is pricked with a needle and *igesi*, oil from engines brought back from the Rand, rubbed in. The face is then smeared with clay to stop the bleeding. The tattooing is usually done between 9 and 16 years. There is no ceremonial connected with it.'

p. 223 Mpondo: wooden beads

'Wooden beads of *umthombothi* (*Spirostachys africanus*) are also worn for their scent.'

1918–48 Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964) pp. 27, 38, 40, 105 Cape Nguni: ornaments

p. 27 Thembu: finger-rings

'There are no marriage or engagement rings among primitive natives. Instead

they gradually acquire rings after marriage. The men make them for their womenfolk of brass. Some are elaborately carved, others are plain with hooks and points. The women use them to scratch each other's faces in fighting over men. They are very dangerous weapons. . . . Their fingers were dreadfully swollen from wearing them.' (All Mrs Hamilton-Welsh's rings came from the Cofimvaba district, and she had great difficulty in persuading the women to part with them.)

p. 38 Thembu: belt, head ornament

'Ibhanti Modern brass body-belts. . . . They used to wear five or six separate wire rolls round the waist. Later they put the strands into steel buckles every few inches to make them more solid.'

p. 38 Thembu: head ornament

(1935) *'Inyamakazi* Fur hair-ornament . . . worn by young boys at the weekly dances. . . . They are worn like a cockade. . . . They are made of tails of wild animals and are worn attached to a cord, which encircles the head.'

p. 40 Cape Nguni: seeds

'Seeds in many cases took the place of beads during the war.'

p. 51 Thembu: ceremonial necklace

(Under witch-doctresses' costume:) (1933) *'Isidanga* string of blue beads, four strands. Also worn by girls at the *intonjane* or female initiation ceremony. Rare.'

pp. 105–106 Xhosa, Thembu, Fingo: bracelets

'Bracelets are known as *imiliza, ubhijo, umsingizane. Iwatsha* is worn by married women. *Izacholo* is a single bracelet. These brass armlets and anklets are made by the men for their wives after marriage. A few at a time are added to the left arm, as materials are expensive. In many cases they eventually reach above the elbow. Men wear them also round the calves of the legs and the upper arms. . . . Usually only older women wear brass bracelets.'

p. 106 General: leg-rings

(1900–10) *'Ubusenge* Worn above and below calf, made from twisted wire and decorated with brass links. These take a very long time to make . . . worn by men.'

(1934) Anon. p. 318 fig. Xhosa: tattoo

Nothing more.

1936 Cornner, F. (corresp.) Mpondomise: girdle

'A young dandy has just been into my office and I noticed he was wearing a number of brass wire native twisted belts. Out of curiosity I counted the number encircling his waist, and there were 29. They are worn by young men, generally unmarried. *Isicemfu* is the Kafir name.'

(1937) Soga, T. B. pp. 45, 47–48 Cape Nguni: physical decoration, ornaments

p. 45 Cape Nguni: amputation of finger joint

'Ingqiti le lisiko elalingawutate wonke umzi o-Ntsundu. Kufumaneka ukuba abanye baya lenza, ekanti abanye abanqumli ngqiti. Inkolelo yalo lisiko elingati

linyanga ukudangala nokumata emntwini. . . . Be kunqunyulwa ilungu lokuqala kucikicane nakumnwe wesibini mhlawumbi ngengadla yincibi.'

[Finger amputation is a custom that is not practised by all black people. One finds some doing it, while others do not amputate the finger joint. According to their belief it is a custom that seems to cure sluggishness and inertia in a person. . . . The first joint of the little finger or perhaps of the second finger (the one next to it) was amputated by an expert with a lancet.]

pp. 47–48 Xhosa: ornaments

Nothing more.

pp. 47–48 Cape Nguni: cicatrization, ear-piercing, scarification

'Umvambo—lelinye lamasiko angasenakulandeka ngenxeni yobudala bawo, be lilisiko elinamandla kulutsha, umtinjana nomlisela. Isisihombo ebesisenzelwa ukuze sifaniselane nentlombe kwa nomdudo kwa kunye nomtshilo wabakweta. Umvambo be kugotywa isilanda kumana kuhlatywa kusenziwa amanqakwana apa emzimbeni (esifubeni) kumana kusikwa ngale ngadla ke, kulungeleliswa ngento entle ete re-e-e-e kakuhle. Xa kwenziwa nje kwenzelwa ukuze umzimba ukangeleke noko ungasuke ube ngumguxa. Be ziko ke kwa nezinye izinxibo nezihombo zomzimba, kuba nendlebe ezi be zigqojozwa iminxunyana yokufaka nokunxiba amajikazi. Kwaye entla paya kwelakowetu e-Mbo, lo mngxuma wendlebe ubugqojozwa, undindwe ubenokungena amaqosha apa ekutiwa ngamatshaza ngegama. Kuba ebesisihombo esikulu kwa-Baca nakwa-Zulu. Ekubeni ulutsha abafana nentombi (intsizwa namaguda ngabula bona) ubuso be bucazwa buqalulwe, kusitiwa wopiswa ukuba acace intlahla umntu, ngokupungulwa kwegazi lobuntwana kulungiselelwa imihla yomsindo (izisusa ngabula bona). Oku kucazwa ke umntu lo umana ukupindwa-pindwa le minyaka ukwenzela ukuba intlanga zicace zide se zihlala ziyilo midondosholo xa uzikangeleyo. Abe ama-Hlubi wona se kufumane kuqatshulwe lo matupasi—intlangana ezimbini ngamacalana omabini ezandundwini zamantombazana ngokukodwa. Ezingalweni be zikwanxitywa izacolo nezekopolo kwa nemiliza—into ebike yayinto kumaxesha ayo.'

[Cicatrization, one of the customs too old to be traced, was (a custom) greatly in vogue among young folk, both youths and maidens. This ornamentation was so executed that it would be uniform (on those participating) in the night party, wedding dance, or dance of the *abakhwetha*. A needle was bent and by means of a series of incisions small marks were made on the body (the chest) and a neat pattern was designed. This was done in order that the body should, even in the event of being uncovered, still be presentable. There were also other ornaments and trinkets for the body; for instance, the ears were pierced with small holes for inserting and putting on ear-rings. In the eMbo country north of our own, this hole in the ear was made round so as to accommodate the buttons called *amatshaza*. This was the great Bhaca and Zulu ornamentation. In the case of young folk, boys and girls (according to them, adolescent boys and girls) the face was scarified at intervals; it is said the patient is bled to ensure his prosperity: by letting off the blood of childhood, preparations are made for the conviviality to follow (according to them, feasts). This scarification of a person repeatedly for years is done to render

scars prominent so that eventually they remain as clearly discernible nodules. Among the Hlubi blood is let from these *mathuphasi* (two small scars on either cheekbone of girls only). Bangles, brass rings and anklets were worn—of some significance on occasion.]

(1939) Duggan-Cronin pp. 22, 28, pls 2, 3, 5, 10, 25, 26, 40 and legends — Xhosa, Thembu: ornaments

p. 22 — Xhosa: royal necklace

Figure.

p. 28 — Xhosa: ornaments

'With these, they wear brass and copper rings on their arms and legs, and strings of beads on their necks, for decoration. But to their decorations, as to their huts, the Xhosa do not devote as much attention as do some other South African tribes.'

legend to pl. 2 — Xhosa: royal necklace

'In former days he [the Xhosa Paramount] would have worn also the royal necklace of large red beads (*iintsimbi zobhuhlalu*) but the wearing of this has been discontinued since the chieftainship was shorn of its power.'

pl. 3 and legend — Xhosa: ivory arm-band

Nothing more.

pl. 5 and legend — Xhosa: bangle

Nothing more.

pl. 10 and legend — Xhosa: necklace

'Her ornaments consist of beadwork, shells' (Note: '*Nerita textilis*, Gmel.') 'brass armrings and two short lengths of polished chain.'

pls 25, 26 and legend — Thembu: ivory arm-band

'This is the chief of a minor clan of the Thembu, but he wears the ivory armring of chieftainship.'

pl. 40 and legend — Thembu: head ornament

'This dress is for ceremonial occasions, dances, etc. The beadwork is of imported coloured beads, strung on threads taken from the neck-sinew of an ox, or, in the case of the larger beads, on thin strips of softened buckskin. The tassel is from the brush of a jackal or other wild animal.'

1945 Makalima chapters 9, 10 — Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: cicatrization, ornaments

chap. 9 par. 42 — Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: making metal ornaments

Nothing more.

chap. 10 par. 21 — Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: makers of ornaments

'Amaso enziwa nanguwupina umfazi. Zonke zenziwa ngabafazi, ngapandle kwe watsha, nesinda, nomsesane, enziwa ngamadoda.'

[Any woman may make the round white beads. All ornaments are made by women with the exception of arm-rings, the *amasinda* and finger-rings which are made by men.]

chap. 10 par. 23 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: wearers of ornaments

'Amaso anxitywa ngabantwana nabantu abakulu. . . . Amagaba ngawabantu abatsha. Amapoco ngawabafana, amatantyisi ibe ngawabantwana nentombi. . . . Imixaka yeyabalumzana, izinxibamxaka kwa nentsimbi ekutiwa ngamazinyo enja. . . . Amasinda anxitywa ngabafazi.'

[The large round white beads are worn by children and adults. Ear-rings are for young people. Squares of beadwork are worn by young men and the necklaces of hard seed shells are for children and girls. . . . Ivory arm-rings are for people of high rank in society, councillors, who also wear beads called dog's teeth. . . . *Amasinda* are worn by women.]

chap. 10 par. 28 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: physical ornament

'Into eyenziwa emzimbeni ngumvambo esifubeni nasesiswini, nasezingalweni. Umvambo ke wona wenziwa ngameva omqaqoba. Ebusweni kwenziwa umxhoxho, ekutiwa yigesi.'

[What is done on the body is cicatrization (*umvambo*) on the chest, stomach and arms. Cicatrization is done with thorns of *umqaqoba* (*Gymnosporia* sp.). On the face something is done by pricking, called *igesi.*]

chap. 10 par. 29 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: physical decoration

'Imigca kutiwa yigesi, eyembola kutiwa kukuzoba. Umvambo uba ngamacokoza.'

[Lines are called *igesi*, those of the red ochre are said to be painting. *Umvambo* are spots.]

chap. 10 par. 33 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: physical decoration

'Umvambo uyahluka kubantu ababhinqileyo nabasebuhlanti. Umzobo negesi ngo wabafazi bodwa. Umvambo uyafana nokuba umntu mncinane nokuba mdala.'

[The cicatrizing of women differs from that of men. The painting and *igesi* are for women only. Cicatrization is the same for old and young.]

chap. 10 par. 35 Xhosa, Fingo: amputation of finger joint

'Ukunqumla umnwe:—Ingqiti, okokukuti ukunqumula omnye umnwe, asililo siko lamaMfengu likumaXosa.'

[The finger with the terminal joint cut off (*ingqiti*). The cutting off of one finger is not the custom of the Fingoes, it is found among the Xhosas.]

chap. 10 par. 36 Fingo: hole in ear

'Ukugqojozwa kwendlebe: Lisiko lethu maMfengu ukugqoboza indlebe.'

[It is the custom of us Fingoes to make a hole in the lobe of the ear.]

(1948) Anon. p. 336 Mpondo: mitten

'Native handicrafts shown include a unique Pondo hand mitten, used only for shaking hands at a party.'

1948 American Museum of Natural History (corresp.) Mpondo: mitten

'The bead mitten . . . was . . . purchased . . . from Dr. M. Stein-Lessing. . . . The tribal attribution, Pondo, and the use of the mitten are based on information furnished . . . by Dr. Stein-Lessing. . . . It consists entirely of beaded strands as

you will see by the enclosed sketch. Several others of the same type are made of blue and white beads.'

(1949) Duggan-Cronin pls 48, 52 and legend — Mpondo: ornament
pl. 48 — Mpondo: tattoo
Figure.
pl. 52 and legend — Mpondo: head-bands
'Both are wearing the bead head-bands regularly worn by nubile girls and young women, ...'

(1949) Tyrrell nos 6–7 — Mpondo: ornaments
no. 6 — Mpondo: waist ornament
'. . . The invaluable and ubiquitous mirror-cum-snuffbox dangles from her waist at the end of a long rope of blue and white bead work.
Necklaces are twisted strands of blue and white beads, her several belts typically Pondo, of trading store brown leather variety, lavishly covered in blue and white beading.'
no. 7 — Mpondo: mitten
'Necklaces are pale blue and white and on his hands are bead "mittens" in the same colours, composed of loops of beadwork over fingers and thumb, extending down the back of the hand and attached to a wrist band. These mittens are an attractive Pondo affectation for the express purpose of shaking hands at parties.'

(1952) Weir p. 275 — Xhosa: bangles
'A woman of marriageable age usually wears rows of brass wire in the form of bangles stretching from the wrist to about three inches below the elbow. The wire must be of good quality and of seven gauge thickness. Round the wrists may also be found bangles made of 22 gauge or 17 by 21 triangular brass wire. Before the last war brass curtain rings were also widely used, but as a result of lack of supplies, this demand has largely fallen away.'

1949–55 Hammond-Tooke (1955*b*) p. 55 — Bhaca: scarification
'Practically all Bhaca practise face-incision (*chaza*) which is performed on children, "to let out the blood of childhood", with a piece of sharpened iron called *igcaguba*. Cuts are made lengthwise and no special number is necessary, although there should be one between the eyebrows on the bridge of the nose. The face is then smeared with red clay and lard to promote healing. It is thought that if this custom is not performed the ancestral spirits will complain, causing sickness and perhaps death.'

(1954) Duggan-Cronin pls 158–160, 163, 165, 168–170, 172–175, 179–182, 193, 195, 196, 198 and legends to pls 158, 174, 180, 193, 195 — Bhaca, Hlubi, Xesibe: ornaments
pl. 158 and legend — Bhaca: ear-ring, scarification
'The slitting of the cheek and forehead (*ukuchasa*) is performed on all children to prevent sickness and is universal among Baca, resulting in a distinctive tribal

marking. The cuts are made with a sharpened piece of iron, called *igcaguba*, when the child is a few months old.'

pls 159, 160, 163, 165 Bhaca: ornaments

Figures showing full complement of ornaments.

pls 168, 169 Bhaca: girl's ornaments

Figures showing full outfit of unmarried girl.

pl. 170 Bhaca: women's ornaments

Figure showing festive ornaments of married women.

pl. 173 Hlubi: young man's necklets

Figure.

pl. 174 and legend Hlubi: youth's ornaments

'The hat is attached to a piece of cloth covered with white buttons. The ostrich feather was probably obtained from labourers returning from the farming areas. . . .'

pl. 175 Hlubi: boy's ornaments

Figure showing studded leather belt (?brass buttons) and decorated head-dress (?beadwork or buttons) called *upetfe*.

pl. 179 Hlubi: women's and children's ornaments

Figures.

pl. 180 and legend Hlubi: girl's necklets and arm-bands

'The large necklace is made from grass fibres covered with fine beadwork.'

pls 181, 182 Hlubi: head-bands, necklets, unmarried girl's ornaments

Figures.

pl. 193 and legend Xesibe: facial marks

'Like the neighbouring Baca of Mount Frere, the Xesibe also slit the cheeks (*ukuchaza*).'

pl. 195 and legend Xesibe: women's ornaments

'The bead-decorated roll encircling the forehead is peculiar to the Xesibe.'

pl. 196, 198 Xesibe: women's and young men's ornaments

Figures.

1949–62 Hammond-Tooke (1962) p. 95 Bhaca: bead love-tokens made by girls

'The accredited lover is a frequent visitor at the girl's kraal, where he is given food and hospitality, and her father buys her beads so that she can make the multicoloured beadwork love-tokens.'

1956–8 Hammond-Tooke (1958*b*) p. 55 Xhosa, Fingo: tribal marks

'To-day the Xhosa tribes of the district do not have any special tribal markings and this seems to have been the case even in the past although Lichtenstein (op. cit. p. 377) mentions that "Here and there women as well as men are to be seen tattoed, but not in the face, only upon the breast, the back, and the arms". Many individuals still practise the custom of ingqithi (amputation of one or more joints of the little finger), which is probably of Bushman origin. Cicatrization of the face (-chaza) is practised by a few of the Mfengu of the district.'

1962 Anon. p. 9 Xhosa: chief's necklace

'Paramount Chief Zwelidumile Sigcau placed a necklace of red beads over the head of Chief Archibald Velile Sandile, thereby elevating him to the rank of Paramount Chief of the AmaRarabe and related tribes of the Ciskei, ...'

1963 De Lange p. 90 Xhosa: cicatrization

'The scarification practised by the Xhosa is called *umvambo*. It is popular among the women, and is confined to the torso. The Xhosa women do not tattoo their faces as do the Mpondo and Mpondomise. The method of scarification was described by an old woman of Bulugha who had herself undergone the process when she was fourteen years old. A man who is skilled in the operation, called *incibi yomvambo*, runs a needle through a portion of the skin, thus raising it, and cuts the skin on both sides of the needle to meet at one point. The wounds are rubbed with a mixture of pork fat and *ichitywa*, which staunches the flow of blood. *Umvambo* is usually practised on the pubescent girls, as a form of decoration; men are not scarified in this way. . . . A double row of markings runs downwards between the breasts from the collarbone to the navel, and under the breasts one or more double rows of markings run at right angles to the perpendicular rows to left and right,. . . . This design may be elaborated upon. . . . Elongated horizontal markings lying parallel one beneath the other, placed between the collarbone and the breasts, are also encountered, although this latter design seems to be practised more by the Mfengu.'

1968 Holt (1969) pl. 2, pp. 91, 195 Tshomane, Tshezi: ornaments

pl. 2 Tshomane: girl's ornaments

Photograph of girl wearing quantities of head, neck, arm and leg ornaments.

p. 91 Tshezi: amputation of finger joint

'The last joint of the little finger (usually of the left hand) is the one removed, and it may be done at any age, but is most commonly done in childhood. A tight ligature is first tied around the finger . . . and an expert operator (often an old woman) seizes the joint and severs it with one swift back-and-forth slice of a razor-sharp knife; The operation is said to help a child if it is sickly or given to bed-wetting.'

p. 195 Tshezi: women's ornaments

'Women and girls alike wear beads (especially at festivities) and arm-bangles (*imiliza*) of wire or of plastic tubing, which has almost entirely replaced wire.'

(1970) Elliott pp. 17, 20, 24–25, 28–29, 31, 33–34, 35, 38–39, 43–44, 46, 56–57, 59–60, 65, 68–69, 75, 77, 79–80, 99–103, 108, 113, 124–125, 129, 130 Xhosa: ornaments

Photographs of beadwork ornaments, worn by both sexes and all ages mainly in the Ciskei.

pp. 33–34 Xhosa: beadwork

'On ceremonial occasions, like feasts, beer-drinks, or even Sunday visits to their neighbours, both men and women wear beads in profusion, though a well-dressed man carries a greater number and more varied pieces than his wife

does. . . . [A married woman] often wears a series of narrow brass bands from her wrists to her elbows. . . . As a woman gets older and puts on weight so the bands get tighter and start to hurt. . . . The type of bead used by the Xhosa is the very smallest available in the trading stores, and the colours most used are white, blue, red and pink. . . . Among the Xhosa, the pieces worn by each age group of both sexes differ quite clearly and, strangely enough, the girls do not as a rule wear anything like the quantity, or quality of pieces of beads that their boy friends do. Brides wear very little because they are relatively unimportant before they have borne children. . . . All beadwork is done by the women and girls of a kraal. Married women make the pieces which they and their husbands wear and girls work for their brothers, for themselves and for their sweethearts.'

p. 57 Xhosa: amputation of finger joint

'There is also a custom which is practised to stop the child getting thin and wasting away. It requires that the parents cut off the first joint of one of its little fingers . . . it is today only in isolated families that it is continued, although I have often met older tribesmen with the end of one of their little fingers missing. Tribal law does not specifically lay down which of the two fingers has to be amputated but custom within a particular clan or family does.'

p. 130 and figure Xhosa: cicatrization

'These tattoo (marks) are typical of those with which many Xhosa girls decorate their bodies. This girl's skin was cut with a razor blade by one of the men of her kraal and their pipe-oil was rubbed into the wounds to bring up the welts.'

1972 Bigalke pp. 71–89 Ndlambe: ornaments

p. 71 Ndlambe: ornaments

'Few bead ornaments are worn in everyday life about the homestead. However, all age groups take great pains with personal toilet, dress and ornamentation for rituals and festive occasions. . . . Elaborate ornamentation, especially in a youth (*inkhwenkhwe*) or a young man (*umfana*), is almost certainly a means of displaying the results of his success in attracting girls. . . . Youths do not, as a rule, begin to wear beadwork ornaments until they strike up a relationship with one or more girls who then present them with bead ornaments.'

p. 72 Ndlambe: social significance

'Decoration and ornament are also a means of conveying socially significant facts about the wearer's social status and about particular states, during which appropriate forms of behaviour must be adopted towards people in these states. . . . With certain exceptions each kind of ornament is appropriate to only one particular age-grade. . . . Old women have been known to remove *iwotshi* [*sic*], a set of graduated brass bangles, from the arm of a woman considered too young to wear it.'

p. 73 Ndlambe: colour

'. . . certain colour conventions in bead-work were or are characteristically worn by people of certain age-groups. Black and white, or black, white and saxe-blue or turquoise are the bead colours worn by senior men and women at the

present time . . . for this century at least black and white, or black, white and saxe blue are the "traditional" colours of the beadwork of older people. . . . Fashion appears to operate also in the types of article worn.'

pp. 73–89 Ndlambe: ornaments

A detailed description of the ornaments worn on various occasions by people of different age-groups and status.

(1976) Broster pp. 17–19, 21, 32–33, 60–61, 74–76, 88–89, 91, 110–114; pls between pp. 10–11, opp. pp. 21, 34, between pp. 34–35, opp. p. 65, between pp. 66–67, opp. pp. 67, 82, between pp. 82–83 Qwathi: ornaments

pp. 17–19 Qwathi: beadwork

'For each age group bead colours have symbolic significance. Among the Tembu tribe dark turquoise is the colour of youth. . . . Dancing, courtship and beadwork are intimately woven into the social structure. At the teenage dance the young girl studies the boys and if one appeals to her she buys beads and makes him three head bands. . . . As the affair progresses the girl makes him more and more beadwork. . . . Should their friendship break up the boy is required to return all gifts of beadwork. . . .

Senior teenagers delight in face masks made from beads. Boys look with special favour on ornately beaded spectacle frames and both sexes wear beaded ear-rings.'

p. 21 Qwathi: cicatrization

'Apart from beads and facial make-up teenagers employ tattoo marks to enhance their beauty. All undergo decoration by scarification. Girls of the Tembu tribe are scarified from the navel in three lines between the breasts and then in three diagonal lines above and below the breasts. . . . Youths of the same age have similar markings but the diagonal lines are omitted. . . . The actual process of scarification is undertaken by a competent woman. . . . Using a needle she raises a portion of the skin and, with a sharp razor blade, cuts on both sides of the needle to meet at one point. Her pattern completed she applies a soothing paste of pulverised green grass. The next day the scabs are removed. The incisions heal within the week but during this period repeated applications of paste are made.'

p. 32 Qwathi: beadwork, symbolism

'The grace and skill of their movements is enhanced by their beadwork, particularly by beaded leg-bands, armbands and wrist bands. These are decorated with bead streamers . . . often every finger is adorned. The rings are made of strands of wire threaded with beads or of flattened copper or brass. . . . Throughout life beads are always in fashion. . . . From birth to old age the symbolic beadwork blends subtly into the social structure. No phase of life is omitted.'

p. 33 Qwathi: beadwork of young men and girls

Nothing more.

pp. 60–61 Qwathi: brides' ornaments

'. . . elaborate beadwork is worn by the bride and her attendants' (description follows).

pp. 74–76 Qwathi: men's dance ornaments

Full description.

pp. 88–89 Qwathi: amputation of finger joint

'This custom [of removing the first joint of the little finger] is not practised by the tribe as a whole but follows family tradition. . . . In some families the operation is performed during the first week of the baby's life. . . . Sometimes a small child falls ill, is fractious. . . . This is taken as a sign that the ancestral spirits wish the custom observed . . . the father places its left hand over the bowl. . . . Then using a razor blade or sharp knife he strikes strongly at the first joint of the little finger and it falls into the bowl.'

p. 91 Qwathi: mourning

'She was buried according to Qaba ritual and for one month her family wore the symbols of mourning. Their heads were shaved and they removed all beadwork and ornamentation from their person.'

pp. 110–114 Qwathi: beadwork

Lists with short descriptions of 154 beadwork ornaments, which are depicted in the plates.

(1977) Sobahle pp. 274–281, 289 Xhosa: beadwork

p. 274 Xhosa: beadwork indicates status

Nothing more.

pp. 274–275 Xhosa: royal beads

Nothing more.

pp. 275–281 Xhosa: beadwork of age groups

Nothing more.

p. 289 Xhosa: decline of beadwork

'Today, it is evident to anyone that beadwork is fast disappearing. This decline is not only evident in the social sphere but also in the religious sphere, where it could be said bead-wearing was backed by the ancestors.'

ORNAMENT: TERMS

ubengo 1. strip or cutting of something. In olden times it was a glittering piece of copper (gold?) worn by nobles on the breast or forehead like an *imbasa*, as a decoration or mark (order) of distinction, D. 2. shield for the breast (X–McLaren 1915). 3. *lubeengo* animal bone as neck ornament and amulet (X–Lichtenstein 1811). (From *-benga* cut meat into large collops. Also in other Bantu languages: cut into strips. Cf. Sotho *lebêkô*, Venda *luvhengo*, long narrow sweat-scraper of iron or brass, often hung from neck) **754**

ubuhlalu generic term for beads, especially red ones, which are considered the finest beads; hence necklace composed of large reddish beads worn by principal chiefs as a sign of royalty, D Xes Bh (Hlu). (From general Bantu root

-*kalu* bead, Zu idem, Tsonga *vuhlalu*, but not found in the Sotho-Tswana and Venda languages of the interior) **755** (286)

inkwintshi (pron. *inkwintji*) 1. headgear or badge worn by chief councillors, warriors or *amagora* (heroes) only, D. 2. not confirmed **756** (745)

isidwangube 1. ornament of beads, granted as an order to chief councillors; now a chief councillor, D. 2. only 2nd part confirmed by those who know the word **757**

umxhaka 1. ring of ivory worn on the upper arm as a sign of distinction, D X T. 2. *khaga* (Lichtenstein 1811) **758**

inzeku piece of skin of a buck, with hoofs, fastened to the arm of the one who killed it, and worn as sign of honour, D X **759**

isigxoloxwana 1. an ornament, D. 2. not confirmed **760**

incaluba and *incaluka* 1. plant of order Iridaceae, possibly *Hypoxis* species, with yellow flowers and good for thatching, D. 2. yellow-flowered land rush, used for thatching (X–McLaren 1915). 3. *incaluka* plant used for making ornaments (Fgo–Kawa) **761** (186)

intshinga (pron. *intjinga*) 1. tassel-like ornament made from the tufted end of jackal's or hartebeest's tail, worn by men on the head or the calf of the leg in dancing and hunting, D. 2. tuft of fur or feathers, worn by circumcised lads or medicine-men, originally as distinction for bravery, X Bo. 3. wide-brimmed small-crowned hat, T **762** (637)

iqhosha button of any kind, D **763**

umqhosha (Em) button of any kind, D **764**

iqhula small round button, bead, D Mp **765**

iqhulaqhosha small button with flat base and round or conical top, D T and others **766**

umqhulo button, D **767**

unompondwana 1. brass button of conical shape, D. 2. not confirmed **768**

iphondwana (diminutive of *uphondo* horn) 1. round pyramid-shaped button, D (a contradiction, he means 'conical'). 2. apparently missed, and not asked **769**

isihombo 1. fine ornaments on garment, or on the person, D. 2. any ornament, finery, general. (From -*homba* deck oneself out, dress in fine apparel, D) **770**

isolotya 1. any ornament that hangs on a dress like a fringe, tail or appendage of a head-dress, D. 2. tassels hanging from the arms, T. 3. noose, Mp. 4. knot, Xes **771**

ujiko 1. anything twisted, anklet of beads, twisted ornament worn round the neck, D. 2. pliable wire, general. 3. twisted wire bangle round the calf, X. (From -*jika* turn round) **772**

umbhovu 1. fruit like great red pearls from *idywadi*, African boxthorn (*Lycium horridum* L.); a bead; an ornament, D. 2. species of small bush used to make pipe mouthpiece, X T. 3. red edible berry, X. 4. large red bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21) **773**

unondyola 1. white-flanked flycatcher (also *undyola*); ornament of beads, D. 2. ornament for the ears, X. 3. Mpondo men of Corana have neither the word nor the article, but know it is worn and so named in Tembuland **774**

indyulu blue hexagonal bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21) **775**

ingcawu pink bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21) **776**

ifathuse turquoise bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21) **777**

igolomi 1. Cape lourie, D. 2. anklet of bronze or copper, D (not confirmed). 3. cornelian bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21) **778** (883)

inkankani chalk-white bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21) **779**

inyembe 1. small arrow of the Korannas; whistle; barbed hook, D. 2. barbed spear, Xes Bh. 3. navy-blue bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21). 4. unknown to most people **780** (389, 404, 1055)

igqabi green bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21) **781**

ingqaza 1. boys' head ornament of red, black and white beads, with a string of same hanging down behind, D X (all colours). 2. particoloured bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21) **782**

umrwane large purple bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21) **783**

umthubi lemon-coloured bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21) **784**

amanzi purple bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21) **785**

ichele 1. nD. 2. beadwork head-band, Mp Bh **786**

idiliza 1. nD. 2. ornaments made for boys by their girls, and worn round waist and legs, T. 3. on legs only, Mp. 4. bead head-band, like a frill, X–Ciskei **787** (822)

idumnyasi 1. head ornament, necklet (from the Hottentot (Khoi) *damywas*), D. 2. not confirmed **788**

idunyasi 1. head ornament, necklet (from the Hottentot (Khoi) *damywas*), D. 2. not confirmed **789**

imbasa 1. white spot or mark at the forehead of an animal; head ornament, sign, cockade, diadem, soldier's cap-plate, D. 2. something worn as mark of distinction, e.g. for bravery. Now used for any badge. (Few people still know what it used to be in olden times. Some say it was an ivory armlet. The first meaning given above is no doubt the original one) **790**

impobole (from *-phobola* beat about the ears with a switch) 1. head-dress made from the bushy part of a jackal's tail, D X T. 2. made of tail of aardwolf (*ingci*), T. 3. not confirmed eastern Transkei **791**

icandantloko (lit. 'divide-head'), less commonly *incandantloko* 1. nD. 2. beadwork pinned to tufts left on shaven heads of boys and girls (Mp–UCT). 3. strip of beads over top of head, Mp (this latter is more likely from the meaning of the word) **792**

ingcaca 1. cowrie, cowrie shells as an ornamental band on foreheads of men or headstalls of horses, D. 2. worn by newly married women, X (X–Soga). 3. worn by bridegroom on wedding day, X Ciskei **793**

ingqaza 1. boys' head ornament of red, black and white beads, with a string of

same hanging down behind, D X (all colours). 2. particoloured bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21) **794**

inquma 1. head ornament, of skin of bird or mole tied to the hair in front, D. 2. band of monkey skin or monkey hair in woven strip, X. 3. tuft of hair or wool for ornamental purposes (Mzamane) **795**

isicanda 1. nD. 2. head ornament, flap of beadwork, Mp **796**

isiphothe (from *-photha* twist, twine, spin, plait) 1. (Em) curl or lock of hair bound round with fine brass wire, D. 2. Mp word according to X, but Mp informants deny it **797**

isiqweqwe 1. ornamental bead worn on forehead, a frontlet between the eyes, D. 2. beadwork triangles in various colours worn round neck and on head, T **798** (839)

isitsaba 1. garland or bandage of an ornamented kind (beads) round the head or foot, D. 2. arm- and ankle-pieces of dancing costume (X–Schweiger). 3. ring, the size of a bangle and of various bead sizes, worn on the head, general. 4. long beadwork anklet, X Ciskei **799** (744, 911)

umdunuso 1. nD. 2. chin strap for ceremonial dress of women, Bh **800**

umjewulane, ujewulani 1. nD. 2. flat beadwork head-band worn under head-cloth by some Thembu women, T (possibly from *jewellery*?) **801**

umgxashe 1. beads worn on the head and hanging down, D X. 2. bead head-band with bead streamers, X Ciskei **802**

umjila 1. anything long in comparison with other things of same kind, e.g. long feather in cock's tail, D. 2. tail-feather, T. 3. feather ornament for boys, X **803**

umqhoboka 1. nD. 2. beaded head-ring for married women, Mp **804**

umnqwazi 1. covering for the head of women, being a high cap made of skin trimmed with beads, bonnet, cap, hat, D, general. 2. narrow beadwork head-band round back of head for girls, Mp. 3. beaded head-ring (Mp–Beukes). 4. married woman's beaded head-ring, also called *isinqwazi* (Mp–UCT). 5. baboon-skin hat, Bh. 6. apex or topknot of modern hut, X **805** (51, 653, 733)

amahobo (but *amahobho*, T) 1. nD. 2. ear-rings, Fgo **806**

icici ear-ring, circle, D X Mp **807**

igabha (Em) large ear-ring, D X T **808**

ijikazi 1. ear-ring, D. 2. ear-ring worn through hole in ear-lobe (X–T. B. Soga 1937; Mp–Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964)). 3. beadwork ear pendant, fairly long, several colours, T. (From being turned round, verb *-jika*) **809**

ingwagwa 1. ornamental ear-button of ivory, D. 2. not confirmed **810**

inkelo 1. nD. 2. ear-ring, Xes. 3. ear-ring of wire, Mp **811**

irawu 1. kind of ear-bead, D. 2. not confirmed **812**

isicubha 1. nD. 2. stick or reed worn through the ear, Mp **813**

isiviliba (Em) ear ornament of wood or bone, D, apparently Fgo only **814**

itshaza 1. nD. 2. Bh and Zu buttons for the ear (X–T.B. Soga 1937). 3. usually of wood, white, Mp **815**

umpuku (not *-ph-*) 1. ear ornament made of grass, D (X–McLaren 1919). 2. not confirmed anywhere **816**

ungeshe 1. ear-pendant; black and white beads worn round the neck, D. 2. unconfirmed except by one very old and good Mp informant: strings of beadwork round head and vertically over from ear to ear, green and white, worn by young men and girls on special occasions, Mp **817** (844)

utsinatsina 1. obsolete kind of ear-ring, D. 2. not confirmed **818**

iliso, pl. *amaso* (as distinct from *iliso, amehlo* eye) 1. large round white bead, so named from resembling the eyeball, D. 2. Job's tears (seed of *Coix lachryma-jobi* L.), Mp. 3. all large round beads, not only white ones, T Mp X Bo, probably general **819** (276)

itantyisi, pl. *amatantyisi* (also *amatantjisi, amatatjisi*) 1. small hard-cased red fruit strung into necklaces, D T Mp Xes. 2. necklace of Job's tears, Bh X Ciskei **820**

iyila 1. kind of sea-shell, D. 2. ancient bead, Fgo Nqamakwe. 3. necklace of *Nerita* (probably *albicilia*) shells strung on string (formerly goatskin *riem*) worn by brides, the newly initiated, and old men, X. 4. two shells are strung together and worn by men (T–Makalima). 5. singular not used, have only heard of *amayila*, but unknown what it is, various informants **821** (273)

idiliza 1. nD. 2. ornaments made for boys by their girls, and worn round waist and legs, T. 3. on legs only, Mp. 4. bead head-band, like a frill, X Ciskei **822** (787)

iqhobozela, iqobozela 1. nD. 2. four-cornered plait made with four strands, as of leather for whip, of grass or rushes for necklet or waistband, whence used for the articles so produced, general (but Bh call this four-strand four-cornered plaiting *iqhobolozolo*) **823**

ikhamanga 1. *Strelitzia reginae* Ait., D. 2. single-strand necklace of beads and wooden beads, Bo. 3. species of small aloe, Mp. 4. a plant like canna, with spherical hard seeds, diameter *c.* 4 mm, which are boiled and holes drilled through, strung to make beadwork strings worn round neck in many strands, by boys and girls, T. 5. ordinary agave, various informants **824**

imisuphu (singular not used) 1. nD. 2. necklace, Mp. 3. four to five rubber cable covers, each a different colour, worn round waist and ankles by men, women and girls, mostly made on the Reef, general **825**

umsubhe 1. nD. 2. necklace of twisted strands of strung beads, T **826**

umqoboka, umqoboko 1. nD. 2. bead necklace, necklet of twisted grass, T Fgo **827**

impepho 1. generic term for the everlasting flowers, which are used for making a bed for expectant mothers, D. 2. species of *Helichrysum*, green leaves of which are pounded and mixed with white clay (*ingceke*) and set to a hard mass, which is made into beads that are strung, with others of glass, etc., to make

necklace, Bo. 3. shrub that is powdered and mixed with white clay to make beads worn by nursing mothers, X. 4. the same, mixed with red clay, Bh. 5. *Helichrysum stenopterum* DC. (Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk) **828**

ingqosha (from *-qhosha* pin or button together) string of beads fastened to *iphoco* in front and worn round the neck, formerly called *ithumbu*, D **829**

iphoco 1. small ornamental square of beadwork worn in front of the neck and attached to the *ingqosha*, D X Fgo T. 2. worn by young men, Mpm **830**

umphica 1. nD (nor verb). 2. *-phica* to make complicated plait, as distinct from *-luka* to make simple plait with 3 strands only; no noun known, according to panel of teachers. 3. species of grass (*Digitaria littoralis* Stent), used for ornaments, T. 4. armlet and necklet of *umphica* grass, T (T–Beukes). 5. not generally known, but some recognize it as what they call *imbica*, also necklet, waistband, anklet, T **831** (205, 878)

iphotho 1. nD. 2. necklace worn by women and girls for dancing, X Ciskei. 3. hair of women coloured with ochre and twisted into strands, Mp **832**

intseka 1. necklace of ostrich egg-shell beads, D. 2. girdle of *imizi*, X **833** (893)

isambalo (from non-existent verb *-ambala* put on something to wear, cf. *-ambatha*, idem; no longer generally known, used by some in pl. *izambalo* only) 1. necklet; necklace; assorted ornaments, D X Mp general. 2. kilt with tails, leather armlets and skin cap (worn by doctor), X. 3. formerly: skin, especially of duiker, worn at *imidudo* (formal wedding dances); nowadays, though seldom used: any adornment such as blanket, bracelet, beadwork, X **834**

isidanga 1. ornament of many strings of beads worn on the neck or across the upper part of the body; garland, D X Mp. 2. *isidanga samadoda* long necklace with squares (T–Mrs Goodwin). 3. long beaded blue necklace worn at *intonjane* by girls and 'witchdoctresses' (T–Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964)) **835** (742)

isifaco 1. nD. 2. necklace of Job's tears, Xes. 3. necklace of small beads, X **836**

isifikane 1. scented grass (*Andropogon* sp. and *Lasiospermum radiatum* Trev.) used for making necklaces, D. 2. plant with broad leaves, scented juice of which mixed with ochre (X–Norbury). 3. kept in huts for pleasant odour (X–Smith 1824–5) **837** (937)

isikhonxo 1. nD. 2. necklace, Bh. 3. thong used to tie (from *-khonxa* fasten with a chain or buckle; bind, fetter, D), T **838**

isiqweqwe 1. ornamental bead worn on forehead, a frontlet between the eyes, D. 2. beadwork triangles in various colours worn round neck and on head, T **839** (798)

isiyeye 1. the *isidanga* (necklace, see 835) of one of the tribes, D. 2. chaplet of beads, Mp. 3. flat squares of beadwork hanging from beaded string, with danglers, worn from the neck by women in town only, Mp. 4. beadwork collar with danglers, worn by women, T **840**

ithumbu 1. (fig.) bead necklace, D T. 2. bead collar, 65 mm broad, worn by men, X Ciskei. 3. necklace with narrower flaps than *ingqosha*, X **841**

unomlilwana 1. nD. 2. necklace (Mp–UCT). 3. not confirmed **842**

udlawu 1. (Em) smith's tongs, D Mp. 2. tongs made of wire, Bh. 3. iron for digging, Xes Mp, but denied by other good Mp informants, and the word in any sense was unknown to good X and Bo informants. 4. necklace with flaps (T–W. Blohm corresp.) Mp X **843** (137)

ungeshe 1. ear-pendant; black and white beads worn round the neck, D. 2. unconfirmed except by one very old and good Mp informant: strings of beadwork round head and vertically over from ear to ear, green and white, worn by young men and girls on special occasions, Mp **844** (817)

umhlehlo 1. the inside fat, D T. 2. wide collar of beadwork worn by women and girls, so called because it looks like intestinal fat, Fgo T **845**

ikhala 1. nD. 2. beadwork collar or necklace with danglers, worn by boys, T. 3. collar necklace with danglers, X Ciskei. 4. unknown to many **846**

umkhala 1. nose-strap for cattle; bridle, D. 2. necklace, Bh. 3. beadwork strap round head and under chin, T **847** (347, 1094)

umngqi single string of beads; a thread, D X, but not generally known **848**

umnxilo 1. one of the two locks under a goat's neck; ornament for the neck, D. 2. not confirmed by X; T and Mp maintain tassels of goat are *imingxili* and *imingxilo*, and do not denote ornament **849**

umthombothi sandalwood (*Excoecaria africana* Mull. (now *Spirostachys africana* Sond.)), a hard scented wood, used as a perfume, pieces of which are worn on a string round the neck, D X **850** (178, 1008)

isipili 1. (from Afr. *spieël*) looking-glass, D. 2. flat square piece of beadwork with band at top on either side worn by women, T **851**

isivalo (from *-vala* close) 1. nD. 2. bar for fastening door, Bh. 3. broad collar and strip of beadwork worn from neck, T **852** (56)

amaphondo (from *uphondo* horn) 1. nD. 2. bangles of horn, plastic or celluloid, X Mp T **853**

ikhopolo 1. brass ring or armlet worn by Kafir women, D. 2. correct, worn on the wrist, X. 3. but Mzamane and Mp Education Officers say *ikopolo*, which is more likely. (Clearly derived from English *copper* or Afrikaans *koper*, the latter more likely) **854**

ubhijo (pl. *iimbijo*) (from *-bhija* twist a single stalk of grass, thereby squeezing out the moisture and spiralling the fibre, as in rope, to achieve strength. Hence also several strands in the same way) 1. nD. 2. ring of twisted grass whether on leg, arm, waist or neck, general. 3. armlet or necklet of grass, five strands twisted round a sixth, Bh **855** (204)

imbothoza 1. nD (but *-bothoza* dent, bruise). 2. armlet, T. 3. girdle or necklet of thick twisted grass almost the thickness of a pencil and resembling *urasi*, Mpm **856**

umliza 1. (Em) ornament worn round ankles, consisting of horsehair overcast

with brass wire, D. 2. also girdle, X. 3. leg- and arm-band, of brass clips on cowtail-hair core, Mp. | 4. hand-engraved brass bracelet worn by men (general–Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964)). 5. rubber-ring anklet, from canning bottle, T **857**

umtya 1. something to bind with, as a small band, thong, cord, D. 2. thong to tie cow's hindlegs for milking; anything used similarly, X, general. 3. bowstring (Lichtenstein 1811) **858** (244, 345, 407, 680)

ingqoqo armlet of black shells, D X **859**

imbica 1. nD. 2. species of grass, used to plait armlet called *injica*, T **860**

injica 1. stalk of grass; armlet plaited from it, D X. 2. armlet plaited from four stalks of *imbica* grass, worn by girls and boys, T. 3. species of grass, *c.* 60 cm tall, found in lands, bangles plaited from it, general **861**

inshikica 1. nD. 2. armlet plaited of grass, some say eight stalks, no more, no less, Bo **862**

inkele 1. nD. 2. brass finger-ring, of round section, T. 3. large ear-ring, Mp **863**

intsontelelo (from *-sontelela* weave, plait, twist rope) 1. that which is twisted or plaited, hence, a bracelet for the wrist, twisted of different coloured grasses, or woven of beads, D. 2. twisted skin, X. 3. not confirmed **864** (226)

iqoqa 1. kind of assegai, the neck of which is filed in an ornamented manner; carved stick used by girls in dancing, D. 2. bangle of metal, worn by girls, Bo. 3. decorated stick with which women beat ox-hide at *khwetha* dances (X–Plant, –Kirby 1934) **865**

irwantse 1. nD 2. thick brass bangle, T Bo, but unknown to many people asked **866**

isacholo 1. arm-ring, bracelet, worn as an ornament, D X. 2. armlet, bracelet, bangle (X–McLaren 1915). 3. evidently an old word, since mentioned by Lichtenstein (1811) as *uhskôlo* metal bangles. 4. plain, thick, round brass wire bent to form bracelet, X Mp **867**

isiwocholo bracelet, etc., see *isacholo*, D. 2. not confirmed **868**

ikapu (colloquial) 1. meaning quite different in D. 2. collectively, a whole lot of *izacholo* bangles together on the wrist, T **869**

isinda (cl. 5) 1. nD. 2. wrist ornament, worn by women (T–Makalima); flat brass strip on arm or stick, Mp. 3. brass bracelet, T **870**

iwatsha 1. arm-ring, D X (T–Makalima). 2. bracelet, Mp X, but especially if a whole set on fore-arm. 3. bracelet of thick brass wire bent round fore-arm, mostly a number of them together; worn by women and girls, doctors, Mp **871**

izinzabela (from *-nzabela* tie piece of skin round wrist for luck in hunting, or as mark of distinction) 1. teeth, horns, etc., tied round wrists, ornamentations, D. 2. not confirmed **872**

unoxhalisa (from *-xhalisa* cause trouble or anxiety) 1. nD. 2. bracelet with thong streamers for youth to beat girl friends (Mpm–F. Cornner corresp.) **873**

ixhalisa (see previous) two to four beaded strips worn from wrist by young men, to beat their girl friends, Mp **874**

umasigojana (diminutive of *isigodi*?) 1. nD. 2. grass ornament (bangle or necklet) of five strands in a square plait, Bh only. 3. not confirmed **875**

umbese 1. hoop; grass bracelet made and worn by children, D. 2. child's grass bracelet (X–McLaren 1915). 3. knife, Mp Bh T and miscellaneous others, most of whom also use *isitshetshe*. 4. *hlonipha* for 'knife' used by women and *abakhwetha*, X. (From Afr. *mes*) **876**

umgolombane 1. tinkling brass ornament, worn on ankles and arms, D. 2. beads sewn on to goatskin, worn as ornament by men only, seen Idutywa, Fgo, by a Gcaleka living under Ndamase in West Pondoland. 3. otherwise not confirmed **877**

umphica 1. nD (nor verb). 2. *-phica* to make complicated plait, as distinct from *-luka* to make simple plait with 3 strands only; no noun known, according to panel of teachers. 3. species of grass (*Digitaria littoralis* Stent), used for ornaments, T. 4. armlet and necklet of *umphica* grass, T (T–Beukes). 5. not generally known, but some recognize it as what they call *imbica*, also necklet, waistband, anklet, T **878** (205, 831)

umseki 1. nD. 2. thin brass-wire bangle, Bh **879**

umtseke 1. nD. 2. bangle of narrow strip of brass wound round several strands of wire, T **880**

umsesane 1. finger-ring, D, general. Often of brass. 2. *pseesana* finger- or toe-ring (Lichtenstein 1811) **881**

ugolomi 1. nD. 2. anklet of beads, worn by girls and women, Mp **882**

igolomi 1. Cape lourie, D. 2. anklet of bronze or copper, D (not confirmed). 3. cornelian bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21) **883** (778)

imixhwayo bead shoulder-bands, Fgo X, cf. *umxhwayo* regalia worn by Good Templars, D. (From *-xhwaya*, same as *-xhaya*, tie or hang strings of beads over shoulder and chest, D: 468) **884**

umswibhu 1. nD. 2. shoulder-band, Bh **885**

isipiliti (from Afr. *speld*) 1. nD. 2. large beaded safety pin, an ornament of men, T **886**

igqesha 1. girdle, band, napkin, bound about the waist, D T. 2. old blanket or waistband worn under blankets by men and girls, X **887** (677)

undyulo (D), *indyilo* (T), *undyilo* (X–T. B. Soga 1937) (from *-ndyula* put on the *undyulo*, D) 1. the piece of brass that adorns the penis-cap, D (pl. *amandyilo)*. 2. tassels on penis-cover, if leather strip is cut lengthwise into strips, Mp. 3. tassels of sections of reeds strung on threads, on a girdle, T **888** (714)

ibhanti (from Afr. *band*) belt, band, strap, D, general. (Note: *ibanti* in D is erroneous) **889** (676)

imijajo 1. nD. 2. brass girdle, Bh. 3. girdle of twisted brass wire, worn by boys and girls. There are no beads on it, Western Mp **890**

indabula 1. nD. 2. brass-wire girdle (general–Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964)). 3. beadwork girdle of men and boys, girls, Mp **891**

ingcengce 1. girdle or waistband, =*ungcenge*, D. 2. flat beadwork waistband or necklace, X. 3. otherwise not known **892**

intseka 1. necklace of ostrich egg-shell beads, D. 2. girdle of *imizi*, X **893** (833)

inyilingo 1. tight girdle of beads worn by girls above the hips; kind of thong worn round the loins, D X. 2. worn by anyone, X. 3. (cl. 5, pl. *amanyilingo*) narrow girdle of cloth, *c.* 20 mm broad, with beadwork on it and long danglers, T **894**

unyilingo 1. same as *inyilingo*, D. 2. not confirmed **895**

isicemfu 1. nD. 2. girdle of coiled brass wire (Mpm–F. Cornner corresp.). 3. beadwork, not girdle, worn on breast by young men, men and women, on special occasions, Mp **896**

ukhotso 1. waistband of beads worn by Reds, D (*ukotso* is a misprint) X (X–T. B. Soga 1937, Mzamane). 2. girdle, of cloth or soft leather with beads on it, worn by men, all the time, T **897**

ulutya 1. long thong, D X Bh Bo. 2. girdle, Mp; bead belt (Mp–UCT) probably the same thing. 3. grass band round back and over breast, or girdle, Bh **898** (243)

umgexo 1. nD. 2. bead band round back and over breast, or girdle, Bh only, not X **899**

ungcenge 1. waistband worn by red Kafirs; = *ukhotso*, D X. 2. flat waistband or necklace, X. 3. long string of beads worn round waist, X Ciskei. 4. otherwise unknown **900**

umkhwinti 1. the fibrous plant *Gazania pinnata* Less. used for plaiting and as threads, D Mp. 2. baby's waistband, a cord of the leaf skin of *Gazania integrifolia* (X–Soga). 3. *inkciyo* for small children, X. 4. species of plant, T. 5. plant from which fibre is obtained for making fringe skirt, T Hlu Herschel **901** (208, 678, 690)

uqhwemesha, umqhwemesha girdle of thongs covered with small brass rings worn round the loins or round the legs below the knees (from *-qhwemesha* tie up), D X T **902** (679)

unonkciyana wesinqe 1. nD. 2. beadwork belt (Mpm–F. Cornner corresp.) X. (Cf. *iciyane* red clay) **903**

unogingqi 1. nD. 2. waistband worn by young man at dances, X Ciskei. 3. not confirmed **904**

unogingqi-omkhulu 1. nD. 2. large waistband worn over skirt by girl, at dances, X Ciskei. 3. not confirmed **905**

ubusengi (Mp word for *umliza*) worn below knee and above elbow by young men, women and girls, Mp **906**

imboza (pl. *amamboza*) 1. nD. 2. grass anklet, Mp. 3. monkey rope around

ankles, for dancing, by girls, children, and diviners who have *thwasa*-d (become full-fledged), Mp **907**

inkasáyiya (pron. *inkasáiya*) 1. heavy bulky weight (from Eng. *cast iron*), D. 2. anklets of tecoma stem (*Tecomaria capensis* Spach), Mp. 3. heavy piece of metal, T **908**

inqashela (cl. 5, pl. *amanqashela*; Mp *inqatshela*) 1. piece of skin used as a legging; an ornament round the ankle, of beads (*amaso*) on string or wire, D X. 2. Xhosa dancing rattle of goatskin worn round ankle (X–Kirby 1934). 3. anklet for dancing, Bo. 4. twisted brass-wire anklet, Mp **909** (1062)

intsekelezana (from *-sekeleza*, fig. speak so as to conceal real thoughts) 1. undergarments, leggings, greaves, D: 383. 2. not confirmed anywhere. (Probably coined for mission use and not a term) **910**

isitsaba 1. garland or bandage of an ornamented kind (beads) round the head or foot, D. 2. arm- and ankle-pieces of dancing costume (X–Schweiger). 3. ring, the size of a bangle and of various bead sizes, worn on the head, general. 4. long beadwork anklet, X Ciskei **911** (744, 799)

umliza 1. (Em) ornament worn róund ankles, consisting of horsehair overcast with brass wire, D. 2. also girdle, X. 3. leg- and arm-band, of brass clips on cowtail-hair core, Mp. 4. hand-engraved brass bracelet worn by men (general–Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964)). 5. rubber-ring anklet, from canning bottle, T **912**

uxhaxhazo ornament for ankles, D **913**

iqoqa 1. kind of assegai, the neck of which is filed in an ornamented manner; carved stick used by girls in dancing, D. 2. bangle of metal, worn by girls, Bo. 3. decorated stick with which women beat oxhide at *khwetha* dances (X–Plant, –Kirby 1934) **914** (865, 1046)

amathuphasi 1. nD. 2. scarification on cheeks (Hlu–T.B.Soga 1937: 48) **915**

igesi 1. nD, but the usual word for electricity and power station (from Eng. *gas*). 2. tattooing or lines on face produced by carbon in engine oil or soot rubbed in, T Mp **916**

incakuba, isicaguba, icaguba 1. *incakuba* (Em) small sharp instrument for letting blood, D; lancet for making incisions for medicine, X Mp. 2. *isicaguba*, nD; *hlonipha* for knife or something sharp, Bo. 3. *icaguba*, nD; lancet for incising face (Bh–Hammond-Tooke 1955*b*) **917** (996)

inkralula, intlalula (*inklalula*) 1. nD. 2. unhealed cicatrizations on face of girls, women and men, Mp but other Mp say uncommon, because actually a Bh custom. 3. not confirmed otherwise **918**

uhlanga 1. incisions made for letting blood, cupping or tattooing, D. 2. long weals on face, Mp Bh **919**

umvambo (from *-vamba* cicatrize) mark in the flesh caused by the healing of cuts made in tattooing a person, or of cuttings for cupping, D, general **920**

ingqithi finger with the terminal joint, or two terminal joints, cut off; supposed to safeguard the child from evil ways, D, general **921**

ORNAMENT: DISCUSSION

The subject of ornaments in general is an extremely complicated one, and it is not intended here to do more than draw the broad outline of ornamental wear as it was in former times, and to some extent is now. Some important or characteristic ornaments will be noted, and the vocabulary and some illustrations given. As is the case with clothing, the ornaments worn reflect the age and status of the wearer. (For a detailed description of which ornaments are worn at what state of life see Elliott (1970), Bigalke (1972), Broster (1976), Sobahle (1977).)

ORNAMENTS OF DISTINCTION

Apart from those already described under costume, there seem to have been few particular ornaments to distinguish classes of people.

It is difficult to determine from early accounts what ornaments distinguished a chief and which were worn merely because, like other rich men, he could afford them. The only ornament that appears really to have belonged to a reigning Xhosa chief was a necklace, *ubuhlalu*, which was put on him at his accession. According to Collins, the chief Ngqika (Gaika) stated definitely that this was the sign of his authority over his father's people. The majority of authors, including Soga (1932), and some informants maintain that this necklace was of red beads, and Godlonton describes red beads as 'formerly an insignia of royalty'.

However, in the sketches attributed to Gordon (Pl. 97: 6) but evidently made by Schumacher about 1776, men, all but one of whom are wearing leopard skin but only one of whom is named a chief, are wearing red, and some white, beads round neck and hips, and women are wearing them round the neck. Other authors describe the chief's necklace as white and according to Janssens (1803) no one else wore the white beads. Von Winkelman (1788) merely states that the possession of red beads indicated a well-to-do person, but that in his time white beads were the more sought after and less common.

Several authors describe the necklace worn by Ngqika, who died in 1829, as being of white beads. On the other hand, in I'Ons' painting of Ngqika's son Sandile interviewing two tribesmen, about 1850, the latter are depicted wearing white necklaces identical with that worn by Sandile (see also Pl. 68: 1, 3).

Another item attributed to chiefs, and not only Xhosa, is one or more 'copper plates' (*?ubengo*), which were worn on the chest hung from the neck, or tied in the hair generally so as to hang down over the left ear or suspended from it. There would seem to have been some significance in the left side of the head as that position for the ornament was recorded as early as 1593, by Lavanha. Variants of the word *ubengo* occur in an unbroken sequence northwards through the whole Sotho–Tswana area (South Sotho, Tswana, North Sotho: *lebêkô*) to the Limpopo (Venda: luvhengo) denoting a spatula or sweat-scraper, of iron or copper, and

worn suspended from the neck. A trade connection with the copper- and iron-mining industries of the north-eastern and northern Transvaal (Phalaborwa, Messina) cannot, therefore, be ruled out. Copper plates were traded from the Dutch by the Khoikhoi (Hottentots) from the earliest times and may well have reached the Xhosa that way too. Apart from the Dictionary reference, these ornaments are only mentioned up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. They may well have been worn by other rich men or other members of the reigning family.

Barrow, writing in the early part of the nineteenth century, describes the chief's ornament as a brass chain, hung on the left side from a head-band of small copper beads. This, he said, was worn by chiefs, including Ngqika, on both sides of the frontier.

An official flavour was given at the end of the eighteenth century when the Dutch and later the British gave to important chiefs brass plates that bore the arms of Dutch or British authorities respectively (for a similar practice in Australia see McCarthy 1952).

It is possible that there were similar but unofficial gifts from European visitors as Hallbeck and Fritsch record, and one of the Gordon drawings shows an ornament (presumably metal) of two crescents and a star (Pl. 97: 6).

According to Bain the only way the Mpondo chief Faku was distinguished from his people was by a bunch of 'Lawrie's' (i.e. lourie's) feathers hanging behind his head, but this may have been a personal fad.

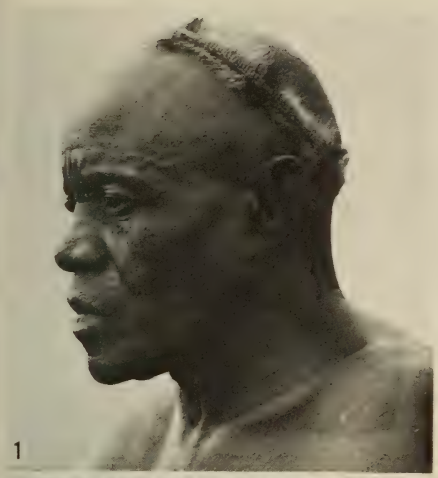
A better-known ornament that was worn by chiefs, and given by them as a mark of favour to distinguished warriors, councillors or favourites, was the ivory arm-band, *umxhaka* (Pl. 97: 5), one or more of which were worn by men only, on the left arm above the elbow.

The arm-band was a ring of ivory, sliced from the upper part of an elephant tusk, and further hollowed to fit the arm. The band was about 2–3 cm wide and 1–2 cm thick. These bands were generally quite plain. Körner's statement that they might be decorated with incised geometrical patterns is likely to refer to an ordinary arm-band. A spearhead or a sharp stone was used to shape them, and according to Von Winkelman they were very troublesome to make. Although these arm-bands are generally said always to have been the gift of the chief to individuals, there seems to have been some difference of practice regarding parting with them. Some men would on no account take them off, let alone part with them, for fear

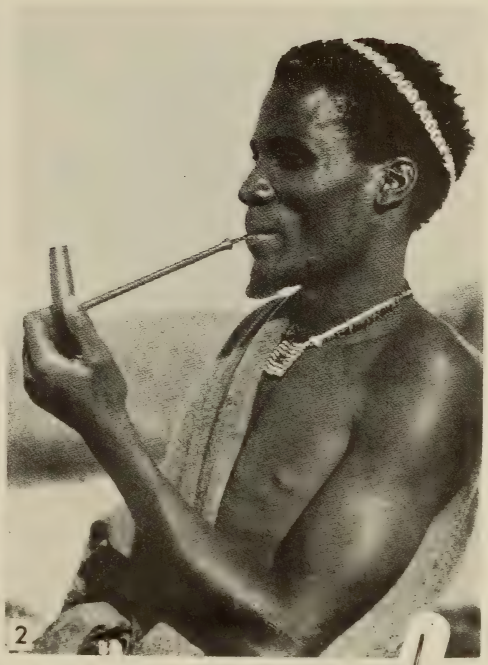
PLATE 97

Ornaments of distinction.

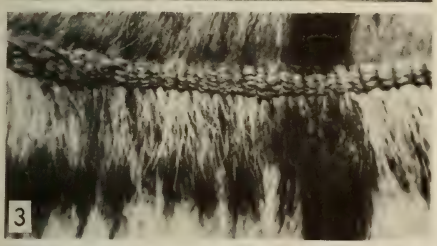
1. *inquma* (fur chaplet), worn by Xhosa headman; Willowvale, 1948.
2. Bomvana wearing cowrie head-band; no locality, *c.* 1900 (Kidd 1904, pl. 2).
3. Part of *inquma* (fur chaplet), Xhosa; Qwaninga, Willowvale, 1948.
4. *ingcaca* (cowrie head-band), no scale, Xhosa; Qwaninga, Willowvale, 1948.
5. *umxhaka* (ivory arm-ring), inside diameter 155 mm; no further data (Alb. E486).
6. 'Mahota, Caffer Captein', wearing brass or copper chest ornament; near Fish River, *c.* 1777, Gordon collection (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).



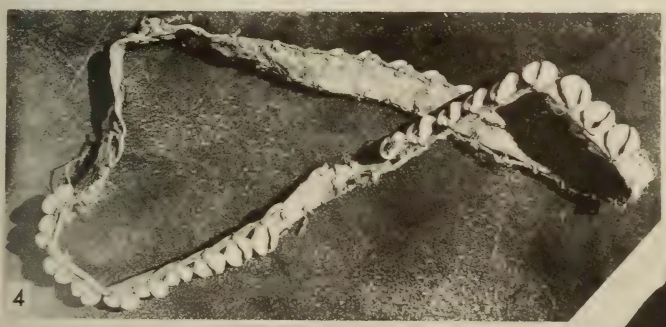
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of confiscation of property or even death. One writer reports that a dying warrior would take his arm-band off and smash it up rather than let it fall into enemy hands; another that a warrior finding one on a dead enemy would take it off and keep it, and return it to the enemy chief after the fighting was over. Otherwise there is no information as to what happened to the arm-band when the owner died. It might have been destroyed with the rest of his personal belongings, but the fact that several were seen and two even bought during this study suggests that they remained in the family. Some people, however, were always prepared to sell them. Von Winkelman reports that two cost him as much as a cow. Van der Kemp quotes them at five to a cow, but it is not clear who bought them.

On the other hand Messrs Witcher, Dyer & Dyer Ltd. of King William's Town advertised ivory arm-rings for sale in the *Kaffrarian Watchman* of 11 December 1876, and according to Streatfeild (1878) anyone who could afford to buy one might wear it.

According to Van der Kemp the ivory arm-bands were peculiar to the subjects of Ngqika (Gaika), and certainly most of the notices in the literature seem to be for the Xhosa, but they were evidently worn by Thembu (Duggan-Cronin) and, according to informants, by Fingo. Smith and Bain state that the Mpondo wore ivory rings on the upper arm, but do not mention any special significance. Bain's sketch of a Xesibe chief and of the Mpondo chief Faku's son show what appear to be ivory arm-rings.

There is only the word *umxhaxa* in the vocabulary for an arm-band of ivory; but it appears likely from the literature and from museum specimens that there were two sorts of ivory arm-band—the thick heavy ring worn only by chiefs and distinguished men of the Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana, and a thinner ring that had no special significance and might be worn by any man or, according to three sources, woman, who was able to afford it. The former type is likely to have gained in importance after the beginning of the nineteenth century when guns became available and the ivory trade with the Colony boomed, and elephants were quite rapidly exterminated. As early as 1829, Kay found that ivory ornaments were becoming rare.

The Dictionary mentions two other ornaments, *inkwintshi* (not described) and *isidwangube*, an ornament of beads, which were worn by chief councillors or distinguished warriors, but these are not mentioned in the rest of the literature, nor were they confirmed by informants.

Finally, as a mark of distinction, it was the custom for successful hunters to tie round the left arm *izeku*, a piece of the skin from round the eyes, or a piece with the hoofs attached, from the animal killed. According to Beutler, this, or part or the whole of the skin of a bird, might also be attached to the hair. The more a hunter was entitled to wear, the greater his standing. A reflection of this custom persists today in that *abakhwetha* put trophies from birds and small mammals caught on hunting expeditions into a head-dress worn during their seclusion.

Nowadays chiefs and their councillors wear western dress, there are no warriors, and hunting is illegal. With the possible exception of the red necklace, which

was used at an investiture in 1962, these ornaments of distinction have therefore fallen into disuse, and nothing has been instituted in their place. Some chiefs, however, still possess their arm-bands, or those of their fathers.

GENERAL

In early days men wore ornaments in the hair, round the head, in the ears, round the neck, round the upper arm and wrist, round the waist, below the knees, round the ankles, and on fingers and toes—in fact wherever they could, according to their means and rank, and the importance of the occasion.

Women did the same with the general exception of the head, which was more often than not covered, and the knees. One early author states that the men kept all the ornaments for themselves and gave none to the women, but this is not confirmed—in fact mention is made of the expense to a man of his wife's fashion sense.

The scope of the ornaments has remained the same from the earliest accounts to the present time, but the ornaments themselves have changed as different objects have become available or fashionable.

In the early times there was greater reliance on natural resources, which were amplified or replaced first among the upper classes, and gradually among all classes, by other objects that became available through trade with other peoples, and contact with Europeans.

Tufts of fur, tail hair, and ostrich and other feathers in the hair were amplified with bits of metal, especially copper, buttons, beads, and beadwork head-bands. Paravicini di Capelli mentions head-bands of ostrich-eggshell beads, but this is not confirmed. To sticks and porcupine quills in the ears were added bead or metal ear-rings. To shells, seeds, animal teeth, and bits of reed or wood, for necklaces, and waistbands, were added copper and iron beads, metal chains and glass beads, obtained first from Delagoa Bay, and later from the Cape. These relatively simple ornaments were practically ousted by the tremendous flowering of beadwork in the late nineteeth and early twentieth centuries. No sooner had beads become plentiful, however, than fashion began to hold sway and traders occasionally found themselves with unwanted stock on their hands. The vocabulary shows that different colours and styles of beads acquired individual names based on some comparable article. Buttons, which in the early days were brass and latterly white porcelain or pearl, have been predominantly used for decorating clothing, but some have been used for personal ornament. In the early days brass buttons, round or conical in section, were popular as hair and ear ornaments, and were often used with a loop as a fastening for necklaces and other ornaments. Buttons too acquired different names according to their style or shape, and were equally subject to changes in fashion.

The earliest records speak of brass, copper and iron bangles round wrists and ankles, and these have persisted throughout, though beadwork anklets also became very popular. Iron was evidently the least common, which was probably

due to the shortage of iron in the area, and its importance for more serious uses, so that it was commonly too precious to be used as ornament.

The thong girdles worn by both sexes were decorated with rings of brass, then with beads, and later on were often replaced by a beadwork belt.

Stoker makes the interesting observation that the Ngqika wore more ornaments than the Gcaleka. In the early days the Mpondo appear to have worn fewer ornaments than the people of the west—possibly because they were further from the centre of trade. Characteristic of them were heavy brass rings round neck and arms, traded from Natal, and necklaces of blue and white beads, for which colours they have retained their preference till today.

Common among all the Cape Nguni both in early times and until the present have been the ornaments that are plaited of certain grasses and sedges that ripen in the autumn. These are worn, sometimes in great numbers by both sexes, for some months, until they wear out, and they are replaced the next autumn (Pls 98: 6; 101: 2, 4, 6, 7). There are necklaces, bangles and leg-bands, girdles and bandoliers. They are twisted and plaited by women and children, and there is quite a vocabulary for the grasses used and the different styles of plaiting, but not for the different objects.

Beadwork declined with the shortage of beads during and after the last war (1939–45) and seeds increased in importance again when beads were scarce (Pls 99: 3; 101: 1, 3). After the war, however, beadwork came back at full strength, and although in recent years the glass-bead trade has been affected somewhat by import control (J. Broster, pers. comm. 1983) and more particularly price, which has caused a rise in popularity of plastic beads (The Bead Shop, Cape Town, pers. comm. 1984), beadwork is still the most important form of ornament.

Women make all the ornaments except the metal bangles and rings. Girls give boys and men presents of beadwork—just because they like them or because they are betrothed to them, but according to one informant, if a girl gives a gallon paraffin tin full of beadwork, the recipient has to kill a goat and give a party for her and her friends! There is no record of a language of colour, such as is reported from Natal, but Plate 103: 3 does show a 'love charm'; and a Bhaca girl will make a love token of beads for a lover approved by her parents.

PLATE 98

Head ornaments and grass ornaments.

1. Married woman wearing *umqhoboko*, Mpondo; Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki, 1948.
2. *impobole*, diameter *c.* 254 mm, Thembu; Herschel, 1908 (SAM–998).
3. Section of bangle, beaded and with brass strip clipped on core, worn by young men at *intlombe* dances, Thembu; Baziya, Umtata, 1941 (TM 8404).
4. Young man wearing *izingqaza* (head-bands), Xhosa; Bojeni, Willowvale, 1948.
5. Girl wearing *isicanda* (head ornament), reed ear ornaments, necklace of Job's tears and facial scars, Mpondo; Mbotyi, Lusikisiki, 1948.
6. Boy wearing plaited grass or sedge necklets, Bomvana; Guse, Elliotdale, 1948.
7. *ichele*, worn by Mpondo girl; Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki, 1948.
8. Mpondo woman wearing *ujewulane* (head-band); near Umtata Mouth, 1958.


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The only special ornament recorded for mourning was by Alberti, according to whom a widower would wear round his neck a few copper beads strung on oxtail hair, until the hair wore out. The general practice is said to be for all ornaments to be removed for the duration of mourning. It is not specifically stated that this included the fixed bangles on the arms.

HEAD ORNAMENTS

Apart from all sorts of small items or strings of beads tied in the hair, the following head ornaments were described in the early literature specifically for the Xhosa:

Ingcaca: a leather band, about 2 cm wide, with cowrie shells attached, worn round the forehead or further back on the head (Pl. 97: 2, 4). *Nerita* shells might be used instead of cowries, but whether the name of the ornament remained the same is not clear. This might be worn by either sex, but could be afforded only by chiefs and the rich. It might be borrowed for a special occasion, for example by a bridegroom.

Impobole or *intshinga*: the dark tuft of a lion's tail or, failing that and more commonly, that of a jackal's or other tail, attached to a cord or thong and worn with the tuft at the back or on the side of the head or centre front (Pl. 98: 2). According to J. Campbell the tuft was fastened into 'a handle of brass'. This was worn by men, originally as a distinction for bravery.

Bands of beads with a bunch of black horsehair (Morgan 1833), 1,5 cm thick by 18 or 20 cm long, hanging down behind from the band (?*ingqaza*). According to a later description strings of beads hung behind, and those seen in 1948 had bead tassels at the side (Pl. 98: 4). This was worn by boys and men.

A flat band of beadwork about 2,5 cm wide, according to some authors backed with leather and worn round the forehead (?*isiqweqwe*). The colours were arranged in alternate triangles, and in the earliest descriptions were pale blue and white, later dark blue or black and white or two or three colours. This head-band was worn by distinguished men and is seen in early sketches of before mid-nineteenth century.

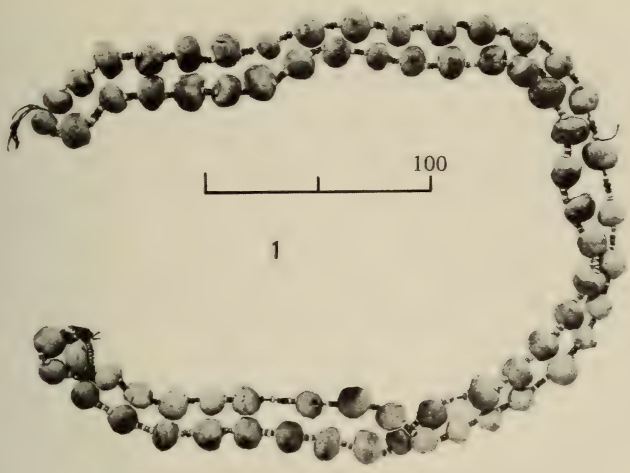
Round discs of brass on a thong, worn round the forehead or going from front to back.

A string of small polished copper beads worn round the upper part of the head, with a brass chain hanging from it on the left side. This was said to be worn by chiefs only.

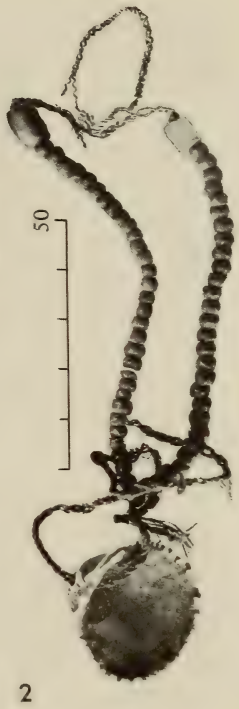
PLATE 99

Neck and ear ornaments.

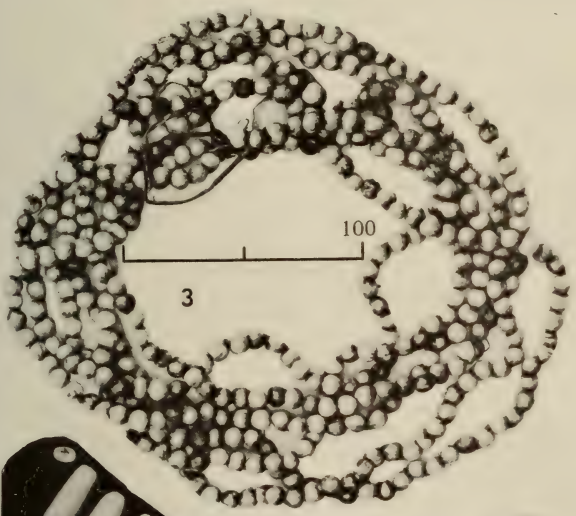
1. *impepho* (necklace) or red clay beads interspersed with glass beads, Xhosa; no further data (Stellenbosch Xh 10).
2. Ear-ring of shell on string of iron beads, Xhosa; Transkei, *c.* 1870 (SAM–6639).
3. Necklace of Job's tears seeds, Bomvana; Elliotdale, 1935 (TM 35/838F).
4. White clay beads, Fingo; Peddie, 1939 (SAM, Jeffreys collection J11).



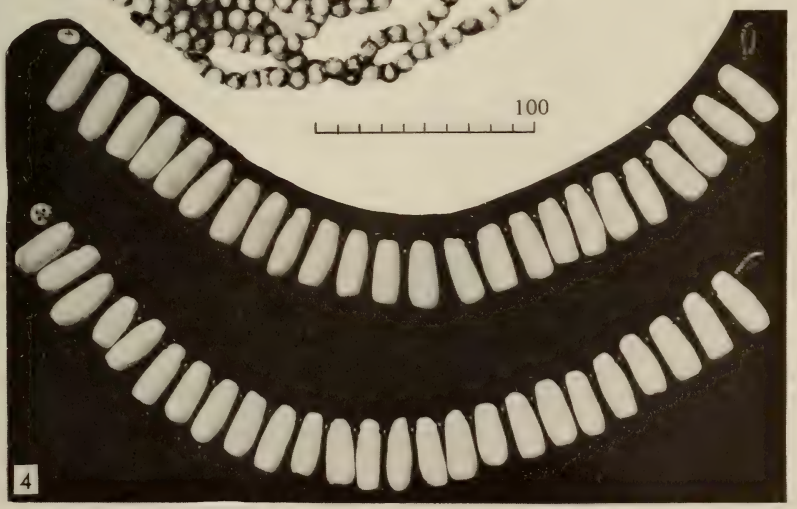
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According to Carmichael the more distinguished women, in 1807, wore on the forehead a fringe of 'short twisted strings of copper'. This sounds remarkably like the ornament at the front end of the cap (Pl. 68: 4).

The first three of these ornaments might still be seen today among Xhosa, Thembu and others in the west. In addition, the name *inquma*, according to the Dictionary a bird- or mole-skin attached to the hair, was applied to a head-band of twined fibre and monkey hair belonging to a Xhosa headman (Pl. 97: 1, 3). This may be what Carmichael described as 'a fillet of monkey skin'.

Some Thembu women wore a narrow beadwork band, *umjuwelane*, under the head-cloth, and bands of beadwork might be worn by many people on various occasions.

The hair-style of the Mpondo in former times, and others in the east, would have made it impossible for them to wear the foregoing head ornaments. Besides feathers (Pl. 73: 3) and bits and pieces stuck in the hair, the only ornament recorded for the men was two or three strings of beads worn low round the forehead, with short strings hanging from them. The women's head ornaments are not mentioned.

Nowadays a variety of beadwork head ornaments is worn by Mpondo of both sexes (Pl. 98: 5, 7, 8), the only stereotyped ones being the *umqhoboka*, the 3 cm-thick head-ring worn by married women (Pls 98: 1; 108: 6), and *ichele* or *umnqwazi*, the flat beadwork bands worn by unmarried girls. The place of the former is sometimes taken by a turban-like cloth ring. Xesibe women also wore the head-ring or a beaded or plain pad in front (Pl. 102: 1, 2).

EAR ORNAMENTS

Individuals of both sexes of all the southern Nguni formerly had the lobes of their ears pierced to accommodate ear ornaments of some sort. Until recently it was still the general practice. The Mpondo, Bhaca and Fingo made quite large holes. Ear ornaments might also be hung over the ears.

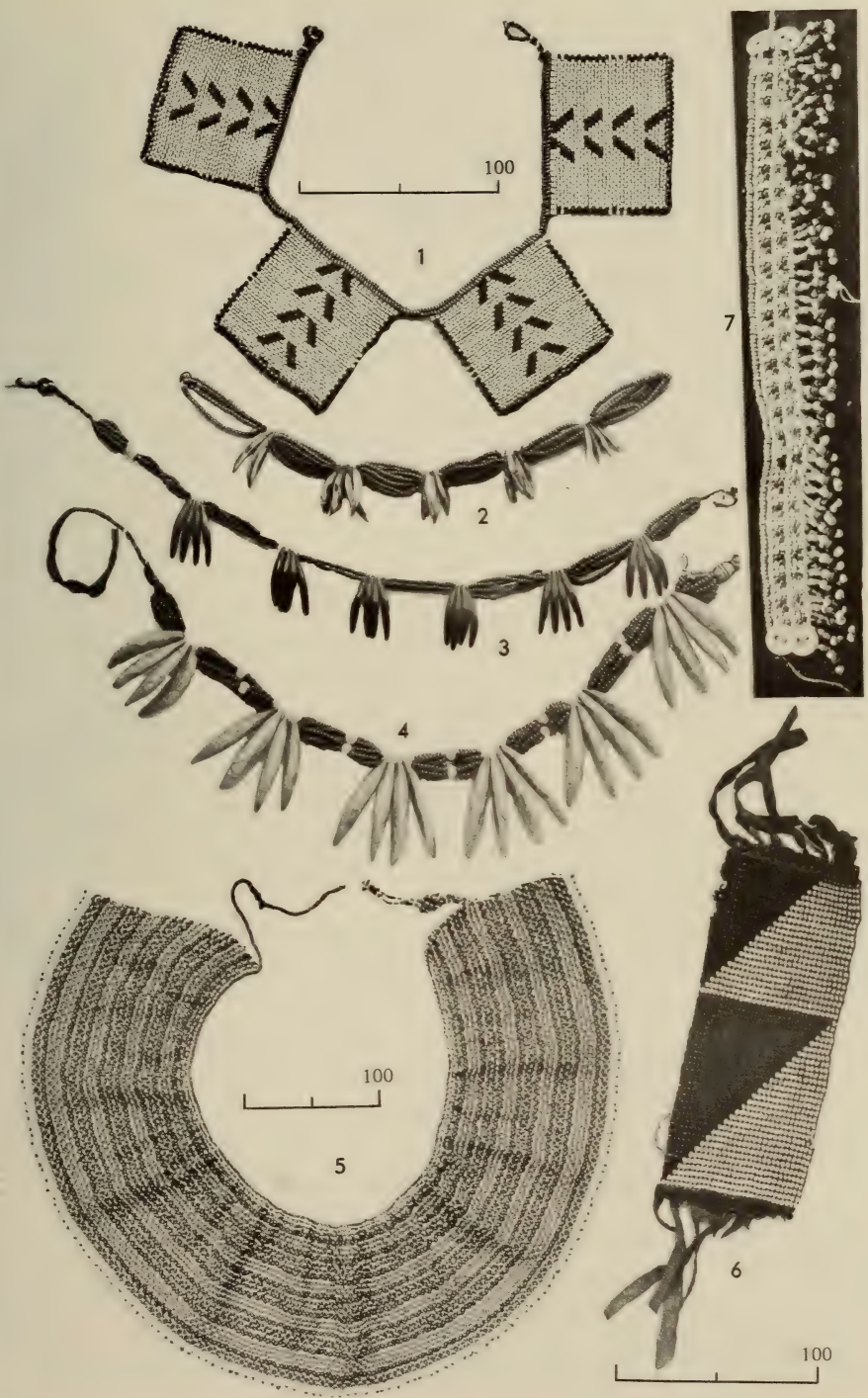
The ornaments specifically mentioned are:

A length of reed (Pls 98: 5; 102: 4), wood (Pl. 85: 1), bone, porcupine quill (Pl. 70: 4) or ostrich-feather quill with, according to one author, the tail tufts of small animals suspended from the points; teeth, shells or copper discs. Any of these might be inserted in the hole.

PLATE 100

Necklets, anklet and head-band.

1. *udlawu* (necklet), Thembu; Baziya, Umtata (TM 8412).
2. Necklace, Xhosa, claws and dark-blue beads; no data (SAM–5360).
3. Necklace, Xhosa, brass imitation claws and black beads; no data (SAM–5360).
4. Black and white beads and bone imitation claws, ?Xhosa; no data (SAM–5361).
5. *umhlehlo* (necklet), Thembu; Baziya, Umtata (TM 8407).
6. Anklet, fabric of dark-blue and white beads, ?Xhosa; Transkei, *c.* 1870 (SAM–6643).
7. *umwahlwa* (head-ring) worn by bride, 235 mm, Thembu; Baziya, Umtata, 1941 (TM 8399).


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Small beads strung on a cord, and put through to form a loop, or hanging as a single string sometimes having the small beads at the top and the large ones at the bottom. Examples in the South African Museum have a shell at the bottom (Pls 99: 2; 101: 8, 9).

A copper needle-like pin (?awl), 5–8 cm long, bent round point to head, and put through the ear; other rings of thick copper wire; buttons and cuff-links.

Cowrie shells, for the chiefs only, but there is no description of how these were attached. They might have been strung, with or without beads, like the *Nerita* mentioned above.

Failing anything else, according to Alberti, the poor used a short length of thong, passed through the hole in the lobe and knotted.

Variations of all these types, except the copper needle, were seen up to the present day, and in addition curtain rings, bangles (Pl. 102: 3), beadwork and other ornaments (Pl. 101: 5) as well as specially made rings that may be bought at the stores (Pl. 102: 6). According to Makalima ear-rings were for young people, but this was not borne out by observation.

NECKLETS

With the exception of the teeth of lions and leopards (Pls 70: 1; 100: 2), which are no longer available, the natural objects that were used for making necklets before the advent of beads may still be used today. At one time during the last century the teeth were imitated in brass (Pl. 100: 3) or bone (Pl. 100: 4), but this is no longer seen. The tooth necklet, and those of certain shells (?cowrie and *Nerita*) are said to have been worn always by chiefs and, according to some authors, only by them.

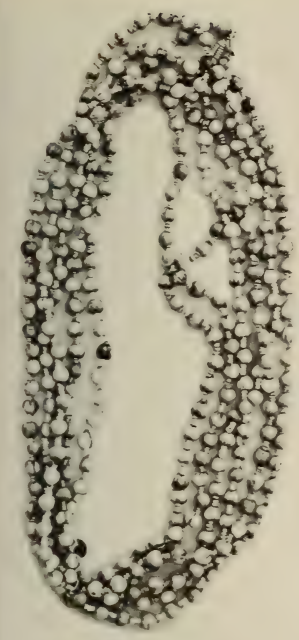
Xhosa informants stated that the necklet of *Nerita* shells (*amayila*) (Pl. 103: 4) is valuable, because when the shells are found it is customary to pick up only one for fear of never finding any again. Baines noted in 1848 that a cowrie necklet from Buffalo River cost ten shillings.

Beads were known in small quantities as early as the sixteenth century, and continued to be scarce until the beginning of the nineteenth century. They were

PLATE 101

Neck and ear ornaments, leg-ring.

1. Necklace of Job's tears spaced with beads, Xesibe; Mt. Ayliff, 1944 (EL 1033).
2. Close-up of 4: plaited sedge.
3. Necklace of seringa (*Melia azedarach*) seeds, spaced with beads, Xesibe; Mt. Ayliff, 1944 (EL 1039).
4. *iqhobozela* (necklace of plaited sedge), diameter *c.* 138 mm, Bomvana; Guse, Elliotdale, 1935 (TM 35/417).
5. *icici* of beadwork and tickeys, Mpondo; Qawukeni, Lusikisiki, 1948.
6. *imiphica*, diameter *c.* 167 mm, Thembu; Mqanduli, 1935 (TM 35/331).
7. *amamboza* (leg-ring), diameter 109 mm, Mpondo; Lusikisiki, 1948.
8. Ear-ring of copper beads and shell, Xhosa; no locality, *c.* 1870 (SAM–6639).
9. Ear-ring of copper beads and shell, Xhosa; no locality, *c.* 1870 (SAM–6639).



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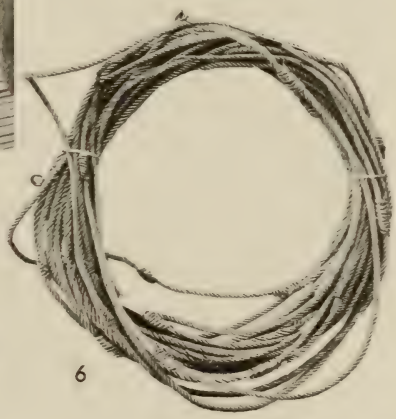
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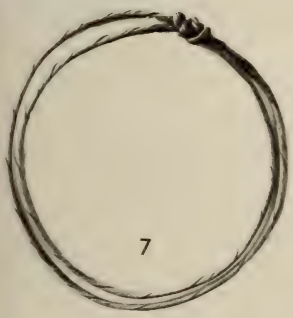
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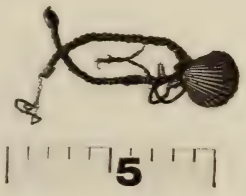
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therefore worn strung in single strings, and sometimes interspersed with other things, though the well-to-do wore many such strings. As beads became more plentiful it became the fashion to make necklaces of a number of strings of small beads, separated at intervals of 4 or 5 cm by a larger one, usually white.

Other necklets mentioned in the early records but seldom seen today were: fine metal chains imported from European traders; what are described as 'small red stones', a possible reference to the cornelian beads brought to the east African coast by Arab and Portuguese traders from Cambaye in India, numbers of which have been picked up along the beaches of the Transkei and Ciskei, and which are usually attributed to wrecks; solid copper or bronze rings, the thickness of a finger, among the Mpondo, Mpondomise (Pls 73: 1, 3, 4; 96: 4; 104: 1) and Xesibe only. 'Massive rings' are mentioned as being worn by the people 'further north' of Buntingville, but this probably refers to the people of Natal from whom the Mpondo traded their less massive examples. One author records having seen a necklace composed of twenty-seven of the lower joints of human fingers, but this can hardly have been general.

The fashion of making necklets of a beadwork fabric, the technique of which was used early on head-bands and later on anklets, appears to have come in only towards the end of the nineteenth century, and has flourished since except when war cut down the supply of beads and single- or double-stranded necklaces predominated again. Beads are now comparatively plentiful again for beadwork, nevertheless they are expensive and after about 1954 single strings of 6 mm beads also became fashionable. The beadwork necklets took two main forms, that of a frill of varying width (Pls 100: 5; 104: 4) and that of a series of flaps, *iphoco* (Pls 100: 1; 106: 5), sometimes squares, sometimes rectangles, of beadwork attached to a single string, *ingqosha*, or a beaded cord, which latter might be given a backing of fibre, cloth or strings, for strength.

A very popular necklet has always been one made of short pieces of *umthombothi* wood, *Spirostachys africana*, strung side by side to make a frill of the scented wood (Pl. 104: 3).

Nursing mothers of all the tribes wear home-made clay beads (Pl. 99: 1, 4), white (*amaso*) or red, made by the women themselves. The clay is mixed with the powdered leaves of *impepho, Helichrysum stenopterum*, an aromatic shrub of

PLATE 102

Head ornaments and finger-ring.

1. Woman of Nyuswa tribe with Xesibe-style head-dress; Harding, Natal, 1932.
2. Woman's hair ornaments, head-ring and forehead band, no scale, Xesibe; Mt. Ayliff (EL 1090, 1011, 1012).
3. Xhosa youth wearing *igabha* (ear-ring); Idutywa, 1948.
4. Mpondo wearing *isicubha*; Tshonya, Lusikisiki, 1948.
5. *umsesane* (finger-ring), 33 mm, Thembu; Xalanga, 1935 (TM 35/464).
6. Mpondo man wearing coiled-wire necklets and brass store-bought ear-rings; Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki, 1948.



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medicinal value. They also wear necklaces of pieces of root (Pl. 103: 1). According to T. B. Soga they were received as presents after the birth of the child. According to Makalima any woman might make them.

During her first pregnancy a Mpondo wife was said to remove all her other ornaments and wear a double string of small white beads only.

A special necklace worn for dances, particularly at ceremonies, such as the coming out of *intonjane*, by Xhosa and Thembu men at least, is the *isidanga* (Pl. 105: 4, 5), a thick plain necklace, generally of one colour, of a single very long strand of beads twisted round the neck many times, and hanging to below the waist. It may also be worn by doctors, and by girls at *intonjane*.

A necklace that is characteristic of Bhaca women is *udosuthando*, a triangle of beadwork worn apex down, suspended from a single strand (Pls 88: 4, 5; 104: 2).

ARM-BANDS

The old arm ornaments, shells (Pl. 105: 1), beads, beadwork (Pl. 98: 3), plaited grass, rounds of hide or brass, copper or iron rings, worn on the wrists or just above the elbow or both, are still seen today, though shells rarely.

The brass or copper bangle, ?*isacholo*, described in early records as being of 'thick brass wire', is a ring of about 4 to 10 mm thick, open at one place. Some hang loose, others are cut to fit the position in which they are to be worn, and are put on the arm by an expert. They are worn by both sexes, and the number worn depends on the means of the wearer and the availability of the brass, which of course became increasingly available with growing European contact. Generally one was worn above the elbow, and several on the wrist. According to Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964), men made these for their wives. Before the 1939–45 war brass curtain rings were used, but they went out of fashion through lack of supplies. The characteristic *iwatsha* (Pl. 91: 2) is a series of brass or copper bangles, according to Weir made of 7-gauge brass wire, of increasing size, each fitting exactly so as to make a stiff gauntlet from wrist to elbow and generally only on the left arm. For the fighting men of the early days it would have made the right arm too heavy. Several authors mention that the wearer would not have the *iwatsha* removed even if the arm became diseased.

Iron bangles with incised designs were reported in the literature especially among Mpondo, and the South African Museum has an example (SAM–3352) taken from the body of a medicine-man.

PLATE 103

Necklets and finger-rings.

1. Necklet of beads and pieces of root, for nursing mothers, Fingo; Peddie, 1939 (SAM, Jeffreys collection J6).
2. Finger-rings, Qwathi; Qebe, Engcobo, 1966.
3. Necklet, young man's love charm, diameter ring 70 mm, Fingo; Peddie, 1939 (SAM, Jeffreys collection J9).
4. Necklet of *amayila* (*Nerita plexa* shells), no scale, Xhosa; Qwaninga, Willowvale, 1948.



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Several early authors mention a band for the upper arm of five or six leopard or wild-pig teeth, strung on a thong, all with the points upward and outward. This may have had the same significance as the hunter's ring of skin mentioned above. A relatively modern fashion throughout the area is for bangles of one or sometimes two layers of brass or copper or white metal wire coiled on a foundation of tail hair of cow or horse, such as are worn throughout South Africa. A variety of this is for the core to be held only at intervals with clips of brass or copper wire. These were worn in large numbers by girls and young women (Pls 79: 1; 105: 3).

FINGER-RINGS

Brass, copper or, rarely, iron rings (*umsesane*) were worn on the fingers by both sexes, according to Lichtenstein (1811) particularly on the thumb. Brass rings are today worn mostly by women (Pls 102: 5; 103: 2). Some are plain, others have hooks and points and according to Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964), confirmed by Ciskei Xhosa, are useful for scratching the face of an opponent in a fight, but this has been denied. A modern fashion among the Western Mpondo was a beadwork mitten worn on the right hand by young dandies for shaking hands at a party.

CHEST ORNAMENTS

One type of chest ornament is a shoulder-band that goes over one shoulder and under the other arm, like a bandolier. Very commonly two bands or groups of bands are worn, one on each shoulder, so as to cross back and front (Pls 95: 2; 106: 1). The same materials are used as for necklaces, that is, plaited grass, seeds, beads, and beadwork. These shoulder-bands may be worn by both sexes, generally for dances or parties, though dandies may wear them on less festive occasions.

In the early literature the shoulder-bands are recorded by Kropf for the Xhosa and by Kay (1833) and Bain (Pl. 73: 3, 4) for Mpondo. They were seen frequently, however, on Mpondo and Bhaca men and women, and seem to have been favoured more in the east than in the west, though not unknown there.

In recent years a more elaborate ornament became fashionable for youths and young men among Xhosa and Thembu. In this case the bands do not cross but hang straight from shoulder to waist or lower and are joined back and front by rectangles of beadwork (Elliott 1970: 75).

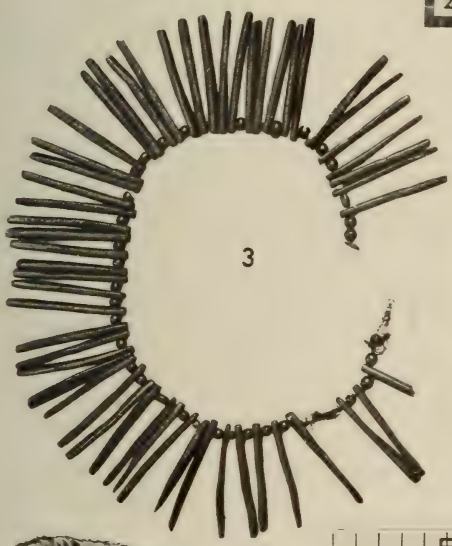
PLATE 104

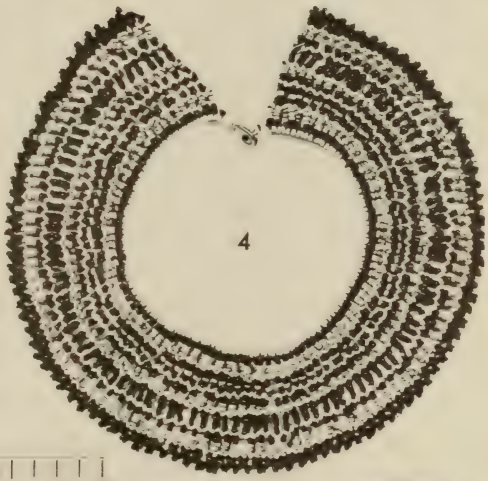
Necklets and diviner's ornaments.

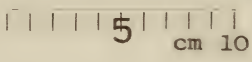
1. Brass neck-ring, maximum diameter of rod 10 mm, ?Mpondomise (KM, no no., no date).
2. Bhaca woman wearing *udosuthando*; Lugangeni, Mt. Frere, 1948.
3. *umthombothi* necklet, sticks 50 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale, 1935 (TM 253).
4. Necklet, maximum diameter 214 mm, Fingo; Peddie, 1939 (SAM, Jeffreys collection J10).
5. Female *isangoma* wearing fur cap (*umnqwazi*), chaplet (*umyeko*) and other beadwork. Gcaleka; Meadowlands, Johannesburg, 1968.
6. *umyeko* (chaplet) of *isangoma*, Ngqika; Meadowlands, Johannesburg, 1968.
7. Female *isangoma* in full costume, Ngqika; Meadowlands, Johannesburg, 1968.


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An even more elaborate extension of this is fashionable among Xhosa (Bigalke 1972: 72, etc.) and Thembu (Broster 1976: 34–35, pl. [9], fig. 12) where beadwork bands and strings are combined to make almost an upper garment of beads.

BROOCHES

The brooch, or blanket-pin, *isipiliti*, is a thick safety pin, ornamented with beadwork, sometimes in long fringes. It is used for pinning the blanket on one shoulder. It is, of course, a modern development, though seen by Bachmann on the Mpondo in the 1880s, and is evidently not very common. Specimens in the South African Museum are from the Mpondomise and the Fingo, and it would appear that there is some South Sotho influence. According to Thembu informants it is a man's ornament.

GIRDLES

Under this heading there are girdles worn round the waist or the hips; belts, a modern item bought in the stores and worn round the waist or above the breast; a band worn round the back and over the breasts, the modern wide beadwork waistbands, and a thin cord put round a baby's waist to measure growth in the first six months.

The earliest type of girdle recorded was a plain thong, double or single, worn round the waist by men, and fastened at one side so as to leave long ends hanging down almost to the knees (Pl. 74: 1). It is presumably this that is often referred to in the literature as a 'hunger belt' of the Xhosa and Fingo on the grounds that its wearer, when hungry, tightened it up. As an ornament it appears to have been worn by men only, but when women wore skirts, or when they tied cloaks round the waist, a similar thong was used.

The girdles shown in the Gordon drawings of Xhosa men wearing an apron suspended from the girdle appear to consist of large beads, like or larger than those worn round the neck by the same figures, and not, as one might have expected, of brass rings as described below. As Hallema notes, these girdles consisted of several strings, and Dalrymple confirmed that they were of the large beads.

When brass became easily available from the Colony, the thong girdle was embellished with brass, copper or, some say, iron rings, which were made by the

PLATE 105

Various ornaments.

1. Bracelet of *Nerita* shells, *c.* 20 mm each, ?Thembu; Bashee River mouth, no date (Alb. G499).
2. Mpondo women wearing beadwork head ornaments, belts and bangles; Tshonya, Lusikisiki, 1948.
3. Mpondomise girl with variety of arm and leg bangles; Tsolo, 1955.
4. Thembu woman wearing leather skirt (*isikhaka senkomo*), long leather breast-cover (*incebetha*), *isidanga* (necklace), and holding *umsimelelo* staff; Mqanduli, 1935 (photo Dr W. T. H. Beukes, TM 35/216).
5. Xhosa wearing *isidanga* (necklace) of bright blue beads; Qwaninga, Willowvale, 1948.


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smiths. The appearance is as if sections about 1,5–2 mm thick had been cut from hollow brass rods about 10 mm in diameter, but the authors say that thin strips were cut from plates and bent into rings. The rings were threaded on, about three to four hundred per girdle (Pl. 106: 3). In Döhne's time two such girdles would buy an ox. Men and women wore this handsome ornament (*uqhwemesha*), among Xhosa and Thembu. At the same period Mpondo men were wearing what Steedman calls 'slight metal chains' as a girdle.

The *uqhwemesha* proper was known, though seldom seen, at least till the middle of the twentieth century. The South African Museum has an example of a woman's bead-fringe apron (*inkciyo*) attached to one (Pl. 106: 2). Its place was taken by a somewhat inferior substitute, a girdle composed of two strands of coiled brass wire, with thong ends hanging down, or a single ring of fine coiled brass wire with no opening. Any number of these might be worn at a time. Sometimes several rings were joined by a clamp at intervals. Latterly beadwork girdles have become more important, either in the form of a rope of beads or of a flat belt with no backing (Pl. 105: 2) or with a cloth backing, or of a leather belt with one side covered with beadwork, buttons or brass studs. A plain leather belt may be worn instead. All these are worn round the waist, often several at a time. In addition there is a type of girdle worn by women, round the hips, which is a backed or unbacked flat band of beadwork with a short fringe of beads (Pl. 106: 4). These modern belts and girdles are fastened either by the buckle of a leather belt, or with buttons, or by ties of thin cord. The belt type is particularly common in Pondoland where a loincloth is worn by both sexes. Mpondo women wear a plain or decorated store-bought leather belt to keep their breast-cloths in position, and the Bhaca women, in party dress, wore a girdle of strings of beads or grass for the same purpose.

J. H. Soga (1930) describes a girdle for babies. It is a thin cord made from the leaf skin of *Gazania*, fastened to fit exactly round a baby's waist, and is adjusted as the size of the waist increases. By this means it is possible to tell how the baby is growing. This was confirmed by Thembu informants.

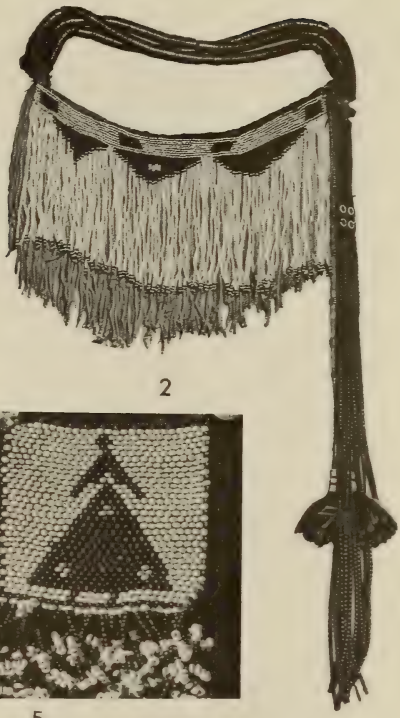
PLATE 106

Various ornaments.

1. Bhaca woman in festive dress, wearing necklets, shoulder-bands, belt and bangles; Mt. Frere, 1948.
2. *inkciyo* (apron and girdle) worn by girls at the *intonjane* dance *umngqungqu*, Xhosa; Ncera, Middledrift, 1960.
3. *umqhwemesha* (girdle of small brass rings threaded on thongs), diameter 10 mm, ?Cape Nguni; no locality, no date (SAM–5184).
4. Girdle worn by *isangoma* diviner, depth 40 mm, Mpondomise; Tsolo, 1936 (SAM–5806).
5. Stylized female figure on part of *isigcina'sifuba* (beadwork collar), 56 mm, Thembu; Baziya, Umtata, 1941 (TM 8414).
6. Stylized female figure on part of beadwork collar, 44 mm, Thembu; Baziya, Umtata, 1941 (TM 8385).
7. Stylized female figure on part of *inqoqwam* (beadwork collar), 41 mm, Thembu; Baziya, Umtata, 1941 (TM 8397).

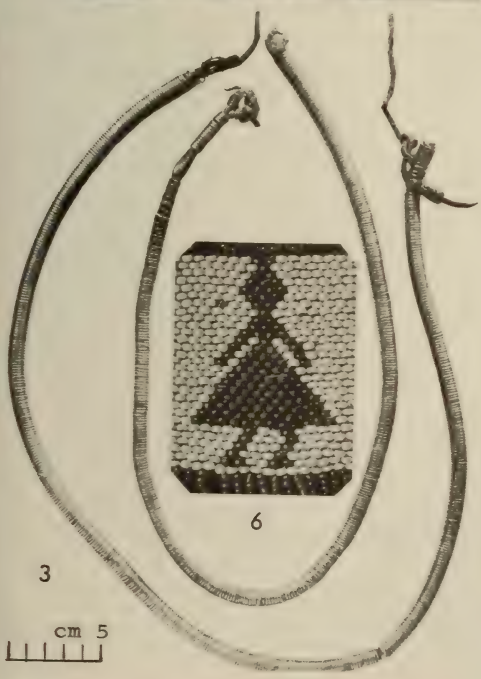


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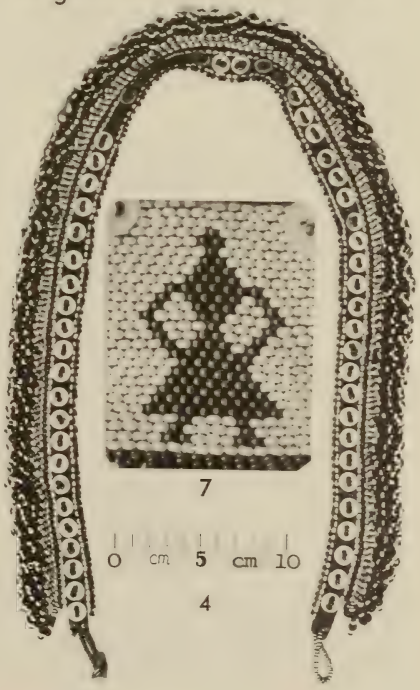
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cm 5



7

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LEG ORNAMENTS

Leg ornaments were worn immediately below the knee, mostly by men, and by both sexes round the ankle and on the toes.

It was customary for men to wear, below one knee only, the tail-brush of an antelope, ox or cow (Pl. 68: 3). Hunters used the tails of animals killed, as many as possible. Round the other leg was a string of beads, a beadwork band or other ornament.

The favourite anklet, and one characteristic of the Xhosa but also seen among Mpondo in the middle of the last century, was a square or rectangle of beadwork (Pls 100: 6; 107: 3, 4) having a geometrical pattern, usually in black or dark blue on white, edged with leather cut into strips by which it was tied round the ankle. If possible two were worn.

Commoner anklets were strips of sinew, copper or brass bangles, or strings of beads or brass buttons.

According to Boniface and Fleming the chiefs had an anklet of ivory, but this is not confirmed by others.

Brass rings were worn on the toes.

Nowadays beadwork anklets of various styles may still be used on festive occasions (Pl. 107: 2, 5), but for ordinary wear brass, or coiled brass-wire bangles round ankles or legs, or anklets of twisted or plaited grass or creeper stem or flexible twigs (Pl. 107: 1) or rubber washers from Ball jars may be used. On the leg they fit tightly, on the ankles they hang loose. In the east particularly, the more of these rings that could be worn the better, and young people there had them half-way up the leg. For dances young men in the west wear an anklet, *inqashele*, of a wide piece of goatskin with the hair left on (Pl. 107: 6). Brass rings are still worn on the toes.

ORNAMENTAL STICKS

An ornamental stick, *iqoqa* (Pl. 108: 1–5), covered with beadwork or flat basket-weave, is carried at dances by girls of Xhosa, Fingo, Thembu, and Bomvana. This is not mentioned in the literature earlier than the Dictionary and is a modern trend. Formerly ordinary sticks, *iintonga*, were used—as they still are by Mpondo and Bhaca. Since 1954 the Fingo youths and girls of the Ciskei have adopted a style of flat wooden wand decorated with beads (Pl. 108: 5).

PLATE 107

Leg-bands.

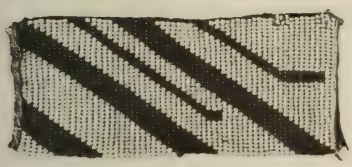
1. *inkasayiya* (anklets) of tecoma stems, worn by Mpondo; Nkunzimbini, Lusikisiki, 1948.
2. Anklet, 210 mm, Fingo; Peddie, no date (PEM 232).
3. Anklet, 180 mm, Xhosa; no locality, 1880 (BM cc 1458).
4. Anklet, 236 mm, Mpondo; no locality, 1868 (BM cc 4584).
5. Anklet, 165 mm, Fingo; Peddie, no date (PEM 232).
6. *inqashele*, Xhosa; Bojeni, Willowvale, 1948.



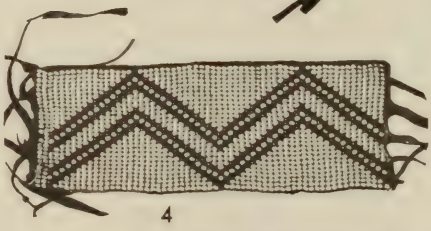
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cm 10



5



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PHYSICAL ORNAMENT

The practice of either cicatrization (*-vamba*), scarification (*-chaza*) or tattooing seems to have been common among all the people of this area for at least the last two hundred years, and may still be practised. There is no record of cicatrization or tattoo having had any significance other than ornamentation, nor of it being accompanied by any ceremony. Scarification, on the other hand, was thought to promote health. It is possible that there were traditional patterns for the different groups, but this is a matter that needs further study. So far it is only possible to distinguish general practice between the west and the east. Although one or other form was the usual practice throughout the area, all records agree that it was a matter of individual choice, and followed more by women than by men.

Amongst Xhosa, Bomvana, Fingo and Thembu, the ornamentation takes the form of cicatrization, the making of small scars, sometimes flat, sometimes raised keloids, in parallel rows (Pl. 108: 9). They run vertically and sometimes horizontally. They usually run down the centre of the body from the throat, but sometimes on shoulders, arms, and back as well. The Fingo tend to have them on the chest only.

The method was to lift the skin at each spot by inserting an iron awl, or formerly a thorn of *umqoqoba* (*Gymnosporia buxifolia*), and then cut the part lifted. According to Broster the scabs were pulled off the following day and a soothing paste of crushed herbs applied. T. B. Soga said that the treatment was repeated for several years until the desired prominence was achieved. According to Smith the Mpondo had the same fashion as the western peoples in the early days, and Duggan-Cronin photographed a Mpondo girl with keloids on the stomach. There is no other confirmation of this. Smith also stated that the scars were often coloured blue, yellow, or another colour, but this is not confirmed for the western tribes.

Mpondo seem to have had two types of marking, both of them on the face. In 1883 Bachmann wrote of 'the so-called Pondo Stripe, a blue tattooed line, . . . vertical above the root of the nose, on all'. Fifty years later, Hunter found it by no means universal, more in some districts than in others and favoured more by women than men. It might take the form of a line or rows of dots down forehead,

PLATE 108

Ornamental sticks and physical ornament.

1. Beaded dancing-staff, 930 mm, Thembu; Xalanga, 1898 (SAM–46).
2. Dancing-stick, 981 mm, Xhosa; no locality, no date (TM 1239).
3. Dancing-stick, 1 000 mm, Fingo; no locality, no date (TM 7191).
4. Dancing-stick, 981 mm, Fingo; no locality, 1921 (TM 7190).
5. Three dancing-sticks, Fingo; East London, 1954 (EL 2247, 2246, 2248).
6. ?*umvambo* and *igesi* (tattoo marks) on Mpondo woman's face; Tshonya, Lusikisiki, 1948.
7. Woman with yellow ochre on face as cosmetic, and *isivalo* (broad beadwork collar), Thembu; Thungwana, Mqanduli, 1960.
8. *ingqithi*, two phalanges of little finger amputated, Mpondomise; Mqanduli, 1955.
9. *umvambo* (keloid patterns) on girl's abdomen, Bomvana; Elliotdale, 1948.


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nose, chin, or cheeks, or all together (Pl. 108: 6). In this form the method is to prick the skin and rub in soot, or latterly, old engine oil, *igesi*; the face is then smeared with clay to stop the bleeding. It is done between the ages of 9 and 16.

Makalima records the *igesi* marks on Thembu women after puberty, and Thembu informants knew it, and said that girls of between 12 and 14 made the marks themselves on their cheeks, and added that the instrument had to be smeared with soot and driven in repeatedly as far as the bone, or the marks would not be permanent. Informants added that this was done for looks, but was often regretted later.

The other type of facial marking, which the Mpondo share with Hlubi, Xesibe and Bhaca, is a series of vertical cuts on the cheeks (Pl. 85: 1) and in Bhaca practice, one on the bridge of the nose. According to T. B. Soga this scarification was done on young people at intervals to let the blood run, to ensure health and prosperity. According to Hammond-Tooke it was thought to satisfy the ancestral spirits and thereby prevent sickness, and was done on all children. The tool was a sharpened piece of iron called *igcaguba*. The face is smeared with clay afterwards to promote healing. It leaves a depressed, not a raised, scar. Some Thembu and Fingo also used scarification (*-chaza*), but Makalima thought this was only for women.

Thompson (1925) gives a full discussion of the practice of amputating the terminal joint of one finger (Pls 103: 2; 108: 8), which was common though not universal among all the tribes of the Cape, except the Fingo. It is possible that the practice was adopted from the Bushmen. It was first recorded by Bonatz among the Thembu in 1832. Thembu and Mpondomise informants in 1955 said that it was dying out.

The operation is done in infancy to promote health and wisdom, and at any time from infancy to old age as a cure for naughtiness, sickness, or bad luck.

The fingers treated differ according to tribe as follows: Xhosa, usually index finger; Thembu, Mpondomise, Xesibe, third or little finger, preferably of the left hand; Bomvana and Mpondo, little finger, Mpondo preferring right; Hlubi men, little or middle right, Hlubi women, third left.

The tool used was formerly a stone, but latterly a lancet or 'any sharp object' has been used.

According to Napier, the Fingo were distinguished by a slit in the upper part of the ear, but this is not confirmed.

TOILET AND PERSONAL ACCESSORIES

SOURCES

1593 Lavanha (1597) p. 234 South-west of Umtata R.: whisk

'. . . ; trazem na maõ em hum delgado pào embrulhado hum cabo de Bugio, ou de Rapoza, com que se alimpaõ, e fazem sombra aos olhos para ver.'

(p. 293. '. . . , in their hands they carry the tail of an ape or a fox fastened

to a thin piece of wood, with which they clean themselves and shade their eyes when observing.')

1622 Almada (1625) p. 28 South of ?Bashee or Umzimvubu R.: whisk

'Tamben achey no chão duas azagayas, & hum páosinho de grossura de hum dedo, & de dous palmos & meyo de comprido, forrado do meyo por diante com hum rabo de buzio, o qual pào costumaõ trazer quasi em toda a Cafraria atè o rio de Lourenço Marques, & não costumaõ fallar sem o trazerem, porque todas as suas praticas saõ apontando com este páo na mão, a que chamão sua boca, & fazendo esgares, & meneos.'

(p. 96. 'I also found upon the ground two assegais and a little piece of wood of the thickness of a finger and about two spans and a half in length covered from the middle upward with a monkey's tail. It is customary to carry a stick of this kind throughout almost the whole of Kaffraria as far as the river of Lourenço Marques, and they never converse without it for they emphasise their speech by holding it in their hands, and they call it their mouth gesticulating and making grimaces.')

1752 Beutler pp. 298, 307 Xhosa: sweat-scrapers, grease, bags

p. 298 Xhosa: sweat-scrapers

'. . . ; om den hals droeg hy eenige coopere en ysere ringetjies op een riem aan malkander gereygt waaraan 2 yvoore plaatjies hingen, die tot suyveringe der oogen worden gebruykt. . . .'

p. 307 Xhosa: grease

'. . . sy smeeren hetselve [hair] sterk met vet, dog haare lighaam seer weynig. . . .'

p. 307 Xhosa: bags

'. . . haaren verderen rijkdom van corallen dragen se in sakjes van leer geborgen aan de armen vast;'

1776 Swellengrebel p. 13 Xhosa: red colour

'Onder de 4 capitains, die mede quamen, was een, zijnde een jongeling, met die van zijn gevolg in het aangezicht sterk met rood geverwt, en vernieuwden dat telkens. De verw was fyne roode steen.'

1776 Hallema (1932) p. 134 Xhosa: red colour

'De Capiteinen waren 4 in getal. Een hunner, zijnde nog een jongeling, was met die van zijn gevolg op de kin, wangen en 't voorhoofd, sterk met rood geverwd en vernieuwde dat telkens. De verw was fijne, roode steen. Zedert heb ik vernomen, dat dit verwen van het aangezicht een krijgsteken is, en dat deze Capitein . . . met intentie was gekomen om mij en mijn gevolg den hals te breken.'

1776 Schumacher (in private coll.) Xhosa: ochre

Figure of *Een Caffers Captein* with face painted in red and white.

1776–7 Gordon (1776–95) Xhosa: tortoise-shell

Figures by J. Schumacher.

1778 Van Plettenberg p. 48 Xhosa: grease, red ochre

'. . . zo mans als vrouwen besmeeren hun kort gekroesd hoofdhair zeer dik en mengen 't smeersel zomtijds met rode aarde.'

1782 Le Vaillant (1797–8) p. 282 'Caffre': switch

'Ainsi que le Hottentot, il se sert aussi d'une queue de jakal, ou de hiène, ou de chien sauvage, qui lui sert à s'essuyer le visage et le corps quand il sue; '

1782 Carter p. 60 'Mambookie': butter

'. . . this they continued to do, till the butter was arrived at a proper state of consistence. When it is properly prepared, they mix soot with it, to anoint their bodies. This operation not only serves them as a security against the intense heats of the climate, but renders them active, and gives them that agility which the inhabitants of Africa are well known to exhibit both in the chace and in battle.'

1782 Dalrymple (1785) p. 22 Mpondo: red colour

'. . . he thinks they were not the same kind of people as those where the ship was lost because they were taller and not so black, and had their cheeks painted red, with feathers in their heads, he thinks Ostrich feathers.'

1788 Von Winkelman (1788–9) p. 69 Xhosa: red ochre

'Kafferinnen, die auf der Reise sind, d:h: die unter die Christen gehen, um bei ihnen zu dienen, tragen zu zeiten oben auf ihrer Müze in die Spize—oder sonst in etwas eingewikkelt 2.–oder 3. Stükke rother Polus Erde, um sich in möglicher Ermanglung derselben damit zu pudern und zu bestreichen.'

1797 Barrow (1806) pp. 120, 127, 163, 171 Xhosa: red ochre, accessories

p. 120 Xhosa: red ochre

'Their skin, which was nearly black, and their short curling hair, were rubbed over with a solution of red ochre, and the tint it produced on the dark ground was very far from having any disagreeable effect.'

p. 127 Xhosa: toilet-box

'Suspended from the neck most of them carried the shell of a small land tortoise, (the *testudo pusilla*,) which held a quantity of red ochre, and a thin piece of leather to rub it upon their faces.'

p. 163 Xhosa: 'handkerchief'

'. . . and the skin of the tyger-cat is used by the women as pocket-handkerchiefs.'

p. 171 Xhosa: tally

'Their only chronology is kept by the moon, and is registered by notches in pieces of wood. It seldom extends beyond one generation till the old series is cancelled, and some great event, as the death of a favorite chief, or the gaining of a victory, serves for a new aera.'

1800 Van der Kemp (1804) p. 441 Xhosa: red colour

'The Kafirs rarely paint their faces with different colours as the Hottentots do,

but often paint their faces and bodies uniformly red with the dust of a kind of red chalk.'

1803 Paravicini di Capelli p. 133 Xhosa: white clay

'Na deze kuur bereyden zy een dun deeg van witte kleye aarde en vet, met het welk zy den patient het geheele lichaam besmeeren. . . .'

1802–6 Alberti (1810*a*) pp. 31–32, 57 Xhosa: grease, ochre, accessories

pp. 31–32 Xhosa: grease, ochre

'Hiermede, echter, zijn de Kaffers intusschen niet te vrede, maar bestrijken niet slechts hun aangezigt, doch tevens het gansche ligchaam, met een mengsel van fijn gewreven Bloedsteen[1]' (Note 1: 'Eene weeke Steensoort van donker-roode kleur.') 'en water, waaronder doorgaans, vooral ten behoeve der Vrouwen, welriekende kruide gevoegd worden. Nadat de eerste bestrijking ten volle droog is, volgt eene tweede met vet, doorgaans met Niervet of Merg, door welker inwrijving de gegevene kleur zich duurzaam met de huid verbindt en haar te gelijk buigzaam maakt. Vruchteloos spoorde ik de allereerste oorzaak dezer gewoonte van huidkleuring na. Welligt zoude men vermoeden, dat deze verwing een beschutsel tegen de Insekten ware. . . .

. . . De roode verw is voor het overige de geliefde kleur der Kaffers. Alles, wat sij ter dekkinge gebruiken, wordt rood geverwd.'

p. 57 Xhosa: 'handkerchief'

'Langs den rug hangt over den mantel . . . een Kraag, ... Op dezelve zijn aan beide kanten agter de schouders geheele vellen van wilde Katten, tot zelfs met het einde van den kop, vast gemaakt, welke aan lange riemen, met kleine koperen of ijzeren ringen, tot op den grond nederhangen, en ter afdrooginge van het zweet dienen.'

p. 57 Xhosa: toilet-box

'Behalve dit Katten-vel hangt, ook nog langs den rechter schouder, aan eenen soortgelijken riem, de schaal van eenen kleinen Landschildpad, waarin fijn gewrevene roode aarde, met een stuk sagt leder ter inwrijvinge van deze verw, bewaard wordt; gelijk dit laatste tevens ter sluitinge der schaal zelve dient.'

(See also Alberti 1810*b* (English edition): pp. 20, 21, 31–32.)

1803–6 Lichtenstein (1811) pp. 407, 424, 444, 452 Xhosa: grease, ochre

p. 407 Xhosa: fat, red ochre

'Männer und Frauen haben die allgemeine Gewohnheit, den Leib mit rothen Erdarten, (gewöhnlich mit Eisenrahm) zu färben. Sie tragen diese Farbe mit Wasser auf und bestreichen sich nachher, wenn sie trocken geworden sind, reichlich mit Fett, eine Sitte, zu der sie ihr warmes trocknes Clima wohl ziemlich natürlich veranlasst. Diese Einreibung wird nicht täglich, sondern etwa alle drei bis vier Tage erneuert.'

p. 424 Xhosa: white clay

'Die physische Erziehung der Kinder geschieht bei den *Koosa* auf die einfachste Weise. Die Neugebornen werden mit weissen Erdarten eingerieben, bis der Nabel völlig geheilt ist und bis zu diesem Augenblick ist die Wöchnerin unrein.'

p. 444 Xhosa: butter

'Sie bereiten sich auch Butter durch häufiges Schütteln der Milch in ledernen Schläuchen, nach der Art, die schon Kolbe von den Hottentotten beschreibt. Sie gebrauchen diese Butter aber nur zum Einschmieren der Haut, und essen sie nicht.'

p. 452 Xhosa: grease, ochre

'Das Einschmieren mit Fett, das mit mineralischen Theilen, Eisenoker, Eisenrahm, Glimmerthon u.s.w. vermischt wird, giebt ihrem Körper eine nicht ungefällige Färbung, aber man darf sie nicht berühren, ohne die deutlichen Spuren ihrer Nähe an Händen und Kleidern zurückzubehalten.'

1806–15 Carmichael (1831) p. 287 Xhosa: ochre

'But the constant use of a pigment made of grease and red-ochre, gives their skin a colour nearly approaching that of copper; and their mantles, arms, and every other article they are in the habit of handling, soon acquire a similar hue.'

c. 1813 Campbell, J. (1815) p. 370 'Caffer': butter

'They are unacquainted with the making of butter or cheese from milk.'

1820 Stocker (1819–20) p. 65 Gcaleka: ochre, grease

'Hinza's Kaffers . . . smear their bodies abundantly with red ochre and grease, a custom not uncommon even with the Kaffers immediately adjoining the Colony.'

1821–4 Thompson, G. (1827) pp. 358–359, 373 Xhosa: toilet-box, ochre

pp. 358–359 Xhosa: toilet-box

'From the neck is suspended a small tortoise-shell, filled with seed of a species of celery, which they bruise, and use in perfuming their bodies.'

p. 359 Xhosa: red colour

'Most of the young men have their bodies painted red, and their hair curled into small knots like pease.'

p. 373 Xhosa: quarrying ochre

'About ten miles from Hinza's kraal, there is an extensive quarry of iron ore, which the Caffers dig for painting their bodies. The substance is found in nodular masses of yellow ironstone, or indurated clay. It is found only near the surface, and in pieces seldom larger than a hen's egg. A space of about half an acre had been dug up in the course of the season.'

c. 1824–5 Smith pp. 281, 307 'Caffer': toilet-box, ochres

p. 281 'Caffer': tortoise-shells

'Some or indeed the greater part of the caffres particularly women have suspended from their necks or karosses one or more young tortoise shells which have been cleared from the animal, and in those they have generally some aromatic vegetable variously prepared which they carry about with them for smelling. They often use the leaves of the shrub denominated Buchu, a species of Diosma. Though this is used and selected for the purpose of a smelling bottle yet they are very particular in cleaning and polishing them and also pay considerable attention to the selection of the animals. Upon finding one which they think is a good one they cut

off the head of the tortoise and then cut and separate all the parts which adhere to the inside of the shell they then wash and scrape it well and afterwards dry it.'

p. 307 Xhosa: red, white clay

'When the caffer wishes to paint himself with red clay, his wife or some other person perhaps himself rubs it into a thick solution in water on a flat broad stone by means of another small stone and then smears it over the body. The caffers smear the face but particularly the forehead of infants with a white clay prepared in the same way as the red clay to prevent sickness and give strength and beauty to the body.'

1820–31 Steedman (1835) **1** pp. 18, 259 Xhosa: red ochre, grease

p. 18 Xhosa: red ochre

'We overtook in the afternoon two of the natives returning home from the fair at Fort Wiltshire with a quantity of the red clay with which they are accustomed to besmear their bodies, a practice already noticed, and which has doubtless obtained for them among earlier travellers the distinction of Red Caffers. This peculiar clay is found in the vicinity of the Fish River, and it is surprising how distant a journey these people will undertake to procure it, so essential is it considered in completing the adornment of their persons.'

p. 259 Xhosa: grease

'The Amakosa smear their bodies, as I have had occasion to notice, with a composition of red clay and grease, which produces a soft and glossy effect on the skin; '

1825–9 Kay (1833) pp. 111, 115, 373 Xhosa, Mpondo: grease, toilet-box, *sibilo*

p. 111 Xhosa: grease

'Hence arises the filthy practice of rubbing their bodies from head to foot with the fat of animals, or some other unctuous matter, to prevent the skin from being parched by the sun's rays.'

p. 115 Xhosa: toilet-box

Nothing more.

p. 373 Mpondo: *sibilo*

'On our way . . . we passed one of Fakoo's warriors, ... His hair, neatly wrought up into a tuft on the crown of the head, was powdered with sibilo instead of ochre, and ornamented with small feathers of the richest colour.'

(1829) Rose pp. 179, 180 Xhosa: grease, ochre

Nothing more.

c. 1831–2 Smith pp. 148–149, 165–166 Xhosa, Mpondo: ochre

pp. 148–149 Xhosa: ochre

'A boy before circumcision cannot be smeared by another. But he may take what remains after a man has been using it and paint himself, but he cannot get a woman to make it expressly for him nor smear him. The women prepare the red

clay for painting and apply it. If a man is unmarried, his mother must make it ready and apply it.'

pp. 165–166 Mpondo: ochres

'Their faces they paint in different ways and with different colours, such as red, yellow greenish and white. . . . Sometimes they have the whole face without any regularity coloured yellowish white and red.'

(1832*a*) Anon. p. 162 Xhosa: ochre

'His cheeks and lips were painted red; . . . one of his captains announced it was the king.'

1834 Bonatz (1834*b*) pp. 350, 404 Thembu, Xhosa: cosmetics

p. 350 Thembu: tortoise-shell

'Their kaross is well shaped, and neatly sewed, but, like that of the men, without sleeves. Upon the back there hangs a strip of ox-skin, with the hair outside, about ten inches wide, of the same length as the kaross, and plentifully studded with rows of buttons. To this appendage is attached the shell of a small tortoise, which serves to hold their ornaments and implements for sewing, etc.'

p. 404 Thembu, Xhosa: grease, ochre

'It is the universal practice of the Tambookies and Caffres, to besmear their whole body with fat, in order to make their limbs supple, and to prevent the skin from chapping. In the spring, they paint their face and body red, using for this purpose, a kind of red stone found in Caffraria.'

1834–5 Godlonton (1835–6) p. 133 Xhosa: red clay

'. . . trade with the Kafirs, on a spot generally called "The Kafir clay pits". . . . To those unacquainted with the peculiarities of the Kafir people, it may be necessary to explain that an article in great request among them is red clay, and with which as much pains is taken to adorn their heads, as is ever bestowed by the most finished coxcomb, or the most exquisite *belle*, in the refined and polished circles of fashion in civilised countries.'

1835 Alexander (1837) **1** p. 387; **2** p. 129 Xhosa: toilet-box, whip

1 p. 387 Xhosa: toilet-box

'From the neck of the kaross hangs by a thong covered with brass rings, a small tortoise-shell filled with bruised wild celery-seed, with which to perfume the person. When a Kafir has his head dressed, and his scent-box hangs down his back, he looks as if he wore a red wig with a glittering cue.'

2 p. 129 Xhosa: whip

'He grasped a bundle of well-made javelins in his left hand, and a *sambok*, or whip of buffalo-hide, dependend from his right wrist.'

(1836) Martin p. 147 Thembu: grease, ochre

Nothing more (from Bonatz 1834*b*).

1837 Döhne pp. 61–62 Xhosa: bags

'Am Halse tragen sie stets einen Sack, auf dem Rücken hängend, von einem

Hunde- oder Affen- oder sonstigem kleinen Fell, in welchem sie ihre Pfeife, Taback, Feuerzeug, Messer und dergleichen Kleinigkeiten haben.'

1839 Backhouse (1844) p. 183 Xhosa: grease, ochre

Nothing more.

1836–44 Döhne (1844) p. 31 Xhosa: red ochre

'Wenn ihr Leib einmal recht voll Unreinlichkeit ist, beschmieren sie ihn mit Farbe von Röthelstein und waschen ihn etlichen Tage nachher.'

1842–7 Ward (1848) **1** p. 250 Xhosa: war ochre

'The Kaffir goes forth to battle besmeared with red clay. . . .'

1847–8 Angas p. 22 Xhosa, Fingo: toilet-box

'The leather cloak, worn by the Amaxosa women on all festive occasions has . . . the shell of a small land tortoise, containing a preparation of herbs as a charm against witchcraft, suspended from it by a piece of coiled wire. I have only observed these tortoises amongst the women of this tribe and the Fingos, who adopt the same style of dress . . . to . . . the Amaxosa Kaffirs.'

1842–53 Baines **1** p. 71; **2** p. 280 Xhosa: shaving, bag

1 p. 71 Xhosa: shaving

(1848) 'The heads of many were closely shaven with their assegais in token of mourning and rubbed with grease. . . .'

2 p. 280 Xhosa: bag

(1851) 'His head was shaved in token of mourning, and his wordly chattels appeared to consist of a long stick, a skin bag, and an ink-bottle with a porcupine's quill in the cork.'

1851–2 King (1853) p. 170 Xhosa: grease, ochre, mica

'Both races, as is also usual with the Arabs, tattoo their chests and arms in a kind of serrated pattern; and the women, in addition, use a kind of red clay mixed with fat to smear their bodies and paint their faces, also daubing and moulding their crisp hair with it into clay ringlets. . . . Sometimes they sprinkle their hair, after smearing it with fat, with glittering particles of mica, great quantities of which are left after heavy rains in the ruts and gullies of the roads.'

(1853) Fleming p. 111 Cape Nguni: ochre, grease

'Paint, also is very fashionable with the women, only, instead of rouge, they use red ochre, mixed with the fat of animals; and, as they smear all the face, except a straight line across the level of the eyes, it is not a very becoming custom. Instead of practising this mode of adornment, the men tattoo themselves, in rows, on the arm, side and chest, and seldom use ochre, except in dyeing their blankets or karosses. They constantly, however, in common with the women, anoint the body all over with grease, probably to break the power of the sun's rays upon their naked skin.'

(1853) Kretzschmar p. 236 Cape Nguni: ochre

'Sie tättowiren nicht, aber beschmieren in der Kriegszeit ihre Gesichter mit weissen und rothen Streifen und reiben den ganzen Körper mit einem fetten, rothen Thon.'

1863–6 Fritsch, G. (1872) p. 75 Xhosa: head-pad

'Solche Gefässe sind dazu bestimmt, auf dem Kopfe getragen zu werden, und ruhen dabei auf einem dicken, von Bast geflochtenen Ringe, in den sich der tiefste Theil einfügt.'

1845–89 Kropf (1889*a*) pp. 104, 105–106 Xhosa: bag, sweat-scraper, ochre

p. 104 Xhosa: bag

'Bei warmem Wetter geht der Kaffer ganz nackt, die wollene oder lederne Decke über den Stock auf dem Rücken tragend oder bei nassem Wetter in seinem Knapsack, der von einem gegerbten kleinen Ziegenfell gemacht is.'

p. 105 Xhosa: bag

'Am Gürtel, der aus einem mit Messingdraht beflochtenen Riemen besteht, tragen die Frauen einen Beutel von Fell oder von Zeug, der mit Perlen bestickt ist, in dem sich Tabak, Pfeife, Stahl, Stein und Zunderdose oder neuerdings eine Dose Schwefelhölzer befinden, während sie früher harte und weiche Hölzer aufeinander rieben, um Feuer zu machen.'

p. 105 Xhosa: sweat-scraper

'Der Mann trägt alle diese Rauch- und Schnupfutensilien in dem obengenannten Knapsack und ausserdem den zum Abstreichen des Schweisses gebrauchten eisernen Löffel, wenn dieser nicht an seinem Gürtel durch ein ledernes mit Messingdraht besetztes Riemchen hängt.'

pp. 105–106 Xhosa: red, white, and black colour

'Wichtiger als Kleider ist dem Kaffer der Schmuck seines Leibes, den er zu diesem Zwecke mit rotem Ocker in Fett geknetet bemalt, was die Haut vor dem Aufspringen bei der grossen Hitze bewahrt. Besonders aber bei feierlichen Gelegenheiten, Hochzeiten, Tänzen u.s.w. legt er grosse Sorgfalt auf dies Bemalen, wobei die Frauen dann noch durch schwarze und weisse Streifen ihren Gesichtern ganz besondere Schönheit verleihen wollen.'

1877–8 Norbury (1880) pp. 9, 10, 109 Xhosa, Fingo: cosmetics, bags

p. 9 Xhosa: ochre, perfume

'The belles often cover their faces, necks and hands with red clay, leaving margins around the eyes and mouth, which they consider adds materially to their attractions, but which really gives them a weird, frightful appearance; they sometimes mix with this clay the juice of a strongly-scented plant, which has a broad, circular leaf, and grows in little knolls, and which they call safigani. When women pay a visit to a distant kraal, before reaching their destination they often sit down by a stream, and wetting this clay, decorate themselves, the water serving as a mirror;'

p. 10 Xhosa, Fingo: bags

'. . . they [Fingo women] put on numerous bead ornaments, with a large beaded bag to serve as a pocket; whereas the bag of a Kafir woman is usually formed from the skin of a wild cat.'

p. 109

'The Fingoes searched the bags of all the women and took away everything of value they possessed. I saw one man's finger covered with rings, which he had just removed from a handsome leopard-skin bag.'

1877–9 Ex C.M.R. (1881) p. 169 Thembu: cosmetics

'Both men and women daub and smear themselves all over with red clay and grease, and in hot weather the odour is simply horrible.'

(1881) Nauhaus, C. T. p. 345 Xhosa: sweat-scraper

'Aehnlich gestaltet, aber viel länger als der Schnupflöffel, erscheint der Schweisslöffel, wovon mehere Exemplare vorlagen. Der dünne Stiel ist 3 Zoll lang, der Löffel daran 3 Zoll lang, halb gebogen, aus Eisen gefertigt; der Kaffer schabt mit dem Löffel, in Ermangelung des Taschentuches, den Schweiss von Gesicht und Hals.'

1900 J. de N. R. p. 442 'Kaffir': ochre

Nothing more.

(1904) Kidd pp. 30–31, pl. 26, pl. 50 and legend Mpondo: cosmetics, head-pad

pp. 30–31 Mpondo: red ochre, oil

'No description of first impressions would be true to life that excluded the all-important question of red clay. A native's dress is never complete without this cosmetic. Red ochre and oil are rubbed into the skin, and frequently into the blanket. When this latter is done by a tribe the people are called Red Kafirs, or merely "Reds". The effect of the anointing with oil and clay is to form a splendid protection against the sun and the rain; and I think that, objectionable as the practice is from many points of view, it undoubtedly improves the colour of the native, whose skin is more of an ashy or slate-grey than a rich brown. The effect of the red clay is to make the skin the colour of chocolate.'

pl. 26 Mpondo: head-pad

Figure.

pl. 55 and legend Mpondo: red ochre

'These children are carrying basketsful of red ochre, or red earth, in order to make paint with which to anoint their blankets and bodies.'

(1910) Schneider pp. 23–24 Xhosa: availability of ochre

'Alle erglänzten, in der mit Fett gebundenen, rotbraunen Ockerfarbe, welche die Eingeborenen damals nur mühsam an einzelnen Stellen dem Gestein abgewonnen, während sie heutzutage eine ansehnliche Menge davon für ein Billiges beim weissen Händler erstehn können.'

(1914) Schweiger p. 64 Xhosa, Fingo: grease

'. . . Dort angekommen werden die Burschen von einem eigens dazu bestimmten Manne mit Butterfett eingerieben und damit zu Kriegern gesalbt. Sie werden hernach mit ihren neuen weissen Decken bekleidet und erhalten einen Stab (umngqay) als Zeichen ihrer Mannbarkeit.

Das Bestreichen und Salben mit Butterfett hat übrigens auch noch den Zweck, dass jedes Merkmal des weissen Lehmes, mit dem sie vorher während der ganzen Zeit des umtshilo fortwährend bestrichten waren und der wie eine harte Kruste der Körperhaut anhaftet, vollständig verschwinde; denn von dem alten Menschen darf bei dem jung gemachten Manne absolut aber auch gar nichts mehr zurück bleiben. . . .'

(1926*b*) Müller, F. p. 33 Hlubi: toothbrush, grease

'Ihren Zähnen lassen die Kaffern im allgemeinen eine gute Pflege zuteil werden. Nach jeder Mahlzeit werden die Zähne entweder sorgfältig mit einer ihnen bekannten Wurzel gereinigt und abgerieben oder aber wenigstens der Mund mit Wasser ausgespült. Wir haben früher gehört, dass die Kaffern es lieben, Gesicht und Hände mit Fett einzusalben. Dass sie dafür das ranzige bevorzugen, ist ihr persöhnlicher Geschmack. Aber das Einsalben selbst dient doch auch wieder zu nichts anderem als der Körperpflege.'

(1927) Poto Ndamase p. 123 Mpondo: butter

'Bekusetyenziswa amafuta epehla kudala. Xa esenziwa bekutatwa intusi ihlukuhlwe edliweni, ize izigaqa ezi zayo zihlanjwe emanzini kakuhle, ize zipekwe zibile, iti lonto yakupola yongulwe. Lonto-ke ibifakwa ehlaleni, kutanjiswe ngayo.'

[Butter fat was used in the olden times. In making it, sweet milk was shaken in a calabash. The resulting lumps were washed thoroughly; then they were boiled and when the product had cooled off, the top was skimmed off and put in a small vessel, and used for anointing the body.]

(1931) Cook p. 84 Bomvana: coloured clays

'The women paint their faces with various clays. One woman will have white ear lobes, white spots on the cheek bones and the rest of her face a beautiful red. All manner of geometrical patterns in as many colours are painted on their faces.'

(1932) Soga, J. H. pp. 410, 413–414 Xhosa: bag, cosmetics

p. 410 Xhosa: bag

'He never went anywhere without his *i-Ngxowa*—goat-skin bag, for in it he carried those articles which were an ever present necessity; the *i-Nxili*, a small bag made from the scrotum of a billy-goat, and in which reposed his tobacco, that, at least which was reserved for his personal use and not available for pipe fills for his friends. This latter was kept loose at the bottom of the *nxowa*. Besides the *nxili* his goat-skin bag held his pipe, tinder box and other small treasures. In modern times this bag comes in handy for stowing away his blanket when he is out in a rain storm.'

pp. 413–414 Xhosa: grease, ochre

'*Im-Bola*—Red Clay. *Im-Bola* is a generic term for the various kinds of red clay. The smearing of the body with red clay or ochre is apparently a very ancient custom in Africa. Herodotus in his Polymnia, chapter 69, says of the Ethiopians that "when they were going to battle, they smeared one half of their body with chalk, and the other half with red ochre".

All Bantu tribes are not addicted to the habit of smearing the body with ochre. Among the South-Eastern Bantu certain tribes, such as the Pondos, Bacas, Ntlangwini and others, use red ochre sparingly, on their faces and hair, but not on their bodies. The Ama-Xosa (Xosas), on the other hand, smear their whole bodies and their garments as well with red ochre.

There are two varieties of *Im-Bola*, namely, *i-Citywa* and *u-Cumse.*

I-Citywa. This is a soft stone, of reddish colour, to be found in certain parts of the country. It is used only for smearing the body and face, but not the clothing. A little water is poured into a depression in a stone, and the *i-citywa* is rubbed in this until it forms a paint. After the body has been washed, the paint is smeared all over it and allowed to dry. Then the whole body is rubbed with the hands to produce a smooth surface, and the dust blown off, thus giving the body a reddish colour. A little melted fat is next applied to the whole surface, and the body assumes a bronze appearance. These measures are taken as a precaution against the sun, in the first instance, for the body without such a protection, would, by the action of the sun on the unprotected surface crack the skin—*uku-xweba.*

The red clay is also used as a cosmetic and by way of adornment, and lastly, as a protection against the bites of insects.'

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 170, 223, 285 Mpondo: toilet articles

p. 170 Mpondo: bleaching agent

'Every day during the seclusion, and as many times as she likes a day (usually at least twice), the *intonjane* chews the roots of *umgqungu* (Tambookie grass) and smears her face and body with her saliva and the juice of the chewed root. The roots, used green, are a strong bleaching agent. This is said by some informants to be the most essential part of the ceremonies. The effect of the juice of the *umgqungu* roots, the seclusion in the darkness of the hut, and the lack of exercise, is such that, when an *intonjane* comes out, she is lighter in complexion and fatter than normal. A light complexion and plumpness are considered features of beauty.'

p. 223 Mpondo: cosmetics, toothbrush

'A shiny skin is essential to beauty and it is secured by smearing on butter (*iphehle*) made by shaking a calabash of sour milk. The butter thus made is pressed, washed in water, and sometimes boiled "to take away the rancid smell". The body is rubbed with this butter, but now vaseline has largely taken its place. Teeth are polished with a stick of fibrous wood (*umthenene*); others chew a pleasant-tasting root (*isixuɓo*).

As scent, strings of leaves, *isilonyana* or *intyeneɓa* (wild mint), are worn round

the neck. Leaves of *imphepha* [*sic*] are ground up and made, with a sticky substance, into sweet-smelling beads. Wooden beads of *umthombothi* (*Spirostachys africanus*) are also worn for their scent.

The root of *ingqawana* and leaves of *intyene6a* are ground up with ochre and put on blankets, particularly by women with babies. In some districts red clay is generally used on the hair and clothes, in others it is not used at all, having been dropped during mourning for a chief and never resumed, in others it is used only by unmarried girls.'

p. 285 Mpondo: toilet-box

(With reference to evil magic:) 'In the old days when women wore skins, they carried it (the snake) in a little tortoise-shell box they wore hanging down their backs. When it got hot the snake put its head out.'

1918–48 Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964) pp. 3, 4, 6, 12, 34, 36, 37, 50, 51 Cape Nguni: bags, ochre

pp. 3, 4, 6, 12 Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo, Fingo, Bhaca: bags

Nothing more.

p. 34 Cape Nguni: ochre

Nothing more.

p. 36 Thembu: woman's bag

'*Inxowa yebhokwe* Ochred skin bag, female, made of goatskin. Carried with *iqaba* costume when the woman goes to the store. The hairy part is inside. It is capacious and holds the woman's long pipe, tobacco and any small things she may purchase.'

p. 36 Mpondo: man's bag

'*Inxowa* Braided cloth bag, white kaffir-sheeting with black braid and narrow edging of black beads, to be carried on festive occasions.'

pp. 37, 50, 51 Thembu: bag

Nothing more.

(1937) Soga, T. B. pp. 145, 236 Xhosa: origins of cosmetic use of ochre and butter

p. 145 Xhosa: butter

'Abesenzelwa ukutanjiswa ngamanenekazi mhla ahombileyo. . . . Nanamhla kusenjalo kwelase-Mbo nakuma-Xosa a-Bomvu, kuma-Baca, ama-Mpondo, nama-Mpondomise, nezitembu kubantu abasesemboleni ukunyibelana namafuta kwa nasezingutyeni. La mafuta ebengatyiwa nokutyiwa nje nganamhla kwam-Lungu. Umtinto lo ubupuma apa ke. Nguwo lo namhla kutiwa "yixibiya". Ubutyiwa kodwa ngamakwenkwe nezinja ingento ya bantu. Namakwenkwe ebewungqunyushelelwa. Ukungqumshela kukuwugalela ubisi olutsha . . . suka afika ama-Mfengu xa kunje eyincitakalo wona. Ate akuyibona le nto yala masi ema nenja, angenwa ngumona nje ngabantu, axelelwa ukuba asinto ityiwa bantu. Suka wona awutanda ngokwawo avulelwa ke. Ite ke le nto yasisondlo kwaba bantu, bapila.'

[This fat (butter) was made for the womenfolk to anoint themselves when dressed up. . . . It is still the custom in the eMbo country and among the red Xhosa,

the Bhaca, Mpondo, Mpondomise and the married women among the people who still use the red clay, to smear with fat, their clothing included. This fat was not eaten at all as is done today among the Europeans. Cream, for consumption, then, had its origin here, and is the substance today called *ixibiya* (buttermilk). Though eaten by boys and dogs, it was not a food for adults. The boys also had it *ngqumshela*'d for them. *Ngqumshela* means to add new milk to it. . . while this was still the position, the Fingoes arrived as fugitives. When they saw the phenomenon of this sour milk beside a dog, they were, humanly enough, seized with envy, but were told that it was not eaten by man. But they chose to treat it as food of their own accord and were allowed their way. It then became an article of nourishment among these people, and they survived.]

p. 236 Xhosa: ochre

'Nditi ama-Xosa ayenyanzelekile ukulibonela kuba-Twa eli siko lokuqaba, kuba bangena bahlasela eli lizwe limiwe ngaba-Twa abo kulo maxesha, besukuzana nama-Lawu.

. . . Kucace mhlope kona ukuba nokuba ayibonela kuba-Twa na, kobani na, ate wona akuyambulelwa ngowambuleleyo kuba engayicolanga macoli noko, ayicumisa ngamandla ngokuhambisa kwamaxesha ezizukulwana zawo. Kwada namhla kwasisitete ukungati imbola le yatapuluka nokuvela kuka-Xhosa. Kuba bate abaninzi bevela, bavela se kuqatywa nomzimba lo wonke kwa-Xosa, ngokukodwa ngabasetyini nododana.'

[I think there is no doubt that the Xhosa saw this custom of using red clay practised among the Bushmen, for they invaded this country during the times when it was still inhabited by those Bushmen, who were in conflict with the Hottentots over it. . . . It is quite clear that though they (the Xhosa) learnt the use of red clay from the Bushmen or others and got it from strangers, they nevertheless did not adopt it without discrimination, but greatly developed it in the course of generations; so that today it is as firmly-rooted a custom as if it had originated together with the Xhosa. For since the establishment of the nation in considerable numbers, the whole body was already smeared among the Xhosa, especially by the womenfolk and the young men.]

1945 Makalima chapters 9, 10 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: bags, head-pads, ochre, cleaning teeth

chap. 9, pars 9, 14, 42, 63 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: bags, head-pads

Nothing more.

chap. 10, par. 26 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: razor

'Ziyacetywa na? Inwele ziyacetywa ngemela, intloko ibentle, ifane nobuso.'

[The hair is cut with a razor and the head becomes as smooth as the face.]

pars 28, 31–33 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: ochre

Nothing more.

par. 39 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: cleaning teeth

'Ukukutshwa kwamazinyo:—Amazinyo akakutshwa kuti, yinto yokuhomba amazinyo amahle, akenziwa nto, ngapandle kokugcinwa ecocekile ngotutu, nelahle.'

[Teeth are not extracted according to our custom, good teeth are an ornament, nothing is done to them except keeping them clean with ashes and charcoal.]

par. 40 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: ochre, fat

Nothing more.

(1949) Duggan-Cronin pl. 71 and legend Mpondomise: ochre

'The girl is rubbing the woman with red clay to colour her skin.'

(1952) Weir p. 273 Xhosa: ochre

'There are several reasons for the use of ochre: the Native loves bright colours and the use of ochre makes frequent washing unnecessary, besides acting as a vermin repellant. The wide use of DDT is now obviating this latter reason for using ochre and it may have a marked effect on custom.

Ochre is used in three shades: the "kaffir ochre", which is the bright red most commonly seen; the "Fingo ochre", which is a much darker red, used by the Fingo tribes; and a yellow ochre which has become fashionable in certain areas during the past ten or fifteen years.

The Bantu are discriminating buyers always, but when it comes to ochre they are, if anything, more particular than European women selecting lipstick or powder. The ochre must be of an exact shade and texture and its quality of adherence to the blanket or sheeting must conform to precise requirements or the Native will have nothing to do with it. Let a trader buy a wrong quality and his custom will disappear in no time. A strange thing is that South Africa has up to the present not been able to produce a red ochre that is acceptable to the Native and all supplies of the correct quality have to be imported. In yellow ochre, however, the South African product has proved satisfactory.'

(1954) Duggan-Cronin pl. 117 and legend Hlubi: bags

'These goat-skin bags are much used for carrying grain, tobacco, pipes etc. although never for water.'

1949–62 Hammond-Tooke (1962) pp. 10–11 Bhaca: grease, ochre

'Heads are close shaven until betrothal, when the hair is allowed to grow out preparatory to being greased with fat and ochre and rolled into ringlets to form the married woman's typical coiffure. . . . Bhaca do not use ochre for their clothing, but smear it in their hair.'

1962 De Lange (1963) pp. 85–95 Xhosa: cosmetics

p. 85 Xhosa: cosmetic practices

'. . . the dressed Xhosa do not use these cosmetics "Red" Xhosa sometimes employ European cosmetics, but use them in traditional Xhosa fashions. . . .

The traditional cosmetic arts practised by the Xhosa include the use of colour on bodies and clothes and an appreciation of pattern achieved by means of paint and scarification. The attraction of a pleasant scent is also employed to a certain extent. . . . Cosmetics are typically employed by girls and young matrons, the young men usually enhancing their appearance by means of the beadwork made for them by their sweethearts. . . .

The sources of the cosmetics are coloured mineral substances and various vegetable products. To a small extent animal fats are also employed. Some of these cosmetics are native to certain localities, and enjoy only a local appeal, while others are general and can be procured at any trading station. Considerable distances are travelled in order to procure the necessary commodity. The colours used by the Xhosa are tones of red, yellow, white and occasionally blue and black. The use of these cosmetics is not indiscriminate. Custom dictates to some extent when cosmetics must be used, what colours to apply, and what design to adopt. However, when custom is not involved individual preference may be indulged.'

p. 86 Xhosa: ritual use of cosmetics

'Where cosmetics are worn for ritual purposes, their significance may be as an emblem denoting a particular ritual state, and the colour may have a symbolic meaning.'

p. 86 Xhosa: ochres

'The majority of cosmetics consist of various types of ochre. . . . There is no standard colour which is favoured universally, and fashions change so rapidly that suppliers to the traders find it impossible to keep them supplied with the exact shade in demand. . . . Informants attest that these ochres are properly dyes, and unpleasant to wear on the face, being harsh and drying. They are nevertheless frequently used for facial decoration, ... '

(There follows a description of the individual mineral substances used.)

p. 88 Xhosa: plant cosmetics

'Such colouring matter as is produced from vegetable sources is used on the face, and there are no vegetable dyes produced for the dyeing of clothing. Those which are used are considered to possess medicinal or even magical properties.'

p. 89 Xhosa: plant cosmetics

'*Isibindi*: This is the name of a bracket fungus which is found growing on such trees as the *Combretum erythrophyllum*. The fresh fungus is chopped from the tree and is rubbed on a grinding-stone while water is added to form a mustard-yellow lotion. This is smeared on the face and dries to form a slight film on the skin. *Isibindi* is considered of therapeutic value.

Imbendulu: This is a plant, probably of the *Polygala* sp. The roots are collected and dried and broken up into pieces. When the cosmetic is required the dried roots are pulverized while water is added to produce a bright yellow dye. It is supposed to be beneficial to the complexion, but more important, to have the magical ability to attract to the wearer the affection of the opposite sex. . . .

Umthombothi: . . . (*Spirostachys africanus*) whose wood has a pleasant smell . . . slivers about three inches long . . . are strung together to form a necklace which is worn by nursing mothers. To form a cosmetic, pieces of the necklace are broken off and ground to powder. This is used like talcum power, or . . . mixed with water and applied to the mother's face and added to the baby's washing water. It is used for its scent, ...'

p. 89 Xhosa: animal fat

'Animal fat was previously much used by the Xhosa on their bodies and on their clothing. . . . It hardly finds a place among their cosmetics to-day . . . diviners sometimes use it on their hair . . . young girls . . . sometimes treat their hair in this fashion. Butter is used only by the *abakhwetha* at the end of their seclusion, rubbed over their entire persons after they have finally washed off the white paint. It is made by skimming the cream off the milk, and shaking it in a calabash.'

p. 90 Xhosa: prescribed cosmetics

'. . . there are occasions when the use of cosmetics is compulsory, sanctioned by tradition. . . . The cosmetic which must be used is stipulated, and usually also the manner in which it must be applied. The situations involve ritual conditions. . . . Generally this involves a change in status. . . . Besides the transition states this is also enjoined on occasions when the subject is considered ritually unclean. . . . The girl undergoing initiation into womanhood (*intonjane*), the bride (*umtshakazi*), the nursing mother (*umdlazana*) and her baby, *abakhwetha*, diviners (*amagqira*) and novices and those in mourning (*uzilo*) are subject to certain restrictions where cosmetics are concerned.'

pp. 90–91 Xhosa: *intonjane*

'The girl secluded is called *intonjane*, and she is not allowed to use any body paint during this time. As often as she likes, she washes herself with a decoction of *ungqungu* (Tambookie grass) roots in water. The decoction is supposed to be medicinal. The roots used are sweet-smelling and a strong bleaching agent. . . . There is always a dance of the young girl friends. . . . Their entire bodies are covered with *ichitywa*, with the exception of their faces. The face is patterned with white paint, although the addition of other colours is permitted. . . .

At the end of her seclusion the girl paints herself with *ichitywa* and visits her mother, to indicate that all prohibitions are now removed.'

p. 91 Xhosa: bride

'The bride covers her body with *ichitywa*, excluding her face from this treatment. This is still done in a traditional wedding. . . . When . . . she starts her career as a wife she wears no special cosmetic to indicate her status. . . . When she has had a second child she may adopt a turban and paint her face as elaborately as she chooses.'

pp. 91–92 Xhosa: white clay at birth

'Her seclusion ended, she [the mother] makes *ingxwala* into paint. It is usually applied in the form of a mask around her eyes, though this pattern is not essential. Some of the white paint is also smeared on the child's face.'

pp. 92–93 Xhosa: *abakhwetha*

'After the surgical operation, the boys' faces are smeared with a watery clay or mud found at places along the river banks (*udaka*). The use of this mud is retained until the wounds heal . . . and then *ifuta* is prepared. The whole body is smeared, and this covering should be kept intact until their seclusion is terminated three to six months later. . . . At the conclusion of the seclusion period, the boys run down to the river and wash off the *inceke*. They return to the lodge and a pound

of butter is rubbed over each one. . . . Meanwhile the boys' mothers are busy preparing *ichitywa*. . . . Each boy . . . covers his body with *ichitywa*. This must be used for a period of three months. It is supposed to restore the skin to a healthy condition after the prolonged use of *ingxwala*. . . . Having abandoned the compulsory use of *ichitywa*, they then must make the yellow *isibindi* cosmetic. They must apply it to their faces every day . . . generally only for a few days.'

p. 93 Xhosa: diviners

'A person whose sickness has been diagnosed . . . as an indication that he or she should become an *igqira* wears undyed, white clothes. Red ochred clothes and ordinary facial paint are prohibited. The novice . . . is only allowed to use *ingxwala*. . . .'

p. 94 Xhosa: mourning

'The widow or widower is given new clothing. These blankets must not be dyed, as a sign of mourning, ... During this period *imbola* must not be worn on the body either.'

p. 94 Xhosa: choice of cosmetics

'When no . . . custom is involved there is no restriction. . . . The age of the person does not determine which cosmetic shall be worn, and although the men do not as a rule make as much use of cosmetics as the women, sex is not a determinant either. The patterns achieved with cosmetics are not exclusive to any one age group . . . from the youngest to the oldest, male and female, any of the cosmetics mentioned may be used in any pattern that takes their fancy. . . .'

p. 95 Xhosa: choice of cosmetics

'Although the cosmetics of the Xhosa cannot be strictly divided into ritual and non-ritual categories, ... White is considered the colour for use when religion is involved, while the reds, including the yellows, are regarded as the colours for festivities and normal social life. . . . Red is the colour beloved of the Xhosa. . . . Red is used on the faces and clothes of those who are normal and ritually sound; When its use is suspended, something abnormal and supernatural is involved.'

1968 Holt (1969) p. 11 and legend, pp. 78, 110–111, 114, 192–193 Tshezi: cosmetics

p. 11 Tshezi: white clay

(On face of mother and baby:) '. . . White clay and braid on skirt ornamental—not necessary to ritual.'

p. 78 Tshezi: red ochre

'After weaning of the child, there follows the ceremony of painting with red ochre (*ukuqab'imbola*), when both mother and babe are painted, at least on their faces. . . . The mother is now free of all restrictions, taboos and ritual uncleanness (*umlaza*) connected with childbirth. . . .'

pp. 110–111 Tshezi: white clay, grease

'. . . the [newly initiated] youths rise and go down to the river to wash. . . . This washing is very important. Not only must all the white clay be removed, but

all the pollution of boyhood. . . . Their guardians bring "fat" (*amafuta*) to anoint them. The proper thing is hog fat, which should be placed in a lump on each head and rubbed with the hands to flow down over the face, neck and shoulders. Now, however, they have jars of vaseline or of pomade. . . . No part of the body may be left untouched.'

p. 114 Tshezi: red ochre

'Here they paint their bodies with bright red clay, which is dug up locally, is ground when dry between stones normally used for grinding maize, and is mixed with water in a can. The guardians are as insistent that every inch of the body shall be daubed with this clay as they were about the fat. Now they are no longer novices, (*abakhwetha*), but initiates (*amakrwala*). . . . The change from the white clay, washed away at the river, to the red clay apparently . . . changes the status of the young men.'

pp. 192–193 Tshezi: white clay

Photographs of

1. two young women with 'eyes ornamented with white clay'.
2. girl in school clothes with whole face painted ?white.

(1970) Elliott pp. 17, 20, 24, 29, 34–35, 37, 39, 42–43, 46, 48, 49, 56, 93, 94, 119, 120, 128 Xhosa: cosmetics, bags

p. 17 Xhosa: yellow ochre

Figure.

p. 20 Xhosa: woman's bag

Figure.

p. 24 Xhosa: man's bag

Figure.

p. 29 Xhosa: white clay

Figure.

pp. 34–35 and figure Xhosa: bags

'Both Xhosa men and women smoke pipes and their "tobacco bags" are decorative additions to their outfits. The woman's is made of white cotton baize. . . . It is decorated with . . . beadwork, rows of black braid and [other] things. . . . In the bag the woman carries her supply of . . . tobacco . . . a . . . hand-mirror . . . her pipe . . . a tin of snuff and a small lady's handkerchief in the corner of which, tied in a knot, is her shopping money.

The man's bag is quite different and more masculine. It is made from a wild or domestic animal's skin. The particular skin used, to some extent, owes its popularity to the fashion in a clan in the same way as does the pattern by which it is made up. . . . Inside the bag the man is likely to have the same things as the woman does plus, always, a pocket-knife and a sharp spike for taking thorns out of his feet.'

p. 37 Xhosa: man's bag of goatskin

Figure.

pp. 39, 44, 46, 119, 120, 128 Xhosa: bags

Nothing more.

pp. 42–43 Xhosa: ochre

Figure.

p. 48 Xhosa: red ochre for bride

'The women smear her [the bride] from head to toe with a red paste made from powdered ochre and dress her in the style of a bride.'

p. 49 Xhosa: red ochre

'After her first child is born she becomes more important. Then she no longer paints herself red. . . .'

p. 56 Xhosa: ochre

Figure.

p. 93 Xhosa: red ochre

'. . . the initiates were told to rise and go with their faces hidden to a small hut so that the young girls of the kraal could smear them with red ochre.'

p. 94 figure and legend Xhosa: ochre

'Standing naked, the *Abakwetha* are smeared all over with a paste of red ochre. Girls play a leading part in this procedure, whereafter the *Abakwetha* emerge as "new" or "raw" men.'

1972 Bigalke pp. 74, 81, 85 Ndlambe: bags

p. 74 Ndlambe: youth's bags

'(a) *ingxowa* . . . a rectangular (51 × 30,5 cm) bag of *bhayi* [unbleached cotton cloth], with drawstring at mouth, and a handle of the same fabric. [Here follows detailed description.] . . . This kind of bag is common, though smaller examples are more usual.

(b) *ingxowa yenyhwagi* . . . approximately 38 cm long, one side being a whole genet (*inyhwagi*) skin, the other a blue duiker (*iphuti*) skin, both with the hair on and sewn together with leather thongs. . . . The style of the bag is usual, though the example described is uncommonly large.'

p. 81 Ndlambe: young men's bag

'*Ingxowa*, similar . . . to the cloth *ingxowa* of youths except for certain distinguishing items. . . . A common item. . . . It is used when traditional dress is worn.'

p. 85 Ndlambe: mature men's bags

'*ingxowa* . . . a whole goatskin. . . . The opening at the head is sewn up and the skin of the front legs is tied to the back legs to form loops . . . the loops so formed are slipped over a shoulder. . . . This bag is used when traditional clothes are worn. . . . Only older men, from about 50 upwards, have this type of bag.

itasi . . . a pouch-type container, often approximately 30 × 20 cm, of goat, . . . or the skin of any wild animal available. . . . This article may be rectangular or semi-circular. . . . It is used, especially when the owner is wearing western dress, to contain a pipe, tobacco, and a pipe-cleaner. . . .'

(1976) Broster pp. 3, 19, 47, 49, 50, 61, 76, 111; pls between pp. 34–35, opp. pp. 67, 82 — Thembu: ochre, bags

p. 3 — Thembu: red ochre

'Colour has a deep religious significance. The people who worship their ancestors are called in Xhosa *amaQaba*. To *qaba* means to paint with red ochre or red clay. Such persons are recognized by the red colour of their apparel. Blankets, dress and body are rubbed with red ochre, either an oxide of iron or local red clay—the blood of the earth. This is the colour beloved by the ancestral spirits and the colour of their faith. For the people it is the emblem of happiness and the colour from which they take their name of "red people" or *amaQaba*. . . . To keep the colour glowing fresh applications of red ochre are regularly made.'

p. 19 — Thembu: white and other clay

'On the day of the *umtshotsho* [teenage dance] all go to the river and bathe. Then the girls take white clay and brush it on their arms and legs . . . but they omit to paint their feet. Boys paint only the calves of their legs with white clay. Both sexes employ facial make up.

Among the Tembu, cosmetics consist of various types of ochre in colours of red, yellow, white and occasionally black. The colours, application and design are laid down by tribal custom and indicate age-grouping or status. A girl may cover her face entirely with yellow or red ochre that has been emulsified in poultry or pig fat. Teenage girls frequently use white clay and decorate their faces with intricate patterns. The clay is applied with a stick or quill. Lips are blackened with pipe oil mixed with spittle or with soot scraped from the cooking pot. Some favour three black beauty spots on each cheek. Teenage boys merely outline their eyes with yellow or white clay and blacken their lips.'

pls between pp. 34–35, p. 111 — Thembu: bags

Figures 1, 2, 23.

Legends p. 111: 'The straight lips indicate men's bags.

1. a young man's bag decorated with goat thongs
2. an older man's bag. It may also be decorated with goat thongs
23. a young woman's bag—note the V-shaped lips of the bag. A woman wears the bag over her wrist or attached to her girdle by a *blanket* pin.'

p. 47 — Thembu: yellow ochre and white

(During the *umngqungqo* dance, at the end of *intonjane* period:) 'Arms and torso are painted with yellow ochre, while white clay is used on the face to paint the ears, outline the jaw, cheek bones and eyes.'

pp. 49–50 — Thembu: red ochre of *intonjane*

'For the first week, every day, she [the newly initiated] smears her face with red ochre for she wishes it to be known that she has been ritually cleansed and is once more acceptable in Qaba society.'

p. 61 — Thembu: colours worn by bride

'Her eyes and ears are outlined with white clay and her brass arm-bands are smeared with the same material. The upper half of her body is exposed and painted with a pale yellow ochre but her feet are painted with red ochre.'

pl. opp. p. 67 Thembu: bags

Figure of man wearing beaded bag with thong streamers.

p. 76 Thembu: yellow, white

(For the *ibasi*, the married men's monthly dance:) '[The women] paint their faces with yellow and white clay. . . .'

pl. opp. p. 82 Thembu: bags

Photograph of woman wearing skin bag with the skin outwards.

TOILET AND PERSONAL ACCESSORIES: TERMS

imela (an old word, cl. 9, probably derived, though in an unusual manner, from Afr. *mes*) knife, D, general, still used by old people, but *isitshetshe* now commonly used instead **922** (392)

imbeza 1. (Em) kind of spoon or flat knife of bone or iron for removing perspiration from face, D. 2. not confirmed, perhaps forgotten, but possibly also never an accepted term, cf. *ubengo* (754). More likely to have denoted a carving instrument **923**

isiqhuqho (from *-qhuqha* wipe off superfluous red clay) 1. moleskin used for wiping off sweat or red clay, D. 2. not confirmed **924**

inkondlwane 1. nD. 2. species of grass, Mp T **925**

inkondlo 1. nD. 2. species of grass, used for cleaning teeth, Xes **926**

isixubo 1. nD. 2. pleasant-tasting root for cleaning teeth, Mp–Hunter 1936). 3. not confirmed **927**

isitshetshe knife, D, general, by extension also 'razor' **928** (395)

inkcaza comb, D, general (from *-chaza* comb) **929**

iqina generic term for various mesembrianthemums, ashes of which are used in making soap, D, general **930** (257)

isepa, *isepu* (from Afr. *seep*) modern soap, D, general **931**

intelezi *Bulbine asphodeloides* Sch., used as a styptic and as war medicine, D **932**

isiqholo 1. spices, perfume, D X Mp. 2. also protective medicine (*intelezi*), Mp. 3. (or *ubuvumba*) a scented herb of which the juice is extracted and rubbed on body, Xes **933**

ubuqholo 1. fragrant powder, D. 2. medicine, Mp. 3. = *isiqholo* or *ubuvumba*, a scented herb, Xes **934**

ubulawu fragrant powder made of the dry leaves of . . . (various aromatic plants named), used as perfume for the body, D X, not Mp Xes **935**

ubuvumba 1. *Withania somnifera*, D. 2. (or *isiqholo*) a scented herb, Xes **936**

isifikane 1. scented grass (*Andropogon* sp. and *Lasiospermum radiatum* Trev.) used for making necklaces, D. 2. plant with broad leaves, scented juice of which mixed with ochre (X–Norbury). 3. kept in huts for pleasant odour (X–Smith 1824–5) **937** (837)

iphehla 1. butter, D (from *-phehla* churn by moving a calabash or milkbag to and fro). 2. *iphehle* butter, used for anointing (Mp–Hunter 1936: 223) **938**

imbola clay of red colour, which was burnt and then pounded and made into a paste and painted on the body, D, general, now also imported ochre bought in stores **939** (299)

ichitywa 1. red clay, used for anointing the body, D. 2. soft stone, from red to almost white in colour, ground and used by *abakhwetha* and by others, mostly on the face (Mp–Poto Ndamase). 3. takes more trouble to prepare than *imbola*, and is lighter in colour, besides having more shades. Not used to stain blankets, Mp X, general **940**

ingceke 1. nD. 2. white clay used by *abakhwetha* to smear on body, general. (Note: *inceke* (Em) white paint, D, is erroneous.) 3. small *ingobozi* basket, X Xes Mp **941** (536, 738)

ingxwala soft white stone which women and circumcised boys pound and smear their faces with, D, general **942**

ucumse 1. crushed ground red clay; red ochre, D, general. (This is the imported ochre bought in the shops, slightly darker than *imbola*. Derivation and origin unknown. It comes in barrels, and as these were then used as vats for beer-brewing, the second meaning now is: 2. large vat or barrel for beer-brewing; by extension even large pottery vessel and modern steel drum **943** (301)

umdiki 1. nD. 2. yellow clay paste for the face, T Mp **944**

ihlala 1. pot or small vessel for keeping any fatty substance for anointing the head or person, D. 2. small calabash for fat, with small aperture. Fat for anointing oneself is extracted with twig, X Mp **945**

ingqowa 1. nD. 2. bag, beadwork purse, despatch bag, T **946**

ingxiwa 1. nD. 2. bag, general except X; tobacco bag, of polecat skin, Mp **947** (968)

ingxowa bag, usually made of the skin of a kid flayed whole; sack; pocket, D, general **948** (338, 969)

ingxuwa (= *ingxiwa*) bag, D Mp, but unknown other Mp **949**

uxazisuka 1. nD. 2. palm-leaf pouch or container, as for carrying around meat for sale, Mp **950**

inxili 1. bag for pipe and tobacco worn on the side by women; bag full of all kinds of goods, D. 2. usually of oxhide, and worn mostly by women, though also sometimes by men, general **951** (971)

iqhaga 1. any small box or case carried on the person, hence snuff-box, D. 2. any small container, as box, tin, calabash, snuff-box; nowadays also padlock and calabash penis-cover, general. 3. *iqhaga lamanyama* if made of hide scrapings (T–Makalima, Mp–UCT, Mp–Poto Ndamase) **952** (524, 992)

isipaji (from pouch of soldiers) pouch, wallet, skin purse **953**

isitofile 1. nD. 2. small tin for medicine, general **954**

itasi (from Afr. *tas*) 1. bag or satchel carried by strap over the shoulders, D, general. 2. jackal-skin bag, X Mp Xes. 3. store-bought leather purse, X **955**

inqatshi 1. whip, D. 2. not generally known, but Mp say 'tip' of whip only, 'from the sound it makes', and *inqashi* same meaning, X **956**

itshoba 1. bushy end of an animal's tail, tassel, D. 2. fly-whisk (whereas *umtshoba* on animal), whisk for sprinkling medicine, general. 3. ox-tail hair, Fgo X. 4. cow-tail hair used as ornament on basketwork, Mpm **957** (220, 1011)

izwiniya, *iziniya*, *inzwiniya*, *inziniya* whip, D (X–McLaren 1915), general, but some use it only for the lash or tip **958**

uswazi switch, D, general **959** (326)

inkatha 1. coil of anything twisted together, especially grass head-pad for carrying, D, general. 2. peak cone of hut, made of stone and shell, X, or made of grass rope, T. (From widely distributed Bantu root) **960** (46)

TOILET AND PERSONAL ACCESSORIES: DISCUSSION

TOILET IMPLEMENTS

Toilet implements have not received much attention from early authors. Only four are known from the literature: the skin 'handkerchief', the sweat-scraper, a powder-puff and a toothbrush. Of these, only the latter appears to be known now.

The 'handkerchief' was the whole, softened skin of a wild cat or mole, which was attached to the cloak near the neck and used for wiping the face. The only two references are to its use by Xhosa women. It was evidently known quite late in the nineteenth century as it is in Kropf's Dictionary, but neither the object nor the word, *isiqhuqho*, appears to be known now. It was presumably early replaced by the cotton handkerchief.

Lavanha and Le Vaillant described a whisk (see below) as used for the same purpose.

The powder-puff was a small piece of soft skin, which was tucked into the mouth of the tortoise-shell toilet-box (see below) and used for applying powdered ochre to the face. The only record of its use was for the Xhosa but all who used the toilet-box would have used it as it was also the stopper.

Beutler first mentioned an ivory tablet 'for cleaning the eyes'. This must have been a misunderstanding of the use of the sweat-scraper, which thereafter was only mentioned about the middle of the nineteenth century, but must have been known in the interval. It is described as a spoon-like implement with a blade about 10 cm and a handle about 8 cm long, made of ivory or iron. It is recorded as being used by Xhosa men, who carried one attached to their girdles, or in their bags, or, in Beutler's account, round the neck.

The use as a toothbrush of a fibrous stick or root, presumably pounded at one end to release the fibres, is mentioned only by recent authors from the Hlubi of East Griqualand and the Mpondo. No name is given for the object itself, though the wood is named, *umthenene*, and neither the object nor the wood appears in the Dictionary. According to Makalima, the teeth were kept clean with ashes and

charcoal. Mpondo informants mentioned a grass that is bent into shape for such use. Xesibe also mentioned grass, but for the rest the fingers seem to have been the tool.

A cosmetic tool lacking among the Cape Nguni was a razor. They did not in any case shave the face. If a shaving tool was needed, for example to shave the head in mourning, a spear blade was used.

There is a word for comb, *inkcaza*, but both Xhosa and Mpondo informants agreed that the object was a new thing, bought from the stores, and not an indigenous item.

COSMETICS

There is no mention in the descriptive literature of the use of soap nor does a word for 'soap' exist, but the Dictionary does give the word *iqina* for mesembrianthemums, which were burnt, and the ashes used for making soap. A modern Xhosa informant knew the word and the making of soap, and said that whilst not common now, because of the accessibility of manufactured soap, the practice had been revived during the 1939–45 world war when soap was difficult to obtain. While the Dictionary lists several herbs, the juice or powdered leaves of which were used to scent the body, Bhaca and Xesibe informants stated that certain herbs were used as soap. Other modern informants, however, stated that soap was not known before the European variety was introduced, and that fresh cow-dung, fat and clay were for cleaning the hands.

The use of cosmetics by the Xhosa was first mentioned in 1752 by Beutler, in a negative way, since he said that although fat was much used as a cosmetic very little was used on the body. But Carter reported in 1782 that the people at the site of the wreck of the *Grosvenor* (?Mbo) mixed soot with butter and put it on their bodies. Thereafter, however, there is considerable reference to the use by people of all the tribes of grease and clays or ochres of various colours, on the hair and skin. The purpose is stated to be mainly cosmetic, but it is frequently pointed out that, in addition, such applications protect the skin from the effects of exposure to sun and cold, and, J. H. Soga adds, from the bites of insects. Döhne alone states that ochre was a cleansing agent, and was washed off after a few days. This, and the statement that it was the custom, is as far as most early enquirers got when seeking the origin of this use of ochres.

T. B. Soga suggests that the custom was adopted by the Xhosa from the Bushmen, with whom they were in contact in the early days, and that the people of the other tribes copied the Xhosa. The cosmetic use of ochre is, however, a very old custom, widespread in southern Africa and elsewhere, and must have derived from the need to stabilize the fats that were used to keep the skin in order in a harsh climate. Later writers have shown the extent to which it is entrenched in Cape Nguni customary practices, a fact only glimpsed from the early accounts.

The fats used were marrow and other fats from slaughtered stock or game, and butter, which was made by shaking sour milk in a sack or calabash, specially for this purpose. The Mpondo are said to have boiled the butter to purify it further.

The colour used was predominantly red, but yellow, black and white were much used too. According to Smith the Mpondo used yellow and white more commonly than the Xhosa and Thembu did. Colour was obtained from various ochres, usually described as clay, and from some plants. Soot was used for black. The people themselves distinguished two sorts of ochre, that which was reduced to a powder after mining (*imbola* or *ucumse*) and a soft chalky stone (*ichitywa*). The ochre was obtained from well-known pits and river banks, which, though of fairly frequent occurrence throughout the country, were often some distance away and necessitated long journeys. When European traders realized the extent of the demand, however, they began to sell imported ochre, first at Fort Willshire and later in the stores. This trade was extended when a government ban on digging ochre locally was imposed. This, however, did not stop that practice, as locally dug ochre has always been preferred for cosmetic purposes, while the imported variety is preferred for dying clothing and painting walls.

To prepare colour from either the powdered variety or the soft stone the ochre was rubbed into a thick solution with water, on a flat stone. According to the Dictionary the clay (*imbola*) was burnt first. This may refer to the yellow or brown variety, which would turn red with baking.

According to Alberti and J. H. Soga, two of the most reliable authors for Xhosa, the method of application was first to cover the whole skin with the paint and allow it to dry, then dust off the surface and apply fat all over. Another method was to mix the fat with the ochre solution. This gave the skin a reddish shine, considered very becoming, and was repeated every two or three days. It is evident, however, that to get the flat coloured designs seen nowadays on the face, and presumably formerly as well, the colour must be used with little or no grease. According to De Lange grease was put on first. There is frequent mention of mixing with the ochre or grease the juice or powdered leaves of fragrant plants, so as to perfume the body.

People helped each other in applying the colour, but an uncircumcised boy or unmarried man might not get anyone but his mother to help him.

Grease was used throughout by all, but colour was often and still is invested with a certain significance depending on the circumstances, and was therefore subject to convention. White clay was used for ritual purposes or unusual states, for example on a new-born baby and on *abakhwetha*, or on children and youngsters to promote health. In the west, red too was mandatory for certain states of life, for example *abakhwetha* on their return from the initiation lodge, or a bride until the birth of her first child. In Swellengrebel's account (Hallema 1932), illustrated by Schumacher's drawing of 'Een Caffers Captein', Xhosa warriors had a specific pattern in red on the face when they were intent on fighting.

For other occasions colours were used mainly by young people and by women. Several shades might be used for ornament, and patterns made. So important was it to women that they took a supply when on a journey, so as to be able to renew the decoration. Children used colours too, and occasionally the older men, but not

often. The fashion evidently differed from group to group, even with the same tribe, and no doubt formerly different basic styles belonged to different tribes, but evidence of this is lacking.

De Lange records the use by the Xhosa of two plants that are dried and mixed with water to a yellow paste and applied to the face. These are *isibindi*, a fungus, and *impondulu*. Both have therapeutic value.

Three authors mention the use of another substance, besides ochre, with grease for the hair or body. Lichtenstein and King called it 'mica', which King says was found washed out in gullies after rain. Kay, speaking of the Mpondo, called it '*sibilo*', and he may well have been right. '*Sibilo*', as described by early travellers among the Tswana, was specularite, an iron ore with a spendent metallic lustre, much used in the hair by Tswana. The substance seems to have been traded by the Tswana far and wide, and it is not unlikely that this is another instance of trade between the Cape Nguni and the north. On the other hand large deposits of mica are found in Pondoland and Kay may have known the Tswana custom, and called the mica '*sibilo*' by analogy.

The use of grease and ochre is much the same today, among those who are not wearing western dress (for a specialist account of the use of cosmetics by the Xhosa see De Lange 1963). For purely decorative use it is, like beads, much subject to fashion.

The Xhosa and the Mpondomise and others in the west still use ochre. Women and young men use it all over the body for well-dressed occasions, and women and girls use it just on the face for everyday wear (Pl. 109: 1). According to Makalima it was only women who painted the face. According to Broster, the colours used among the Thembu were dictated by the age group of the wearer. This is not recorded elsewhere.

In Pondoland the use of red ochre varies according to the district; it was generally abandoned by adults at the beginning of the twentieth century, in mourning for the respective chiefs. In many districts it has not been resumed, and in some is only used by unmarried girls (see p. 558).

In East Griqualand ochre is used only on hair and face, and only by women.

Grease is still generally used on the skin, and, as elsewhere, in addition to the fats mentioned, vaseline is popular nowadays.

PLATE 109

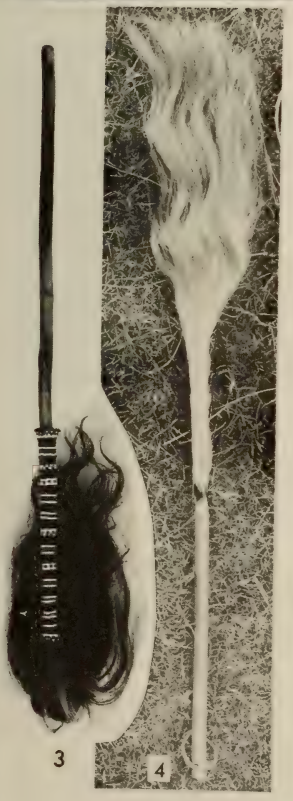
Ochre, toilet-box, whisks, tally and bag.

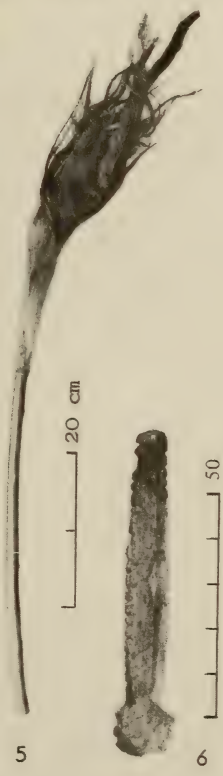
1. Bomvana woman applying ochre to her face; Elliotdale, 1948.
2. Tortoise-shell toilet-box, 230 mm, ?Xhosa; no locality, no date (identical with pictures and descriptions of Xhosa toilet-boxes of nineteenth century) (SAM–5104).
3. Whisk, handle 753 mm, Mpondomise; Tsolo, 1937 (SAM–5854).
4. *itshoba*, whisk, no scale, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt. Frere, 1948.
5. *itshoba*, 950 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale, 1935 (TM 35/406).
6. Tally, 73 mm; Cathcart, no date (Alb. H85).
7. *inxili*, 248 mm, Fingo; Butterworth, 1926 (SAM–4451).


1



2


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100

Another type of cosmetic is that recorded by Hunter of the Mpondo: that during the seclusion of a girl initiate, she chews the roots of tambookie grass, *umgqungu*, and rubs it on her face as a bleaching agent, since a light skin is greatly admired. Thembu informants said that this used to be done, but was no longer. Xesibe said that it was done not for the *intonjane* but for special occasions, and that the root of *simono* was also used.

BAGS

Two sizes of bags appear to have been used by the Xhosa from the time of the earliest descriptions until the present day. Firstly, a large bag, *ingxowa* (Pl. 111: 2, 3), made of the whole skin of a small goat, rabbit, antelope or other small wild animal, dressed by currying and rubbing until soft. The hair is left on. The skin is turned inside out and the opening at the neck sewn up. The legs are left on and sewn or bound together in pairs to serve as handles. This is the bag in which men carried their tobacco and smoking equipment, all their needs for a journey, and in wet weather could stuff cloak or blanket in too to keep it dry. It was slung over the shoulder or arm. This was used by all the Cape Nguni and no modern substitute for it has been found. Younger men now have cloth bags of the same name, and so do women in some areas. *Ingxowa* is worn with traditional dress, and is heavily embroidered.

Secondly, a small bag, *inxili* (Pls 111: 1; 112: 3, 4), was carried by women for their small items, or used by men for their private tobacco supply (as distinct from that which they were prepared to hand round) or other small items. The women carried theirs attached to a girdle or on the wrist or bound to the arm. The men carried theirs in the larger bag. The women's bag was made of the skin of a wild cat or other small animal. Norbury mentions seeing a woman with a leopard-skin bag. The men's was made of similar material or the scrotum of a goat. By the end of the nineteenth century, Fingo women were making their bags of unbleached cotton twill, heavily beaded (Pls 109: 7; 112: 1) while Xhosa women were still using skin. Latterly nearly all have been made of cloth. Some people consider *inxili* to be a woman's bag.

A third bag, *itasi*, named from Dutch, is a later adoption, described in the Dictionary as having a long strap to sling over the shoulder. But those seen during this study were small jackal-skin bags made in the European style, i.e. cut with a flap, not the whole skin. Some said it was a store-bought leather purse, others that it was made of skin and used by men, especially when in western dress. It might also be used for the smoking equipment.

In 1955, among the Mpondo at least as far west of Natal as Flagstaff, both sexes were said to carry a palm-leaf pouch of the Natal pattern, but they were only actually seen carried by women, and without a lid. A bag made like the shrimping basket (see Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981, pl. 51: 1) was also seen carried by a Mpondo man near Flagstaff. Xesibe make palm-leaf pouches too, and have to buy the materials first, as they are out of the palm-belt. Xesibe men also carry skin

bags, said to be made of dassie skin. The Hlubi carry a pouch of wild-cat or goatskin.

TOILET-BOXES

The only type of toilet-box mentioned in the early literature, and apparently common to all, though Angas said it was only Xhosa and Fingo who used them, was a small tortoise-shell (Pl. 109: 2). The leg openings were stopped with what appears to be a mixture of gum, clay and wax (it has not been possible to determine the constituents but see Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974: 207). The neck opening was stopped with a piece of soft skin, which served to apply the powdered ochre or sweet-scented herb that the shell contained. The boxes were carried attached to the cloak, generally hanging down the back or shoulder, by means of an ornamental strap, usually a thong covered with coiled brass wire. They were used mostly by women, but very occasionally by men, and are now no longer to be seen.

The Dictionary has the word *ihlala* for a 'pot or small vessel', evidently also meaning the dried fruit shell of *Strychnos spinosa*, in which fat was kept for anointing the person. This is still widely used. Xhosa informants stated that it was a calabash.

WHISKS

Among the Cape Nguni, whisks (Pl. 109: 3–5), which in many parts of Africa are carried as part of a man's normal equipment, appear, at any rate for the last two hundred years, to have been used by doctors only and by Bhaca women at the feast of the first fruits (Pl. 88: 3). The survivors of the *Santo Alberto* (wrecked near ?Algoa Bay in 1593) stated that the dark-skinned inhabitants a month's journey north-east carried a whisk of ape or fox tail, with which they cleaned themselves and shaded their eyes; and those of the *São J. Baptista*, wrecked in 1622, said that it was commonly used throughout Kaffraria. Le Vaillant stated that they were made of the tail of a jackal, hyena or wild dog, and that the 'Caffres' used them like the Hottentots (Khoikhoi) to wipe the sweat from their faces. These are the only references in the literature to a secular use of this elsewhere well-known object. The word *itshoba* is generally known for the object as it is used today. It does not appear in the Dictionary, however, in this sense.

WHIPS

It would appear that the whip, in its present form, came into the Cape with horses. As has been described (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981: 262), cattle and oxen were herded and driven with goads. In the literature the only mention of a whip is one of buffalo hide carried by Hinza, about 1835. Nowadays, of course, the European-style whip is well known, and is used on draught oxen. It appears to be the one intended in the vocabulary.

HEAD-PADS

The head-pad, *inkatha*, placed by women under pots or other loads on the head, is mentioned only three times in the literature, although it must always have been and still is an article in common use. It has probably never been a properly made ring as it is in some parts of southern Africa, but rather a skin or cloth or handful of grass or bark, twisted into an improvised ring when needed.

TALLIES

There is in the Albany Museum, Grahamstown, a small notched wooden tablet (Pl. 109: 6) that is said to be a tally, and to have been found at Turnstream, Cathcart. According to Barrow, the Xhosa kept a chronology by registering the moons by notches in a piece of wood, starting from some notable event and continuing perhaps for a generation. Apart from these two instances, however, there is no evidence of the use of tallies, no word in the vocabulary, and modern informants did not know them. The nearest to the idea is the use, according to some Xhosa informants, of pebbles for counting sheep.

HEMP AND TOBACCO

SOURCES

1686 'Stavenisse' (Godée Molsbergen 1922) pp. 61, 67 Xhosa: hemp, tobacco

p. 61 Xhosa: hemp

'Midderwyl dat sij dus gerustelijk leevden wierd haar bekend gemaakt dat alle jaaren op gewisse tijd en plaats een dag reisens van haar gelegen, somtijds 50 ook wel 100 Hottentots met wijf en kind kwaamen tegen koralen en kopere ringetjes dagha (zijnde de bladeren van dien de hennep gelijk) te verhandelen, welk dagha sij al eens als d'Indianen het opium of affioen gebruijken en kauwen, sonder egter daar van dol maar wel slaperigh en dronken te worden.'

p. 67 Xhosa: tobacco

'Den tabacq planten sij meede, en soo se kennis en wetenschap hadden, dien wel te havenen, soude deselve na alle waarschijnelijkheid de Virginische in deugd te boven gaan.'

1686 Sutherland (1845) p. 316 Xhosa: tobacco

'Tobacco grows there wild, and if they knew how to manage it, would, in all probability, resemble the flavour of Virginia.'

1772–5 Thunberg (1793) p. 38 Xhosa: water-pipe

'But otherwise, both Caffres and Hottentots use a pipe, either made of a long, slender, and hollow stick, with a hole near one end of it, in which is put another hollow stick that is short, and has at top a cylindrical stone, which is hollowed out, and is the bowl that holds the tobacco; or instead of the long stick, an antelope's horn, viz. of the *capra oryx*, near the pointed end of which is bored a hole; in this

is put a short hollow stick, and upon that the stone-bowl. In smoking, they stretch their mouths over the wide end of the horn, and draw in a few large whiffs. The smoke they keep some time in their mouths, and then swallowing a part, puff the rest out again. The pipe then passes on to the next, and so goes round the whole circle. When strangers come to a kraal or village, they are always treated with the tobacco-pipe, which circulates in due form from one to the other.'

1772–6 Sparrman (1785) **2** pp. 278–279 Xhosa: pipes

'. . . I likewise gave them afterwards a handful of dry hemp, . . . and mixing it with some tobacco, [they] smoked it with a high relish, ... The pipes out of which they smoked, were circulated merely among the chiefs, had stems above four feet along, from 3–4ths of which the pith had been taken out, but by what means I am entirely ignorant. Where this hollow part of the pipe seemed to terminate, a bowl three inches long, but very narrow, appeared to be fixed at the bottom of the stem, being kept firm and steady with a band or collar, in the same way as the stays of a mast are in a ship. From the small bore and size of this bowl, one may venture to conclude, that these Caffres were but indifferent smokers compared to the Hottentots.'

1776 Hallema (1932) p. 133 Xhosa: tobacco

'Naast de kraal sagen wij twee stukjes grond met doorns afgeschoten; in 't een stonden Tabaksplanten en Kaffers-koorn. . . .'

1777–9 Paterson (1789) p. 93 Xhosa: tobacco, hemp

'. . . beads and brass rings, which they purchase from the Hottentots for tobacco and Dacka.'

1781 Hubberly p. 83 ?Tshomane: tobacco

'. . . our not being acquainted with the growth of tobacco, we had discovered by the old huts some stalks having sprouts to them, which resembled that of the cabbage, and . . . we boiled them; but happy were those who had eat the least of it. . . .'

1788 Von Winkelman (1788–9) p. 86 Xhosa: water-pipe, tobacco

'Da die Kaffern wie viele wilde Völker grosse Liebhaber vom Tabakrauchen sind, und man ihnen nichts schäzbareres als ein Stückgen Tabak schenken kan, so bedienen sie sich auch einer besonderen Pfeife, die in Rücksicht ihres Gebrauchs mit der gewohnheit der Morgenländer den Rauch durchs Wasser zu ziehen einiges gemein hat. Sie besteht aus einem gut ausgeriebenen Rindshorn; die Öfnung ist ganz horizontal geschnitten. Ohngefehr 1–2 Zoll unter ihrer Peripherie ist ein 8–10 Zoll langes dünnes hölzernes Röhrgen unter einem Winkel von etwa 45° in den obern Teil des Horns eingefügt; auf jenem steht ein steinernes oder roth thonigtes cylindrisches in der Mitte, wie mit 2 Fingern etwas eingedrucktes Köpfgen, das ohngefehr 1 bis 2 Zoll lang und beinahe 1 Zoll durchgehends dick ist. Nun streuen sie ihren grünen beinahe gepülverten Tabak[1] in selbiges, füllen das Horn ganz mit Wasser an, bedecken mit der flachen rechten Hand die ganze Öfnung, und saugen auf diese Art den Rauch durchs Wasser, zwischen dem Daumen und

dem Zeigefinger in den Mund, und blasen ihn dann mit aufgehobenem Kopf in die Luft. Wenn ein Kaffer oder eine Kafferin etliche Züge daraus gethan hat, so wird die Pfeife an den folgenden gegeben, und sie kreisst dann so lange in der Geselschaft, bis sie ausgeraucht ist.'

(Note 1:) 'Sie erzeugen in ihrem eignem Lande eine Gattung von wildem Tobak, der in kleinen weichen lanzenförmig Blättern besteht, und keinen unangenehmen Geruch hat.'

1797 Barrow (1806) p. 170 Xhosa: water-pipe for tobacco and hemp

'The only two intoxicating articles of which they have any knowledge are tobacco and hemp. The effects produced from smoaking the latter are said to be fully as narcotic as those of opium. In the use of this drug, as well as of tobacco, the oriental custom of drawing the smoke through water by means of the hookar, though in a rude and less elegant manner, is still retained by the Kaffers. The bowl of their earthen-ware pipe is attached to the end of a thick reed which passes obliquely through one side of an eland's horn. This horn being filled with water, the mouth is applied to its open end, and the smoke drawn out of the reed is qualified and rendered less acrid by its passage through the water.'

1800 Van der Kemp (1804) p. 438 Xhosa: water-pipe

'The Caffrees cultivate tobacco in great quantities, and draw its smoke from a wooden pipe which is inserted in a cow's horn half filled with water; the head of the pipe containing the tobacco is placed vertically, the stem running obliquely downwards pierces the side of the horn below the surface of the water; they close up the orifice of the horn with the palm of the hand, leaving only a small aperture, through which they suck the smoke.'

1803 Howen Painting Xhosa: smoking

Figure.

1802–6 Alberti (1810*a*) pp. 12–13, 43–44 Xhosa: use of tobacco

pp. 12–13 Xhosa: tobacco-smoking, snuff-box, snuff-spoon

'Alle Kaffers, die ik ontmoette, rooken Tabak; zij daarentegen, die van Rio de la Goa gekomen waren, deeden zulks niet; zij snoven zeer sterk, en wel op eene zeer ongewone wijze. De bijkans kegelvormige omtrek van een Gewas, dat mij toescheen tot het geslacht der Pompoenen te behooren, en welks middellijn omtrent twee en een halven Duim bedroeg, diende tot Snuiftabaksdoos, was met eene stop gesloten, en door middel van eenen kleinen riem aan één der Elpenbeenen ringen vast gemaakt, die de Kaffers in meerderen getale aan den Bovenarm dragen. De Wondheelders bedienen zich bij het smeeren der pleisters doorgaans van een werktuig, dat zij *spatel* noemen, en waarvan de steel te gelijk tot tent-ijzer dienen kan, en het is juist een soortgelijk werktuig, van Elpenbeen vervaardigd, welk bij des Kaffers Snuifdoos behoort, door zijnen bezitter met den steel door de gekroesde hairen gestoken, en alzoo op het hoofd ten gebruike bewaard wordt. Begeert men te snuiven, dan wordt een gedeelte der tabak uit de gezegde tasch in de holle hand geschud, met het genoemde werktuig eenen tijd lang door

elkanderen geroerd, en ook, door middel van hetzelve, in eene aanzienlijke mate, ofschoon langzamerhand, opgesnoven, en hij, die snuift, geeft zijne aangename gewaarwording door een uitdrukkelijk gebaar te kennen.'

pp. 43–44 Xhosa: tobacco, hemp, water-pipe, pipe pouch

'Mannen en Vrouwen, de eerste echter meer dan de laatste, rooken eigen geteelden tabak, en, bij gebreke daarvan, de bladen van zekere andere plant, door de Hottentotten *Dacha* genoemd. De Kop der uit hout gesnedene Pijp heeft de gewone gedaante van onze aarden pijpen; alleenlijk is die ongelijk grooter; het roer is recht en van 5 to 6 duimen lang. Eene andere soort van Tabakspijpen is zeldzamer. Alsdan zijn Kop en Roer, welk laatste tevens langer is, niet onmiddelijk met elkanderen vereenigd, maar gescheiden door eenen met water gevulden Horen, doorgaans van eenen Eland, waarin de damp zijne scherpte verliest. In Gezelschap gaat de Tabakspijp van den een tot den ander. Een ieder doet eenen goeden trek en geeft daarna dit wellustig geliefde werktuig aan zijnen naasten gebuur. Tot eene tabaksdoos of buidel dient meestal de huid van eenen Blaauwbok, zijnde de kleinste Herten-bok, die zelden boven de 13 Duimen hoog is. Kleine Jongens en Meisjens zag ik nimmer rooken.'

(See also Alberti 1810*b* (English edition): 11, 25–26.)

(1808) Lichtenstein p. 316 'Kaffer': tobacco

(In a discussion of linguistic terms of Korana, Bushman and Xhosa, he points out that the Korana and Bushman terms for tobacco are obvious corruptions of European terms and adds:)

'Merkwürdig ist es dagegen, dass die Kafferstämme dafür eigenthümliche Ausdrücke haben [*it'huba*] und kann mit zur Bestätigung der sehr wahrscheinlichen Meinung dienen, dass die bei ihnen herrschende Sitte, gewisse Kräuter zu rauchen, älter ist, als die Entdeckung des Vorgebirges der guten Hoffnung.'

c. 1813 Campbell, J. (1815) p. 370 Xhosa: tobacco, water-pipe

Nothing more.

1819–29 Moodie, J. W. D. (1835) p. 260 'Kaffre': snuff, snuff-boxes

'The Kaffres, as well as the neighbouring tribes of the interior, are passionately fond of snuff. Most of them carry snuffboxes, made of small calabashes, suspended round their necks. They have also another kind of snuffbox, made of the scrotum of a calf, which is filled with clay and dried in the sun to harden it.'

c. 1824–5 Smith pp. 73, 287–288, 347, 398 Xhosa: hemp, tobacco

p. 73 Xhosa: water-pipe, hemp

Nothing more.

pp. 287–288 Xhosa: tobacco, snuff, bag

'When they have no tobacco they will cut a piece off the part of the reed through which the smoak passes and put it in their mouth and carry it there the whole day. Some scrape out the inspissated juice and put it in the mouth. Only the caffers that have been a long time amongst the Dutch chew tobacco. Snuffing is practised in a limited degree by the caffers but is very general amongst the

tamboukies indeed they prefer it to smoaking. They make their tobacco by powdering the dried leaves and then also powdering some of the dried common aloe leaves and mixing them together. They say that the last makes the snuff strong. They also put a very small quantity of fat amongst it so as to prevent the tobacco from getting dry. In the preparation of their tobacco they observe a very simple process. They pull off the leaves when the plant is ripe, take out the vein and then expose them to the sun till they get quite dry. They then leave it out during a dewy night so that it shall get a little moist and upon that taking place they immediately stuff it into a bag for the purpose.'

p. 347 Xhosa: hemp-smoking

Nothing more.

p. 398 Mpondo: snuff-spoon, snuff-box

'Stick ivory snuff-spoon in hair and reed snuff box in ear. Scarcely by others.'

1820–31 Steedman (1835) **1** p. 252 Cape Nguni: tobacco, snuff, snuff-box, snuff-spoon

'Tobacco is cultivated throughout the country, being usually planted on the side of the old kraals, where it thrives luxuriantly. The Amakosa tribes are the only nation that smoke it, the others preferring it ground into snuff, and mixing with it the ashes of burnt aloes, to make it more pungent. The Amapondas form their snuff-boxes out of a reed, which they thrust through the lobe of one of their ears, the spoon with which they convey it to their noses being carried in the other. The other nations usually carry their snuff in a small tortoiseshell, with a spoon attached, which they suspend to their kaross.'

(1825) Whitworth p. 854 Thembu: hemp pipe

'During this interval we were struck with a singular apparatus and method of smoking, the effect of which, our interpreters told us, was to enchant us, that we might not injure them. One end of a hollow stick was fixed nearly at the top of an ox-horn, on the other end was placed a pipe full of Daka. On the floor stood a trough, hollowed out of a tree, five feet long, by the side of which was another hollow stick, of the same length. Then began the operation of smoking, by filling the horn with water, placing it to the mouth, and with great efforts drawing the smoke down the stick, through the water into the mouth, retaining the smoke in an unaccountable manner; they again filled the mouth with water, and spirted both with great violence through the long hollow stick into the trough, which made a singular whistling noise, as if they intended to frighten away the evil influence which we might exert upon them. This they continued to perform in rotation.'

1815–37 Shaw, B. (1840) p. 59 Xhosa: tobacco, snuff

'Tobacco and snuff are in high estimation; the former they smoke out of neatly fashioned wooden pipes, and the latter they will take till the tears trickle from their eyes.'

1827 Hallbeck & Fritsch (1826) pp. 303, 306 Thembu: water-pipe, snuff-spoon

p. 303 Thembu: water-pipe

Nothing more.

p. 306 Thembu: snuff-spoon

'After some time, the women . . . begged a pinch, or rather some spoonfuls of snuff, for they are not satisfied with a pinch, but with a little wooden spoon fill their nostrils with it till their eyes water.'

1825–9 Kay (1833) pp. 133–134, 290, 373–374 Xhosa, Fingo, Thembu, Mpondo: smoking, snuffing

p. 133 Xhosa: pipe

Nothing more.

pp. 133–134 Fingo: snuff-box

'These strangers have several peculiar customs, which differ entirely from those of the Kaffer. Like the Boochuanas, they use abundance of snuff, and only smoke occasionally; whereas the others smoke constantly, and seldom or never take snuff. A small bottle, curiously formed of a kind of gelatinous matter, serves as the substitute for a box, and is usually suspended by a string, either from the neck or some part of the *ingubo*. To this is attached a small ivory spoon, with which they serve up the contents, in such measure as always to cause copious streams to flow from the eyes.'

p. 290 Thembu: water-pipe, snuff-spoons

'Their various contrivances in the enjoyment of this filthy gratification were both amusing and disgusting; for, in the absence of regular pipes, beast-horns and water-melons were substituted. The horn being perforated on one side, a small reed is obliquely fixed in it, and a clay head on the upper end of that, wherein the noxious weed is put. . . . The Amatemboo pulverize their tobacco, and use it principally in the form of snuff, of which they are extravagantly fond. They generally take it in small ivory or horn spoons made for the purpose, and in such quantities as to cause the water to flow from their eyes in streams.'

pp. 373–374 Mpondo: snuff-spoon, snuff

'Squatted upon the ground under the spreading branches of a small mimosa, he and his comrade were enjoying themselves over a pinch of snuff; which, agreeably to custom, they took by spoons-full, and until the tears trickled in streams down their cheeks.

When proceeding on a journey that is likely to require several days, the replenishment of his snuff-box seems to be almost the only provision about which the native seriously concerns himself previously to starting. With this hung at his breast, or fixed in the lobe of his ear, he trudges on contentedly;'

1829 Bain pp. 103, 116 Mpondo, Xesibe: tobacco, snuff-boxes

p. 103 and note 54 Mpondo: snuff-boxes

'The natives about this country began to assume a very different appearance from the Caffres, not only in their dress but in their general appearance. . . .

I will not here attempt to describe the dresses of the Amapondas. . . .'

(Editor's footnote 54 quoting *S.A.C. Advertiser* 26 September 1829:) 'In the ears of both sexes large snuff boxes, curiously carved, are inserted which give them a very savage appearance.'

p. 116 Xesibe: tobacco

'I purchased a number of neat rolls of tobacco made up in the shape of a Florence oil bottle, which I thought I could turn to advantage on my return among the Caffres in the Colony as their crop had completely failed last year. I gave a bunch of beads for a roll.[69]'

(Editor's footnote 69:) 'Called Gungu. Tobacco tightly pressed, dried and bound round with grass matting in the shape of a torpedo about 3 feet long.'

1822–37 Fynn (1950) pp. 106, 107, 274 Cape Nguni: tobacco, snuff

p. 106 Mpondo: tobacco

Nothing more.

p. 107 South of Umzimkulu R.: snuff-box

'I also gave him a snuff-box (worked over with beads), being all I had, ...'

p. 274 Cape Nguni: paste snuff-boxes

'The tribes bordering on the frontiers of the Cape Colony always preserve the shavings from the hide which they beat on stones with water till it is of a consistency like paste, then forming articles according to fancy in the shape of bottles, elephants, hippopotami, etc. Forming these with soft clay, they lay the paste over them, when dry it rises, and the inside being taken out leaves the paste, which becomes a durable snuff-box, for which purpose they are generally used.'

c. 1831–2 Smith pp. 106–107 Mpondo: snuff-boxes, snuff-spoons

p. 106 Mpondo: snuff-box, snuff-spoon

'They sometimes suspend snuff-boxes to the tresses of hair that hang on the sides of the neck. . . . They are very partial to snuff and take it with a bone or ivory spoon. When they draw it up one nostril they press the other close with the finger of the other hand. . . . Their snuff-spoons they generally carry stuck into the hair.'

p. 107 Mpondo: snuff-boxes

'Some that do not make snuff-boxes for the ears merely fill the holes full of small pieces of wood. . . .'

(1832*a*) Anon. p. 145 Xhosa: tobacco, water-pipe

Nothing more.

1835 Alexander (1837) **1** p. 394; **2** p. 113 'Kaffir', Fingo: pipes, snuff

1 p. 394 'Kaffir': pipe, snuff

Nothing more.

2 p. 113 Fingo: water-pipe

'Then a rude water-pipe went round, made of a cow's horn, into which, through a hole in the side, a reed was thrust. At the top of the reed was an earthenware cup, containing tobacco and what appeared to be the leaves of the intoxicating *dakka*. Holding the horn in the left hand between the knees, the smoker covered the opening of the horn with the fingers of the right hand, and inhaled between them the smoke which passed gurgling through the water. After two or three long whiffs, the pipe was passed on; and the last smoker "blew a cloud" into the reed, in which there was water, and ended whistling on it.'

1820–56 Shaw, W. (1860) p. 507 Thembu: water-pipe
Nothing more.

1839 Backhouse (1844) p. 269 Mpondo: snuff, snuff-spoons, snuff-boxes
'They make their snuff of the leaves of tobacco, mixed with the ashes of a species of Aloe, and take it out of bone spoons. Some of their snuff-boxes are formed of the shell of a nut, an inch long, and are suspended by short strings of beads, from the neck; the opening into them is at the lower end, and is secured by a plug. Others are of horn, and a larger kind is skilfully formed into an ornamented, globular bottle, from a portion of the intestines of a cow. A snuff-box formed of a piece of wood, an inch and a half long, and as thick as a man's thumb, is often worn in the cartilage of the ear, which is always perforated with a hole, that is stretched to a large size by means of a plug of wood or bone.'

1836–44 Döhne (1844) p. 39 Xhosa: pipes
'Eine fünfte Classe der Handwerker sind die *Incibi yenqawa*, d.i. Verfertiger der Tabackspfeifen. Aus einem Stück Holz, gewöhnlich vom Stammende des Baums, schnitzen sie Pfeifen mit einem gerade stehenden Rohre, wie die kurzen irdenen bei uns. Ein kurzes, dünnes und ausgehöhltes Stück bildet die Spitze. Den Kopf legen sie, wenn es Jemand verlangt, oft sehr zierlich mit Blei aus. Auch diese Handwerker verdienen Nichts, weil sie die Pfeifen meist als Geschenk weggeben müssen; nur für eine hübsch mit Blei ausgelegte Pfeife bekommen sie manchmal ein Kalb.'

1845–8 Munro (1887) p. 65 Cape Nguni: tobacco, snuff
Nothing more.

1848–52*a* Baines **21** no. 6 Cape Nguni: hemp pipe
Figure.

c. 1850 I'Ons (Redgrave & Bradlow 1958) opp. p. 30 Xhosa: pipe
Figure of Sandile with pipe.

1851–2 King (1853) pp. 26, 64, 162 Fingo: tobacco pouches, snuff-boxes, snuff-spoons, water-pipes

p. 26 Fingo: tobacco pouches, snuff-boxes, snuff-spoons
'. . . and wearing suspended from the waist by steel chains of their own manufacture, bags or purses, called *daghasacs*, ingeniously made without a seam, of the entire skin of the wild cat, dossie, or monkey (the opening at the neck being the only one, through which the whole of the flesh and bone is removed); in these they carry their pipes and tobacco, the *iquaka* or snuff box (made of a small gourd, with bead ornaments, and horn or metal spoons attached, similar to those in use in the Highlands); with their flint and steel, charms, and other odds and ends.'

p. 64 Fingo: water-pipe
'Each individual in the circle receives it in turn, opens his jaws to their full extent, and placing his lips to the wide open mouth of the horn, takes a few pulls and passes it on. Retaining the last draught of smoke in his mouth, which he fills

with a decoction of bark and water from a calabash, he squirts it on the ground by his side through a long ornamented tube in his left hand, performing thereon, by the aid of a reserved portion of the liquid, a sort of boatswain's whistle, complacently regarding the soap-like bubbles, the joint production of himself and neighbour. It appeared to be a sign of special friendliness and kindly feeling to squirt into the same hole.'

p. 162 Fingo: water-pipe

Nothing more.

(1853) Fleming p. 112 'Kaffirs': tobacco, pipes, snuff-box

p. 112 'Kaffirs': tobacco, pipes

Nothing more.

p. 112 'Kaffirs': snuff-box, spoon

'Their snuff box is a small calabash; and a wooden spoon is attached to the neck, by which the snuff is scooped out, and carried to the nose. When the spoonful has been pretty well snuffed up, the refuse is scraped away from the nose with the spoon, and returned to the calabash again, an operation which is not the most graceful or cleanly.'

(1853) Kretzschmar pp. 239–240 Xhosa: snuff, snuff utensils, water-pipe

p. 239 Xhosa: snuff-spoon

Nothing more.

p. 240 Xhosa: snuff-box, snuff

'Mit diesem Löffel füllen sie ihre Nasen so voll als immer möglich, und berühren den Schnupftabak nicht mit den Fingern. Ihre Schnupftabaksdosen sind kleine 2–3 Zoll grosse Flaschenkürbisse, in welche oft recht zierliche Figuren eingeschnitten sind. Den Schnupftabak bereiten sie, indem sie die Tabaksblätter auf einem flachen Steine mittelst eines runden Steines pulvern.'

p. 240 Xhosa: water-pipe

'Dies letztere Vergnügen wird oft auf folgende Weise ausgeführt: Männer liegen in einem dichten Kreis auf den Knieen oder auf dem Bauche, um ein mit Wasser gefülltes Loch, an dessen Rande eine kleine Höhle mit Tabak gefüllt ist; in diese Höhle stossen sie durch das Wasser lange durchbrochene Schilfe, und saugen nun aus Leibeskräften gewaltige, und man muss bekennen, angenehm kühle Rauchwolken, während das Wasser wie ein siedender Kessel sprudelt von dem Qualm, der auf andere Weise aus den Schilfen entschlüpt.'

(1856) Fleming pp. 202–206 Cape Nguni: pouch, pipes, tobacco

p. 202 Cape Nguni: pouch

'To this girdle they append, over the left hip, their tobacco pouch, which is generally formed from the skin of some small animal, either a monkey, wild cat, or viverra.'

pp. 202–203 Cape Nguni: pipes, tobacco

'Their pipes are very handsome, and the manufacture of them does great credit to their ingenuity. They are formed of dark wood, cut into shape with the edge of their assegai or spear head. On the surface of the bowl, they then cut out several

devices, either vandyke edging, animals, birds, or flowers; and, setting the pipe in sand, they run hot lead into the indentations, cutting and paring this with their knives, until the whole surface of the bowl is quite even; and by means of friction, against their hands and blanket, they succeed in giving it a brilliant polish. As articles of barbarous handicraft, these pipes (or as they are called, in Kaffir, "Inqunawa,") are very creditable to them. Having made them, they equally well understand the use of them: for they spend half the day lying, in indolent enjoyment, in front of their huts, smoking their tobacco, watching their sleek and fat cattle grazing on the surrounding plains.

The narcotic weed is, as a necessary consequence, largely cultivated by them; but they now prefer it as manufactured in Europe. Cavendish tobacco is their favourite description, and this they solicit from every white man with whom they meet.'

p. 204 Cape Nguni: snuff-box, awl, snuff-spoon

'Their snuff boxes, which are ingeniously made, and are of various forms and devices, have always attached to them a picker, or long-pointed instrument, with which they stir the snuff, when it becomes dry, or caked, and a spoon, made of bone or ivory; called, in their phraseology, "bodkins and lebakos." In the latter, they raise the snuff to their nostrils, and, with the edge of it, they also scrape away any particles which may have adhered to the nose. A little brush, which is also appended to the box, then completes the operation, by being used to follow the last office of the spoon.'

pp. 204–206 Cape Nguni: paste snuff-box

'One of their most ingenious methods of making snuff-boxes, is from blood. These they call in their language, "Iquaka". When preparing the skins of animals for karosses, the process of tanning or *braeing* them, as it is called, being performed by stretching the skin, or hide, tightly on the ground, and pegging it around the edges, they afterwards, with the sharp edge of an assegai, go carefully over the surface, scraping away all the particles of skin, or meat, that may remain attached to it. These they mix with some of the blood of the animal, and pound into a thick paste, adding a little finely powdered red clay. Having worked this into a proper consistency, they next proceed to form, with their fingers, in clay, the model of some animal, generally an ox or a sheep; and, having moulded this to the size they wish their snuff box to be, and satisfied themselves as to the symmetry and resemblance of their quadruped to nature, they next place it in the sun, until it is baked perfectly hard. They then smear the paste which they have prepared, over the surface of this model; and, while it is soft, they go over it with the point of a needle, raising small portions of it, in imitation of the hair, or wool, of the animal, as the case may be. They then place it in the sun for two or three days, until it is again hard. When this has been attained, they cut a hole in the forehead of the mimic animal, about the size of a bullet; and, with the point of a long kaross-needle, or a pointed piece of bone, they pick out, through this cavity, the baked clay, on which the blood has been formed. This being finished and a grotesquely carved cork fitted into the hole, their snuff box is completed. They fasten their picker, spoon,

and brush, together with a small chain, or thong of leather, round the neck of the animal; and then suspending it, by means of the latter, to their girdles, and keeping it well supplied with snuff, they have frequent recourse to it, and by means of the appendages already described, they supply, irritate, and finally cleanse their noses at their pleasure.'

(1861) Lucas opp. p. 4, pp. 5, 6 Xhosa: use of hemp, tobacco, snuff
opp. p. 4 Xhosa: hemp-smokers
Figure.
p. 5 Xhosa: hemp, water-pipes

'An excellent substitute for alcohol is, however, found him in the wild hemp of the country, called "Daccá." This is prepared by drying the small leaves of the plant, which are then ground small and smoked in a pipe, like tobacco. The daccá party then sit on the ground in a circle, and each man takes a whiff or two, followed by a draught of water from a cowhorn, the pipe being then passed on to his neighbour.

The use of this narcotic produces the most frightful excitement on the system. So powerfully does it affect the lungs that the smoker is immediately seized with the most violent spasmodic coughing; this is continued in paroxysms, at last leaving him in a stupid, dreamy condition, accompanied by the most utter mental and bodily prostration. . . . The habitual daccá-smoker, like the opium-eater of the East, is easily to be known by his wild semi-idiotic appearance and listless manner. This habit, indulged in to great excess, reduces the voice to a hoarse whisper.'

p. 6 Xhosa: pipe, tinder-box, snuff, snuff-box, snuff-spoon

'The use of tobacco among the Kaffirs is universal. The pipe, made of hard wood, either plain or inlaid with lead in various devices, and his brass tinder-box and flint being his inseparable companions. . . .

They are also extremely fond of snuff, which they rub into their teeth and gums, or sniff up into their nostrils with long deep-drawn inspirations and tremendous *gusto*. It is carried in a small species of gourd or calabash, grown for the purpose, and ornamented with beads and fanciful devices, out of which the snuff is taken with a small wooden spoon.'

1863–6 Fritsch (1872) pp. 67–70 Xhosa: pouch, snuff, snuff-boxes, pipes
p. 67 Xhosa: pouch, snuff-boxes

'Alle südafrikanischen Eingeborenen sind leidenschaftliche Raucher und Schnupfer, die *A-bantu* sowohl wie die *Koikoin*, und sie sorgen nach Möglichkeit dafür sich diesen Genuss jederzeit verschaffen zu können. Der Kaffer führt seinen Taback nebst Zubehör gewöhnlich in einer kleinen ledernen Tasche, welche über die Schulter gehängt wird und die mit Metallknöpfen und Glaskorallen verziert ist. . . .'

p. 68 Xhosa: snuff-skin

'Die einfachste und sinnreichste, obgleich nicht sehr appetitliche Manier, sowohl Dose wie Löffel zu sparen, wird von dem armen Manne angewendet und besteht darin, den Taback in ein Stückchen dichtbehaartes Fell einzureiben und

dann durch Einziehen der Luft durch die Haare des dicht vor die Nase gehaltenen Felles die Körnchen des Tabacks in das geräumige Riechorgan zu übertragen.'

p. 68 Xhosa: pipes

'Kurze Pfeifen zum Rauchen sind viel unter den Kaffern im Gebrauch und werden auch von ihnen selbst sehr geschickt angefertigt, sei es aus Holz mit Metall eingelegt, oder Seifenstein, von welchem eine oliven- oder pistaciengrüne Varietät besonders hoch geschätzt ist.'

pp. 69–70 Xhosa: smoking, spitting-reed

'Ein durchgreifender Unterschied von der Art unserer Raucher ist nun, dass die Süd-Afrikaner als Regel den Rauch nicht nur in den Mund, sondern voll in die Lungen einziehen und einen Theil gleichzeitig verschlucken. Sie bemühen sich dann, den Rauch möglichst lange zurückzuhalten, zu welchem Zwecke sie aus einer bereitstehenden Kalabasse Wasser in den Mund nehmen. Sind sie gezwungen, denselben wieder auszustossen, so thun sie dies gleichzeitig mit dem genommenen Wasser und dem durch den Reiz secernirten Speichel mittelst eines Röhrchen, wobei sie gern mit der Spitze desselben allerlei Figuren ihrer Einbildung in den Sand zeichnen.'

1845–89 Kropf (1889a) pp. 103, 115 Xhosa: tobacco, pipes, pouch, snuffing

p. 103 Xhosa: tobacco, pipe

'Andere Genüsse sind dem Kaffer das Rauchen und Schnupfen; ersteres geschieht von beiden Geschlechtern, letzteres nur von Männern. . . . Den Tabak versteht er sehr gut zuzubereiten, wenn er ihn zum Verkauf zu den Weissen bringt, von denen er sehr gesucht wird. Für seinen eigenen Gebrauch nimmt er meist die grünen Blätter, die er in der Sonne oder auf heisser Asche trocknet, dann in die kurze hölzerne Pfeife stopft, die innen mit Blei ausgelegt und aussen damit verziert ist, und verbreitet damit einen argen Gestank.'

p. 103 Xhosa: tobacco pouch, snuffing, snuff-spoon

'Beim Schnupfen holt er aus seinem Leder- oder Fellsack, der ihm über der linken Schulter hängt, seine Dose, die entweder ein kleines Horn oder ein aus dem Abschabsel der Häute geformtes Tier oder eine kleine mit Perlen überzogen Kalabasse ist, zieht den Pfropfen heraus, knipst mit dem Nagel des Mittelfingers daran, um den Tabak zu lockern, schüttet davon etwas in die linke Hand, schliesst die Dose und bringt sie an ihren alten Platz; nun zieht er einen kleinen flachen Löffel von Holz, Horn oder Eisen aus seinem Haar oder Ohrläppchen, fegt damit zuerst seine Nasenlöcher und streicht den Schmutz an seiner Fusssohle ab. Den gefüllten Löffel führt er nun an seine Nase, wobei er mit der linken Hand das eine Nasenloch zuhält, während das andere verproviantiert wird. Mit grossem Geräusch zieht er den mit gerösteten und fein gemahlenen Aloeblättern oder anderen scharfen Bestandteilen vermischten Tabak in den Kopf hinauf und schaut dabei ganz glücklich um sich, dreht den Kopf bald nach rechts, bald nach links und stiert zur Erde; da kommen die Thränen, denen er nun mit seinen Fingern über seine schwarzen Backen den Weg bahnt, bis sie strömen, worauf ein heller Juchzer folgt. Natürlich gebraucht er zum Rauchen und Schnupfen viel Zeit und verrichtet

deshalb wenig Arbeit, denn beides miteinander zu verbinden und die Pfeife bei der Arbeit zu rauchen, hat er nicht gelernt. Der herrliche Genuss in aller Ruhe scheint ihm mit der Arbeit unverträglich.'

p. 115 Xhosa: pipes

Nothing more.

(1874) Körner p. 179 Xhosa: pipe, water-pipe

Nothing more.

(1877) Cripps pp. 333–334 Mpondo: snuff-spoon, snuff-box

p. 333 Mpondo: snuff-spoon

'The men wear their hair worked up into cones. . . . Into the cone itself is usually thrust a two-pronged fork of bone with a spoon as a handle. This pliant instrument answers the double purpose of a handkerchief and snuff-spoon.'

p. 334 Mpondo: snuff-box

'The Pondos make neat snuff-boxes of a gluey preparation of the scrapings of hoofs or horns of cattle. Some of these boxes resemble an ox with the legs of an elephant, others are in the form of a gourd. The latter is generally covered with black and white beads. This particular tribe indulges in snuff-taking to a far greater extent than its neighbours. The pungency of ammonia is highly appreciated by them, and they have been known to add ground chillies to snuff to increase its irritating effect. The women are not exempt from partaking in such luxuries. The neighbouring tribes seem to prefer their pipes to taking tobacco in any other form.'

1877–8 Norbury (1880) pp. 12–13 Xhosa: pipes, tobacco

pp. 12–13 Xhosa: pipe

'The men of the Xosa tribes, like the women, are great smokers; their pipe has a very long bowl and short stem, and is generally made of metal; . . . their tobacco they cultivate themselves;'

p. 13 Xhosa: water-pipe

'A bowl is fixed into the narrow end of a bullock's horn at right angles, the herb is placed in the bowl with a live ember, and the horn filled with water; the hand is then placed over the broad open end of the horn, and a mouthful of smoke drawn between the fingers and thumb; after two or three draws some water is conveyed to the mouth by means of an earthen cup; the end of a long hollow stick is then placed between the lips, through which is expelled both water and smoke; then a long whistle is given through the stick, and finally the smoker is seized with a long fit of coughing: and this process is repeated until the contents of the pipe are exhausted.'

1877–9 Ex C.M.R. (1881) p. 174 Bomvana: tobacco

'The men grow large quantities of tobacco, for which the land is well adapted; but the description is poor, and would be considered hardly worth smoking by the ordinary patron of the fragrant weed.'

(1881) Nauhaus, C. T. p. 343 Xhosa: snuff-box

'Ausser diesem Geflecht waren auch mehrere geflochtene Gefässe da. . . . In derselben Arbeit macht man Schnupftabacksdosen, oft mit den zierlichsten, fest anschliessenden Deckeln. Gewöhnlich in Form von Kalabassen.'

1883 Joest (1885) p. 480 Mpondo: snuff-box

Nothing more.

1883–8 Bachmann (1901) pp. 193–194 Mpondo: water-pipe

'Dann steckte sich der schwärmerische Jüngling eine Dacha-Pfeife an. Dieselbe besteht aus einem Kuhhorn, welches lose mit Maiskolbenscheiden ausgestopft ist und in welches in der Mitte ein kleines Loch in das hohle Innere gebohrt ist. In diesem Loche steckt ein kurzes Röhrchen, auf welchem ein Stück einer ausgehöhlten Batate aufgesetzt ist. In die Batate stopft man das Hanfkraut, die weite Oeffnung des Horns wird an den Mund gesetzt und kräftig inhaliert.'

(1887) Matthiae pp. 11–12 Xhosa: snuff-spoon, snuff-box, snuff, water-pipe

Nothing more (copy from Kretzschmar 1853).

c. 1888 Bodley (1891) p. 237 Mpondo: pipe

'To return to the young Pondo chieftain. I beckoned to me a native who was smoking a curious inlaid pipe, and he had agreed to sell it to me. . . .'

(1894) Ratzel **2** opp. p. 72, p. 75 'Kaffir': water-pipe, pipe, snuff-boxes

opp. p. 72 'Kaffir': water-pipe, pipe

Figure.

p. 75 'Kaffir': snuff-boxes

Figure.

(1904) Kidd pp. 54–55 Mpondo: snuff, snuff-boxes

'The taking of snuff is a great ceremony among the natives; they can do nothing without this. In the olden days it was considered "bad form" to offer snuff to a person. The greatest man in the company considered it to be his right to supply it, and thus show his wealth and importance. The people would ask him to give them snuff, and etiquette would lead him to refuse, in order that he might be asked again. He would then give a tardy consent. If he showed any anxiety or hurry in acceding to the request he would be thought to be offering them some snuff with bewitching medicine in it, and any illness which followed his offer of snuff would be put down to his evil designs, and might cost him his life. So he would most reluctantly give in after being pressed for snuff. When people take snuff they must not stand up: to do so would be very rude. This habit is the survival of a practice current in olden days. When a man wished to kill another he would ask him for snuff, and as his friend was fumbling in his bag for his snuff-box he would suddenly kill him. It was a famous way of taking a man at a disadvantage. Thus it became bad form to stand up when taking snuff, for when men were all squatting down no evil could be intended. The great person pours out some snuff into the middle of his left palm, and offers it to the people in turn.

Nowadays every one has snuff; and the people, both men and women, keep it in curiously-made boxes, which are devised out of many articles, such as old Martini-Henry cartridge-cases, small gourds, bottles, tin boxes, pieces of horn, and so forth. Great ingenuity is shown in the manufacture of snuff-boxes, which are often wonderfully worked up and ornamented with brass and copper wire. The snuff is made from crude tobacco, grown at every kraal; this is powdered up and mixed with the ash of the aloe, and the whole is carefully ground on a stone and slightly damped. If the snuff does not bring tears to the eyes the people press their fingers over the lachrymal duct, drawing a finger down from the eye to the corner of the mouth to stimulate the tears.'

(1931) Cook p. 162 — Bomvana: tobacco pouch

'An essential part of the Bomvana's garb is the tobacco pouch and little bag of trinkets. The pouch is made of an entire goat skin or small buck skin. The legs are sown up and, turning the fur inside, the skin is used as a bag. Small bags with a number of keys or other musical objects fastened on are worn at the waist.'

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 87, 412 — Thembu, Mpondo, Hlubi: tobacco

p. 87 — Mpondo: tobacco

'The cultivation of tobacco is quite separate from that of food crops. It is always planted in an old kraal, and is cultivated chiefly by old men and old women. "A man's young wives would help him with his tobacco if it were not grown in a kraal where a father of the *umzi* was buried", but it usually is, and so they cannot enter the tobacco patch. To start a tobacco garden young plants are got from a neighbour who grows it. The next season the seed is left to scatter itself, then young plants are transplanted, not in rows, but spaced. While growing they must be weeded several times. The flower is nipped off to make the plant branch. The lower leaves are picked as they ripen and stalked. They are wrapped carefully in special mats, *izagco6o*, put out daily to sweat, and rolled up and taken in every night. After they have ceased sweating they are put out to dry thoroughly before storing. Although tobacco was always grown in an old kraal, and sites of old *imizi* were known to be particularly fertile, the Pondo never carted manure to fields to fertilize them until taught to do so by Europeans. Few do it yet.'

p. 412 — Hlubi, Thembu: snuffing, smoking

'The Hlu6i only snuffed, and did not smoke. The Thembu smoked. At a beer drink one day a Hlu6i swore at the Thembu chief's wife, No6utho, because she was smoking, and a fight between Hlu6i and Thembu resulted.'

1918–48 Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964) pp. 28–30, 103, 136, 138 — Cape Nguni: snuff-boxes, snuff-spoons, pipes

p. 28 — Cape Nguni: snuff, snuff-boxes

'The natives mix their snuff with the dried and powdered aloe leaves (*ingcaca*) because they say it makes it stronger. No adult native formerly was seen without his snuff in his little bag. Should snuff be difficult to get or if he were mean, he was always protected from the necessity of offering it to his friends by carrying it or his tobacco in a pouch made from the scrotum of a sheep. It is an unwritten law that

snuff contained in this may not be offered to anyone. . . . It would be an insult to married women (who use snuff and tobacco freely), to be offered it from this pouch. The scrotum pouch is *isende* or *isandlwane*.'

p. 28 Cape Nguni: snuff-boxes

'The earlier snuff-boxes were small gourds, with stoppers of wood or mealie-cob. The gourds became highly polished through constant use. Through droughts the seed of the small gourds became very rare. Then they used larger gourds. These were not easy to carry, even in the big goatskin bags. The women took to beading them, which made them even more difficult to carry about. They attached a beaded chain and used these only for festive occasions.

Traders introduced small metal boxes, some with a mirror outside the lid on top. These were a source of great joy and pride and gourds fell into disuse. These metal boxes had very elaborate, long, beaded chains attached to hang the box round the neck.'

p. 28 Cape Nguni: paste snuff-box

'One of the earliest forms of snuff-boxes, which entailed weeks of labour, was made by scraping the mucous lining off the inside of a freshly-killed beast. This is worked up between the hands until it is like a paste. Then it is moulded round a stone to the shape of a gourd, pricked with a fine stick and indentations made something like the markings of a honey-comb. After these have been moulded they are put to dry till they are hard as stone. This is a long process.'

p. 29 Fingo: snuff-box

'432 *Iqhaga* . . . This is a Chief's snuff-box covered with large blue and pink beads. It is used by the head of the kraal to hold snuff for distinguished guests. . . . 1880.'

p. 30 Mpondo: snuff-box

'444 *Iqhaga* Copy of the original wooden snuff-boxes made when snuff-boxes were first used, with wooden spoon attached. . . . Lusikisiki, 1938.'

p. 103 Cape Nguni: snuff-spoon

Nothing more.

p. 136 Cape Nguni: pipes

'Transkeian women never smoke a short pipe. They prefer long stems and long bowls. Witch-doctors and old men also favour long pipes, young men usually smoke short pipes. Women do not usually put the stem of a pipe in their mouths. They use a cooler (*ingcaphe* or *inxindeba*), a piece of wood $1\frac{1}{2}''$ to $2''$ long, hollowed out and attached to the pipe with a string of beads, if it is a beaded pipe, a metal chain or thin leather thong, if it is a plain pipe. Sometimes it is made of a reed. It gives a cool smoke. . . . Beaded pipes are used by Chiefs and headmen and their womenfolk in the Transkei. . . .

Snuff is used more by women than men, though both sexes smoke. . . .

The wood used most often for the making of Transkeian pipes is Milletia caffra (*umsimbithi*). . . . Pipes are made too from Acacia caffra (*umnyamanzi* and *umthole*), Ocotea bullata (black stinkwood).'

p. 138 Cape Nguni: pipe-cleaner

'Women carry their pipe, pipe-cleaner and pipe polisher in a goatskin or cloth-bag when they go shopping. Polishers (*ufele*) are made of sheepskin and are usually found with beaded edges. Pipe-cleaners (*izilanda*) consist of a long pin contained in a case made of a piece of wood 4'' long. A hole is bored almost to the bottom. The steel pin is kept in this case, which is always beaded. Carried in a case in this way the pin was protected and lasted longer. Fingo and Tembu especially prefer this type. The boring of the hole in the case, however, was a laborious process. In the last ten years they no longer bother to do this, but bead one end of the pin itself and use the beads as a handle.'

(1934) Balfour pp. 4–7, 13 Hausa—South Africa: snuff-box techniques

(Description of Hausa craftsman's work. Newly flensed hide is split into three layers, with a spade-like knife. The lower two are cut into pieces suitably shaped to lap round a portion of the previously prepared clay core. Other pieces follow until the whole core is covered. The edges of the pieces are cut very thin so that when by their glutinous nature and a little pressure they are stuck together the joins become invisible. A second layer is put on if it is desired to thicken. Handles, etc. are added and it is then put to dry. Later the core is removed. Balfour then quotes a full description of the method of making the South African snuff-boxes, and says:) 'It is however quite clear that the technique is essentially the same.'

(1935) Shaw, E. M. pp. 147–151, pls 27, 28 Cape Nguni: snuff-boxes

Figures.

(1937) Soga, T. B. p. 238 Xhosa: pipe-making

'Kumzi o-Ntsundu lo laka laquba banzi ishishini lokwenza inqawa zisenziwa ngomti womtolo, ocuma kakulu kwimilambo enezizibа ezinzulu, neminye. Waye ungemti ubolayo, ungalupali kananjalo. Nokuba na ungade ube nesiva kwa nesikewu notanda awucandeki—yintsimbi le. . . . Wode ezinye azityide amagama nemifanekiso emihle kunene, ayenze amaqaqelo ngale lote yake woman' eyinyi-bilikisa kwa kweli ziko, atyide apulushe, Wobeta kuqingqa ubuso nentloko yomnye nokuba yimfene kwa lapa (ngoku kwemoto ezi) kweli peko layo. Ono-masinana no-Tikoloshe babelapa. Ndinyanisile incibi yona andiyazi into engewu-roliyo umfanekiso wayo enqaweni. Isipo sabantu sokwenza imifanekiso sihleli sodwa kakade. Yaye apo iya kuqwela kona kuxa sukuba ibola ijelo elo layo ngentsinjana ebucingcolwana ngokungxamisa. Kanti kulo pece-pece nojikici-petu kunqabile ukupuma ecaleni—livamhla nje elo. . . . Abanye bebezinqarela intungo ezi ngocingwana apa obelusenza nengibijo ezi zezabokwe ezi wena.'

[The pipe-making craft is widespread among our people. Pipes are made from the wood of the *Acacia caffra*, which grows luxuriantly along rivers, especially those with deep pools. It is not a wood that is subject to decay or wear. Though it may have a scar, nick or crack, it cannot be chopped—it is as hard as iron. . . . (The craftsman) will inlay his pipes with really fine characters and designs, making inlays with lead he melts on his hearth and polishing them. He would carve on its bowl someone's face and head or that of a baboon or, nowadays, the likeness of

a motor-car. Even bulldogs or Tikoloshe might appear on the bowl. Truly, I do not know of anything whose likeness the craftsman does not reproduce on a pipe. The gift for making representations has been there a long time. Where the craftsman excels is in drilling through the stem of the pipe with a thin twisted instrument. And despite the speed of this squeaky twirling, the side (of the stem) is very seldom pierced. . . . Some used to wind an ornamental band round the pipe with the thin wire also used to make the bands round a sjambok.]

1937 Cornner, F. (corresp.) Mpondomise: hemp pipe

'The dagga pipe you enquired for is quite unobtainable. Personally, in nigh on 40 years here, I have not heard of a case of dagga smoking, and as it is illegal, anyone who possesses a pipe may be wary of owning one.'

(1938*a*) Laidler pp. 4, 5, 13–15, 20, text-fig. ii Cape Nguni: pipes, smoking

pp. 4, 5, text-fig. ii Cape Nguni: pipes, smoking

Nothing more.

pp. 13–15 Cape Nguni: stone pipe-bowl

'Type 8—Cylindrical Stone Pipes—Smooth finished, bevelled, for use with the water horn, ... This type of pipe was in use among the Southern Bantu on the Kaffrarian coast, the Basuto. . . . The Bechuana, the Bahurutse . . . and Ovambo. . . . It is widely distributed within the limits of Bantu migration *circa* A.D. 1750 to modern times, ...'

p. 20 South Africa: water-pipes, mouthpieces

'The use of water in any brick, horn or stone pipe, and the use of a wooden mouthpiece in South Africa is suggestive of development from Bantu contact in the north, and again with them, from Arab contacts, to the north-east.'

(1938*a*) Shaw, E. M. pp. 222–227, 228–232, pls 64, 65 Cape Nguni: snuff-boxes

Figures.

(1938*b*) Shaw, E. M. pls 91–98 Cape Nguni: tobacco pipes

Figures.

(1939) Duggan-Cronin pl. 19 and legend Xhosa: pipe, tobacco pouch

Nothing more.

(1939) Goodwin p. 456 Mpondo: tobacco cultivation

'*Nicotiana tobacum* L. As in the case of bitter manioc, the spread of the plant [tobacco] must have been accompanied by a process completely foreign to Africa. In Pondoland in 1923, the writer observed the complex process. The seeds were first sown in the neighbourhood of the cattle kraal, and manured. When they were old enough, they were transplanted to a field. At the appropriate time the plants were "budded" to drive the growth to the leaves. On ripening, the leaves were cut and matured in a peculiar manner. They were placed on a sleeping mat in such a way that the leaves did not touch. The leaf on the mat was exposed to the sun, and the mat with the leaves in place were rolled up and put away at night.

The process was repeated until the tobacco had been cured. Manuring, transplanting, budding and curing are all processes completely foreign to the Bantu.'

p. 456 General: hemp-smoking

'*Cannabis sativa* L. . . . seems to have been introduced by the Arabs into Africa, where it is generally smoked only. Its use and abuse is widespread in Africa, and pipes for the smoking of the plant are known from early Hottentot sources, pointing to a wide and fairly early dissemination of the drug through the continent.'

1945 Makalima chapter 8 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: smoking

chap. 8 par. 65 Fingo: smoking

'*Izinto ezitshaywayo*:— Licuba, yintsangu, nguqolwana. Amamfengu atshaya icuba, nentsangu, noqolwana. Akuko miti ibhenywayo netshaywa ingamanzi, umya, intsangu, njalo-njalo.'

[What is smoked: Tobacco, hemp and *uqolwana*. Fingoes smoke tobacco, hemp and *uqolwana*. No bushes are smoked in liquid form, hemp, and so on. . . .] (In a letter (11 April 1951) explaining this he writes: '*Uqolwana* is a short stunted tobacco plant which is ground into snuff. . . .')

par. 67 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: hemp, tobacco

'*Uhlobo ezazilinywa ngalo*:— Umya necuba zazilinywa etafeni nasemahlatini apo kungeko mtu ungafane azibone nje. Zilinywa ngamadoda, kuba ngabona bantu bazisebenzisayo.'

[Hemp and tobacco were cultivated in the veld and forests where they could not be easily seen by anybody. They were cultivated by men as it was they who used them.]

pars 73, 75 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: smoking hemp

(73) 'Intsangu itshaywa ngenqawe, kodwa indlela yayo kukuba itshaywe ngesigodlo. Isigodlo sembelwa emhlabeni.'

[Hemp is smoked in a pipe, but the right way is to use a horn (*isigodlo*). The horn is buried in the ground.]

(75) '*Abantu abayitshayayo*:— Bambalwa noko abantu abayitshayayo intsangu. Asinto itandwa ngumntu wonke.'

[There are very few people who smoke dagga. It is not a thing that is liked by everybody.]

pars 66, 68–72, 76–89 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: smoking hemp and tobacco

Nothing more.

par. 81 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: smoking tobacco

'*Isicuba*:— Icuba lenziwa isicuba apa pambi kwezindlu. Igadi yesicuba ibancinci apa ecaleni kwezindlu. Icuba lilinywa ngamadoda kwanabafazi xa betanda. Imbali yembewu yecuba, ke iyagcinwa ukuze ilinywe ngexesha lokulinywa kwayo. Imbali ilinywa nanini ayinaxesha linjani xa inokufumana imvula. Izitole zecuba ziyancenceshelwa. Amagqabi ecuba ayacolwa omiswe, avundiswe ukuzeke atshaywe. Imbewu yayo imbali, nayo iyacolwa igcinelwe ukutyalwa ngelinye ixesha. Icuba xa lilungiswayo kukiwa amagqabi, avundiswe, omiswe, emana ebotshwa

esenziwa izigcobo, eqholwa elungiswa ukuba anuke kamnandi. Liti lakulunga lakoma, lifakwe ezingxoweni, linyhanyhatwe liqine ukuze libe nzima, livunde ngokupheleleyo. Icuba litshaywa ngumntu wonke olifunayo. Akuko mtu walelweyo ecubeni, oyindoda umfana, umfazi, inkwenkwe, intombi njalo-njalo.'

[A tobacco garden is made in front of the huts. It is planted by men and women if they like. The seed of tobacco is stored away for planting when the time for doing so comes. The seed can be planted at any time as long as it can get rain. Water is led into the tobacco plants. Tobacco leaves are picked up, dried and caused to sweat before smoking. Tobacco seeds are also picked up and stored away for planting at another time. When tobacco is prepared, the leaves are plucked off, caused to sweat and dried, then they are tied up into strong sheaves and prepared so as to have a nice flavour. When the tobacco is ready and dry, it is put into bags and pressed down so that it becomes hard and heavy, and sufficiently sweated. . . . Tobacco is smoked by anyone who likes it . . . man, young man, woman, boy, girl and so on.]

pars 83, 84 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: snuff

(83) '*Uhlobo lokwenziwa kwegwada*:— Xa kwenziwa igwada kugutywa icuba lidityaniswe nomhlaba. Lo mgubo ke ufakwa kwiqaga lamanyama. Xa kugwadwayo umntu ungafika emane esika ngentshaza egalela esandleni egwada.'

[When people make snuff (*igwada*) they pound and grind the tobacco leaves and then mix with dried aloe (*umhlaba*) leaves. The powder is then put in a bag made of hide (*iqaga lamanyama*). You will find a person scooping the snuff with a snuff-spoon (*intshaza*) and pouring it on the hand before taking it.]

(84) '*Lenziwa nguwonke na?*:— Ukugwada yinto yalowo utandayo, asinto yenziwa ngumntu wonke. Abantu abasebenzisa igwada badla ngokungasebenzisi nqawa.'

[Snuff is taken by anyone who likes it and not by everybody. Those who take snuff do not often smoke a pipe.]

par. 85 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: tobacco

'*Ixabiso elitengiswa ngalo*:— Icuba litengiswa ngenxowa liqalela kwiponti ezintatu lide liye kwiponti ezisibozo ingxowa. Xa litengiswa ngesiciko sibayisikisipensi netiki komnye.'

[Tobacco is sold in bags, the price ranging from three pounds to eight pounds per bag. When sold by a lid (*isiciko*) some charge sixpence and threepence.]

par. 87 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: snuff

'*Intlobo zegwada*:— Igwada lintlobo mbini elenziwe ngecuba nelenziwe ngongqatsi (undanya ndanya).'

[There are two kinds of snuff, one which is made from ordinary tobacco and the other from a very strong species of native tobacco.]

(1949) Duggan-Cronin pl. 51 and legend Mpondo: snuff

'This young woman is grinding up home-made tobacco for snuff, which is commonly taken by both men and women in preference to smoking.'

1949–55 Hammond-Tooke (1955*b*) pp. 54–55 Bhaca: snuff

'Snuff is universally taken by the women, who do not smoke. Tobacco is smoked by the men, however, in European-type pipes.'

(1954) Duggan-Cronin pl. 173 and legend Hlubi: pipe

'The carved pipe is not made by the Hlubi and was probably got from Thembuland.'

1949–62 Hammond-Tooke (1962) p. 28 Bhaca: snuff-spoons, pipes

'Generally speaking, men smoke western-type pipes bought at the store. Horn snuffspoons, made by the men, are used by both sexes.'

1962 Velcich pp. 670–672 Xhosa: pipes

Nothing more.

1963 De Jager & Gitywa p. 113 Xhosa: ritual use of tobacco

'*At the riverside* The diviner gave a pinch of tobacco to each of the members of the procession. The men filled their long-stemmed pipes and smoked while the girls held their portions in their right hands. After a few moments the smokers knocked the ashes out of their pipes in front of them and the girls deposited their share on the ground in front of them also. . . . Stepping on a flat stone in the shallow water, he offered . . . the tobacco, *icuba*; the matches . . . and . . . the match box;'

1968 Tyrrell pp. 165, 183–186, 188, 190 and figs Cape Nguni: pipes

fig. p. 165 Mpondo: pipe

pp. 183–184 and figs Xhosa: pipes, bags

'The long beaded pipe is a picturesque essential to the daily equipment of the adult Xhosa. Traditionally, a woman was not allowed to smoke until she had given birth to a specific number of children.

For pipe and tobacco the Xhosa always carried a decorative bag and in some areas the carrying of many bags has become a form of decoration.'

p. 185, figs pp. 186, 188, 190 Xhosa: pipes

Nothing more.

1968 Holt (1969) pp. 222, 232–234 Tshezi: pipes, tobacco

p. 222 Tshezi: pipes

'Some Tshezi men carve the familiar long-stemmed pipes. They obtain drills and files, and also tin to line the bowls (from old tin cans). Many of these pipes also find their way into the traders' stores.'

pp. 232–234 Tshezi: pipes, tobacco

Listed among goods bought and sold by the Tshezi are pipes and tobacco.

(1970) Elliott frontispiece, pp. 25, 31, 34, 37, 61, 65, 95 Xhosa: smoking, pipes, tobacco

frontispiece Xhosa: smoking

'Here they enjoy a smoke at pipes which they pass around amongst themselves.'

p. 25 Xhosa: pipe

Figure.

p. 31 Xhosa: mouthpiece of pipe

Figure: 'All pipes have short, removable mouthpieces.'

p. 34 Xhosa: pipes, bags

'Both Xhosa men and women smoke pipes and their "tobacco" bags are decorative additions to their outfits. . . . In the bag the woman carries her supply of dried home-grown tobacco leaves; . . . her pipe with a foot long stem and a three inch high bowl; . . . a tin of snuff. . . .'

p. 37 Xhosa: smoking, tobacco

'Smoking is part of the social life of the Xhosa and, whenever men and women meet with any time at all to spare, they bring out their pipes and whoever has tobacco in his bag shares it with the rest. To light his pipe the Xhosa man picks up a glowing coal out of the fire . . . and . . . puts it on top of the tobacco in his pipe. Women do the same just as easily. . . . Tobacco is the traditional present to give a Xhosa man or woman. . . .'

p. 61 Xhosa: smoking

'They . . . sit round in a circle on the grass in front of one of their huts over a pipeful of tobacco. It is seldom that they all have pipes at the same time . . . so they are sociable and pass the available pipes around the circle for each to have a few puffs at a time. When the long stem of a pipe gets choked, one of the women picks a stalk of tough grass and pushes it through the stem to clean it. The grass comes out thick with a strong-smelling black pipe oil and many women suck this off the grass and eat it.'

p. 65 Xhosa: woman's pipe

Figure.

p. 95 Xhosa: smoking

(At the end of the initiation period and the attendant ceremonies:) 'Then the girls would take out the *amakrwala*'s [newly initiated youths'] short pipes with only four-inch stems' (Note: 'As boys, Xhosa do not officially smoke') 'from their bags and the *amakrwala* would smoke for the first time.'

(1971) Gitywa pp. 130–137 Xhosa: pipes, pipe-making, smoking

Gives a full description of the making and use of pipes.

p. 132 Xhosa: mouthpiece, rules of size

'The craftsman is not obliged to make a mouth piece for his pipes. Such mouth pieces are usually made from sneezewood, *umthathi*, by the customer himself on acquiring the pipe. A sneezewood twig is bored with an awl, *isilanda*, along the pith. One end of it is pointed to fit into the mouth end of the stem bore. The length of the mouth piece which is variously called *ingcaphe, inxindeba, iximheya* or *inximbheya*, depends on the taste of the owner. The bark of the wood is scraped off.

Social usage governs the pipe maker in the manufacture of his pipes. The basic differences in the pipes used by the two sexes and the various age groups are to

be found in the length of the stem and the height and capacity of the bowl. The general rule is that the old people of both sexes use long-stemmed pipes, about forty-four centimeters long without the mouth piece, and the bowl about ten centimeters high. This pipe is called *umlolombela* or *umngcongo*. Those used by elderly men have shorter bowls with a bigger capacity than those used by elderly women. Another class of women using the *umlolombela* are diviners, young and old. To them it is more of a status symbol than an indication of age. The *umlolombela* pipe of the diviners differs from that used by ordinary people by being richly decorated with white strings of beads round the stem. Other people use coloured beads for decoration. A married elderly man buys an *umlolombela* pipe for his wife, and if he happens to be wealthy, he would pay as much as a she-goat for the pipe.'

pp. 134–135 Xhosa: ritual uses

'*Ukulungiswa komzi:* This is a rite performed by a diviner at the purification of a kraal after it has been struck by lightning. Family members are instructed by the diviner in charge to smoke their Xhosa pipes. Tobacco had been bought and preserved for the purpose and may on no account be shared with anybody else. For correctness and thus effectiveness of the ritual the pipes must be Xhosa traditional pipes.

Diviners use the long-stemmed pipe as a symbol of their profession. Because of their special relationship with the ancestral world and their possession of special knowledge, they are not tied down to normal social usage. Young as well as old diviners use the long Xhosa pipe, the stem or part of it being covered with white beads as an additional symbol.

When a Xhosa man or woman is dressed in traditional style for a festive or other social occasion, the individual is always obliged to have a Xhosa pipe if he or she is a smoker. It is looked down upon to wear traditional dress and smoke a European pipe.'

(1976) Broster p. 16, pls between pp. 34–35, 66–67, 82–83 Thembu: smoking, pipes, pipe-cleaners

p. 16 Thembu: pipes

'Both boys and girls smoke pipes which are hand made from the wood of an indigenous tree called *mnyamanzi*. The pipe has a slim stem and measures from 12 to 18 centimetres. A young teenager uses the shorter stem. Only a senior may smoke a beaded pipe. A senior boy carries his tobacco in a small tin can which is ornately covered in beads. The can also contains a beaded match-box. . . . Each family cultivates and cures its own tobacco. There are two kinds, a mild "Xhosa" and a powerful "Rament".'

pl. between pp. 34–35 Thembu: pipes

Figure.

pl. between pp. 66–67 Thembu: pipe-cleaners

Figure.

pl. between pp. 82–83 Thembu: pipes
Figure of pipes used by people of various ages.

(1976) Davison pp. 85–95 Cape Nguni: pipes, snuff-boxes, snuff-spoons
pp. 85–86 Cape Nguni: pipes
Nothing more.
p. 87 Cape Nguni: horn mouthpieces
'A number of pipes from the Transkei in the R. C. Camp collection (now disbanded) had horn mouthpieces which were finely carved and attached to the stem so that the joins were scarcely visible.'
pp. 88–91 Cape Nguni: snuff-boxes
Nothing more.
pp. 91–93 Cape Nguni: snuff-spoons
Nothing more.

(1981) Hooper pp. 185–192 Cape Nguni: wooden pipes
Reviews literature and field-work on carving of wooden pipes.

HEMP AND TOBACCO: TERMS

ilitye 1. stone, (lower) grindstone, D, general. 2. flat stone, as used for grain-pit cover, general **961** (106, 265, 577)

icuba tobacco, D, general. (There is no clue as to the origin of this word, which presumably only goes back to the introduction of the plant some centuries ago.) (X–Lichtenstein 1808 *it'huba*) **962**
igwada snuff, D X T **963**
isitshayo (from *-tshaya* smoke tobacco, hemp) something for smoking; tobacco, D **964**
umya hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), D, general **965**

isigcobo 1. roughly made door mat; roughly made basket in which the crane plumes are kept, D. 2. small mat, door mat, mother and baby's mat, mat for sitting on, tobacco-sweating mat, mat in which tobacco is rolled up, tied at each end and stored; in short, any roughly made mat not for sleeping on, general **966** (504, 522)
incaza 1. tobacco box, D Mp. 2. small pot with lid, for tobacco (object and word known but regarded as Bh), Mp. (From *-ncaza* ask for tobacco or snuff) **967**
ingxiwa 1. nD. 2. bag, general except X; tobacco bag of polecat skin, Mp **968** (947)
ingxowa bag, usually made of the skin of a kid flayed whole; sack; pocket, D, general **969** (338, 948)
ingxowa yokutshayela tobacco pouch (T–Makalima) **970**
inxili 1. bag for pipe and tobacco worn on the side by women; bag full of all kinds of goods, D. 2. usually of oxhide, and worn mostly by women, though also sometimes by men, general **971** (951)

isidla 1. small bag, e.g. as *isidla sokutshaya* pouch for tobacco, D (not confirmed). 2. now only known as penis-cover, general (see 712) **972** (712)

ixamba 1. bag made of rushes, as a sugar bag, D. 2. for tobacco or sprouted maize, Bo Mp Bh **973** (506)

umngqungu 1. basket made of rushes for holding tobacco, D X Bo Mp. 2. also made of *ikhwane* sedge, Mp. 3. bag for collecting fish (Beukes) **974** (500)

intshazi (pron. *intjazi*) 1. nD. 2. snuff-spoon of horn or bone, X Mp Mpm. 3. tongs, Mp (probably misunderstood). 4. *intshaza* (pron. *intjaza*) (T–Makalima), general **975**

igudu 1. bullock's horn used for smoking wild hemp. It contains water, in which is inserted a reed, so placed that the smoke has to pass through the water before it reaches the smoker's mouth, D X Bo. 2. bowl of such hemp pipe only, Mp. 3. actually, as in Zu, this word most likely is generally used (where still known) to mean the bowl and also the whole pipe, provided it is made as described. Not used for other ways of smoking hemp **976**

ijelo tube to spurt water through, used when smoking the *impeko*, D Xes T (from *-jela* blow water and tobacco-smoke from the mouth through a reed, tube, or pipe) **977**

ijono 1. nD. 2. reed tube of hemp pipe, Bh. 3. not confirmed **978**

impeko, ipheko, umpheko (from *-pheka* cook), *impeko* 1. pipe-bowl that is put on a horn, used for smoking, and contains wild hemp and fire, D X. 2. any tobacco pipe, D Mp. 3. *ipheko* (Mp) and *umpheko* (Mpm) pipe-bowl for hemp-smoking, any tobacco pipe **979**

ingcongolo cane or reed, D (the whole plant, or just a piece of stem), general, and where specifically used, e.g. as tube of hemp pipe, whistle, flute, and in *inkinge* musical bow **980** (1050)

isigodlo 1. the horn of an animal when severed from the head (used as a powder flask or trumpet), D Mp T. 2. also used as part of hemp pipe, X Mp. 3. bowl of hemp pipe (Bo–Beukes). 4. whole hemp pipe, Mp (Mp–UCT). 5. also medicine flask, X **981** (262, 438, 1057)

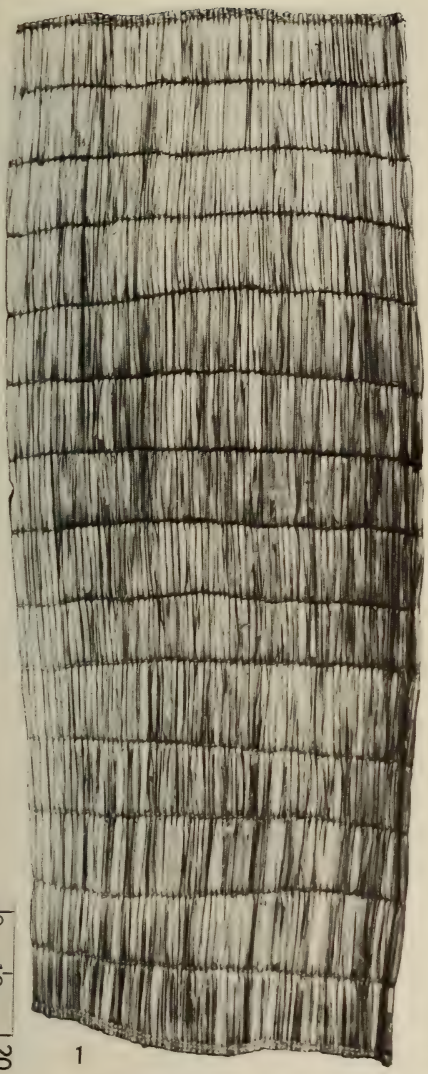
isijoka, isitshoka (pron. *isitjoka*) 1. nD. 2. hemp pipe, Xes. 3. *isijokla* horn for hemp pipe, Bh **982**

ineri (cl. 9) 1. nD. 2. woman's pipe, X T Mp. 3. short-stemmed pipe, X T Mp Mpm, general. (Derivation not known) **983**

PLATE 110

Tobacco mats, basket; hemp smoker.

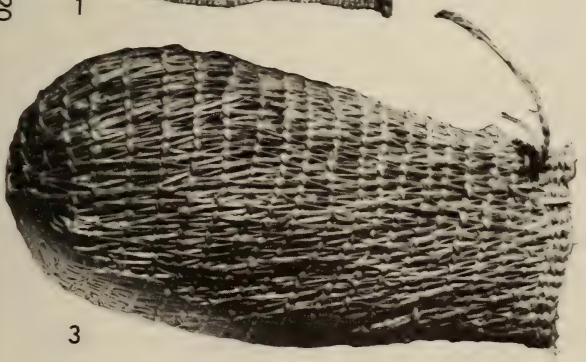
1. *isigcobo*, mat for curing tobacco, 1 584 mm, Mpondo; Umvume Springs, Port St. Johns, 1939 (SAM–6060).
2. Hemp-smoker, Bomvana; Elliotdale, 1935 (photo Dr W. T. H. Beukes, TM 35/170, pipe TM 35/407).
3. *umngqungu*, tobacco basket, 390 mm, Bomvana; Nkanya, Elliotdale, 1948.
4. *isigcobo*, mat, rolled round tobacco, 400 mm, Xesibe; no locality, no date (TM 4387).



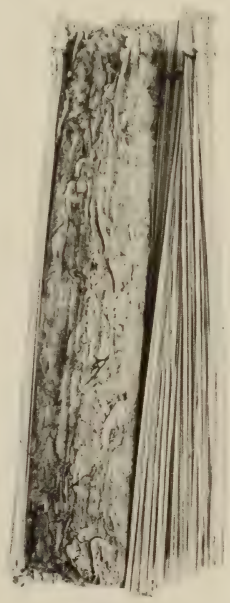
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10 cm

inqawa tobacco pipe, D X, general **984**

ingcaphe 1. mouthpiece of pipe for smoking, D X Mp. 2. (Em) little snuff-spoon, D, not confirmed **985**

inxindeba, inxindebe, inxineba mouthpiece, tip of tobacco pipe, usually made from the boxthorn (*umbhovu*), D X Mp Mpm and probably general, but last-named form least usual **986**

iximeya, iximheya mouthpiece of a tobacco pipe, D X Mp Mpm, but not generally known **987**

-tyhida inlay (melted) lead or other metal or ivory in wood or stone, especially pipe bowls, D, general **988** (1102)

idlelo 1. nD. 2. pasture only, X Mpm. 3. snuff-box, or horn or nowadays a tin, Mp, general. (From *-dlela* eat or figuratively help oneself out of) **989**

igula 1. species of milk calabash, so called from the noise made by fermentation within it, D Xes Hlu (as in Zu). 2. large calabash for snuff (not to carry around), Mpm T. 3. calabash as container for white clay, used by *aba-khwetha*, Bo **990** (557)

iguza 1. nD. 2. snuff-box of size and shape of small calabash used for such purpose, but made of fresh hide-scrapings dried to a hard horny consistency (an old Mp word), Mp. 3. tin snuff-box, Bh **991**

iqhaga 1. any small box or case carried on the person, hence snuff-box, D. 2. any small container, as box, tin, calabash, snuff-box; nowadays also padlock and calabash penis-cover, general. 3. *iqhaga lamanyama* if made of hide scrapings (T–Makalima, Mp–UCT, Mp–Poto Ndamase) **992** (524, 952)

incebetsha 1. (Em) snuff-spoon, D Mp Mpm. 2. made of horn or bone, Mp Mpm **993**

intshengula (pron. *intjengula*) (Em) snuff-spoon, D X Hlu Bh Mp. (A word clearly not proper to the Cape Nguni area, but introduced from the north-east) **995**

HEMP AND TOBACCO: DISCUSSION

Neither of the narcotic plants, hemp or tobacco, is indigenous to Africa. Exactly when and how they were introduced and, particularly, how they spread to the south of the continent has not been conclusively established. Most authors have thought that hemp (*Cannabis sativa*) was introduced by the Arabs on the east coast at an unknown date, and that tobacco was introduced through the Portuguese on

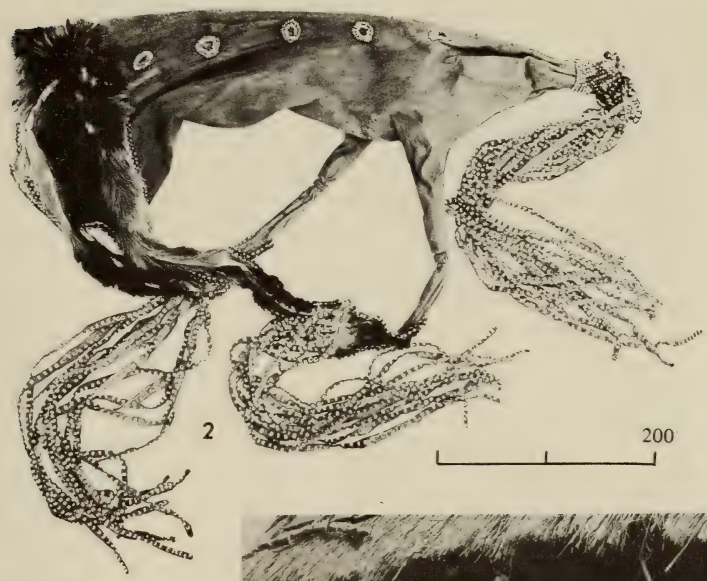
PLATE 111

Tobacco bags.

1. *inxili*, smoker's pouch, no scale, Xhosa; Willowvale, 1948.
2. *ingxowa*, tobacco pouch, 600 mm, Bhaca; Mt. Frere, *c.* 1911 (SAM–1341).
3. *ingxowa*, tobacco bag, no scale, Xhosa; Willowvale, 1948.
4. Ornamented tobacco pouches made for sale, Fingo; Soto, Komga, 1965 (photo G. Velcich).

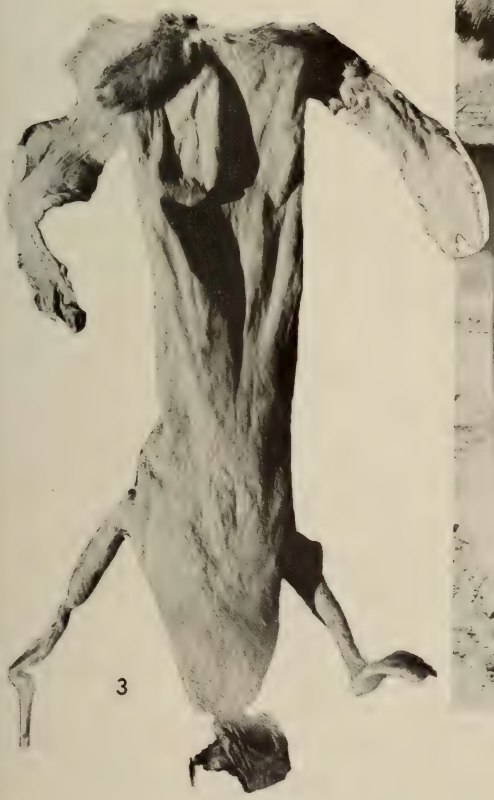


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4

the west and east coasts in the sixteenth century. Where hemp is concerned, however, these theories should be reconsidered because the evidence of the names by which the narcotic is known does not support them. The Khoi (Hottentot) word *daχa-b* (dagga) is almost certainly derived from the Arabic *dukhān* (smoke), which is *shariba'*d (drunk), namely through the water-pipe introduced with it. It was known to all Khoi-speakers in the south-west and west of the country. People of the East African coast, however, including the north-east of southern Africa, know *Cannabis* by modified forms of the Sanskrit–Hindî name *bhang*. This points to two distinct introductions of *Cannabis*, by Arabs in the south-west and by Indians along the East Coast. Between the two areas lies the Cape Nguni term *umya* for which there is as yet no explanation. The complete absence of Arabic *'hashish'* (*Cannabis*) even where Arabic linguistic influence has been strongest, may or may not be significant.

All the evidence points to the introduction of *Cannabis* a good deal earlier than that of tobacco. Again the Cape Nguni stand out with the word *icuba* for tobacco, which differs from that used by everyone else including, in this case, Khoikhoi (Hottentots).

Whatever the origin of the two narcotics, both came to be cultivated by Bantu-speakers, and were well established by the time of European contact.

HEMP (DAGGA)

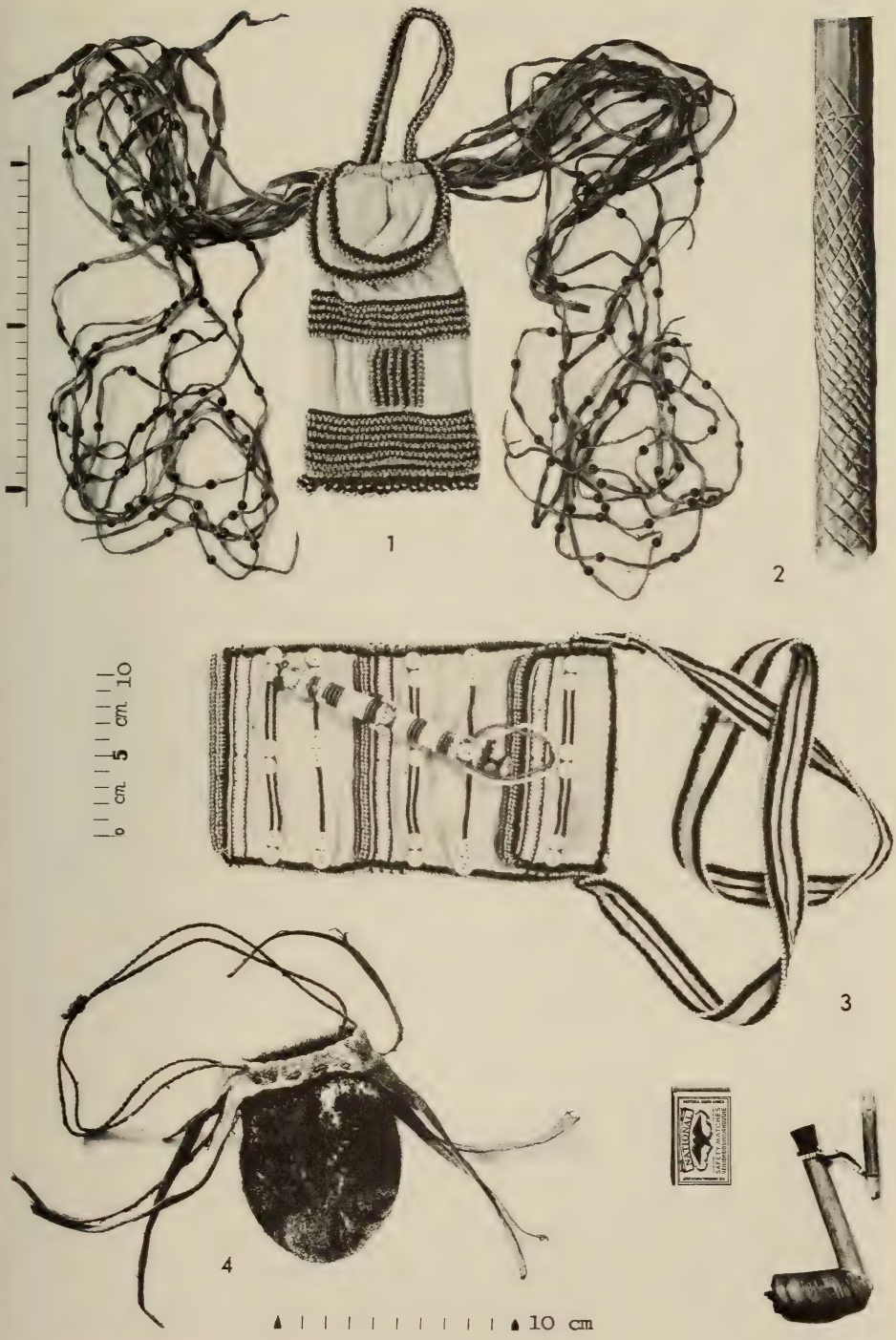
By the end of the seventeenth century at least and probably earlier, the cultivation of 'dagga', *umya*, was sufficiently well established in the eastern Cape for it to be an article of trade from the Xhosa to the Khoikhoi (Hottentots). Von Winkelman's description of 'wild tobacco' with thin lanceolate leaves (p. 66 note 1) sounds like hemp. Though its use for smoking and its considerable narcotic effect are discussed in the literature from then on, there is virtually no description of its growth or cultivation, except a note by Norbury that it grew wild in damp kloofs, nor of its preparation, except by Lucas who states that the leaves were dried and ground small. According to Makalima it was grown in Thembuland in the veld and forest where it was not easily seen, and it received no special care. The leaves were dried and sweated like tobacco. Other information was that the mass was rolled up for a week, then dried in the sun and rubbed fine between the hands.

Hemp was smoked throughout but more by men than by women. Since 1928 it has been banned by law (Medical, Dental & Pharmacy Act No 13 of 1928), so that modern informants were reluctant to discuss it, but, as is well known, its

PLATE 112

Tobacco bags; grip of club.

1. Cloth bag, 200 mm, Mpondomise; Tsolo, 1937 (SAM–5811).
2. Grip of club, Bomvana; Elliotdale, 1948.
3. *inxili*, tobacco bag, 260 mm, with pipe-cleaner, pipe and matches (woman's outfit), Fingo; Peddie, 1939 (SAM, Jeffreys collection J1).
4. *inxili*, tobacco pouch, of goat's scrotum, 85 mm, Mpondo; no locality, 1923 (UCT 23.175).


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0 cm 5 cm 10
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10 cm

cultivation and use are today widespread, if clandestine, throughout the country. It also grows wild.

TOBACCO

Tobacco, *icuba*, was seen in cultivation by the survivors of the *Stavenisse* at the end of the seventeenth century. According to Makalima it came with the Abambo. Sutherland's rendering of the Dutch source, that tobacco grew wild, must be a mistranslation. From that time until the present day it has continued to be cultivated in considerable quantities, and to be in great demand in trade. It is a highly regarded commodity and accordingly features in ritual and ceremonial. Practically every homestead had its small tobacco garden near the huts, generally on the site of an old kraal. It was exclusively a man's job to look after its cultivation and watering, because of the prohibition on women entering a kraal if a former head of the family had been buried there. Old women may help in this case, or other women if the garden is not in a kraal.

Goodwin draws attention to the fact that part of the method of cultivation seen by him among the Mpondo but doubtless the same elsewhere, and whereby seedlings were transplanted and the plants later budded, is quite foreign to local practice. He implies that it must have been imported with tobacco itself. Makalima adds that the plants were watered, which is also a foreign practice.

Tobacco is smoked or snuffed, but seldom chewed. According to early accounts the Xhosa both smoked and snuffed tobacco but smoking was by far the more common of the two practices, and Kropf states that the Xhosa women did not take snuff. People of other tribes, on the other hand, took their tobacco as snuff and rarely smoked. If that was so the habit of smoking soon spread, and it is general today except among Hlubi and Bhaca women.

Both men and women take snuff. It is noticeable, however, that one sees more smoking in the west, and more snuff-taking in the east. According to Makalima it is a matter of personal preference and the same person seldom smokes and takes snuff.

Failing tobacco or hemp, other herbs, especially *Leonotis leonurus* ('wild dagga', *umfincafincane*) and other species, are said to have been used, either alone or to eke out the other narcotics. Modern informants did not seem to agree that this was so.

Preparation of tobacco

Methods of preparation have probably not changed since the earliest description, which was by Smith in about 1824.

The ripe leaves are spread out in the sun to dry and sweat on a skin, or a special loosely twined mat, *isigcobo* (Pl. 110: 1), or a sack. According to Kropf they might also be dried over hot ashes, but this is not confirmed. Some Xhosa informants said that they rolled up the mat and took it inside at night, as Mpondo do. Xhosa added that the tobacco was sprinkled with water first. Xesibe informants said that they

rolled the tobacco in a mat and left it for two weeks, before putting it to dry and sweat on another mat.

When dry the tobacco might be packed hard into a bag, *umngqungu* (Pl. 110: 3), *ixamba*, or nowadays, a sugar pocket. Or it might be rolled in a mat, which is tied with string at both ends (Pl. 110: 4). Sometimes a little fat might be put into the bag or roll to keep the tobacco moist. The bag or roll is then stored, or may be sold in one piece.

According to Kropf the dried tobacco leaves were simply stuffed into the pipe. Earlier authors state that they were cut up and then ground fine for use. This must surely have been for snuff, doubtless made as it is today.

To make snuff, *igwada*, the tobacco is ground to a powder between stones, *ilitye*, and is often mixed with the powdered dried leaves, root or ashes of aloe to make it stronger. A small amount of fat may be added. Fritsch speaks of a pungent weed being mixed with it. Makalima speaks of two sorts of snuff, one made of ordinary tobacco, the other of a small, very strong variety.

Bags

The bags connected with smoking and snuff-taking are really three, two of which have other uses as well (p. 712); the tobacco bag (*umngqungu*, *ixamba*) (Pl. 110: 3) for storing tobacco in bulk, the tobacco pouch (*ingxowa*, *ingxiwa*) (Pl. 111: 2, 3) for carrying personal supplies in use, and a second smaller pouch (*inxili*, *itasi*) (Pls 111: 1; 112: 3, 4), sometimes carried on its own, slung from shoulder, belt or wrist, and sometimes carried in the larger bag as a purse to keep the tobacco separate from the smoking apparatus and other personal objects that are also carried in the bag.

The first is a loosely twined bag, made of the stems of one of the sedges (Xhosa *imizi*; Mpondo *ikhwame*). It is up to 60 cm long and 30 cm wide. When filled the mouth is sewn up. According to Mrs F. Clarke (corresp.) it was said in Pondoland to impart an extra sweet flavour to the tobacco. In this bag tobacco might be transported or sold in one piece.

The second is a bag, made formerly of the whole skin of a small animal—bluebuck, marten, genet, rock rabbit, monkey—and now usually of a goat, turned inside out with the neck tied up and the back left as an opening. In addition to tobacco it also carries pipe and smoking equipment, and today is worn generally when dressed for a special occasion and in certain areas by older men only.

The third and smallest bag might be cut and sewn from the same skins or those of larger animals. Latterly, although skin specimens are still made, cloth has taken first place for those carried on their own. These bags have usually been decorated with whatever was to hand, and latterly with elaborate beadwork (Pl. 112: 1, 3). In general they are the women's bags, but are also carried by men. They hold smoking equipment, personal objects and money. The name *inxili* is also given to a pouch made of the scrotum of a goat (Pl. 112: 4). This was used for a private supply of tobacco, as it would not be appropriate to hand such an object round, especially to women.

WATER-PIPES

The water-pipe (*igudu, isigodlo, isitshoka*) is generally referred to as the dagga-pipe, and that is what it is today. It was the only pipe mentioned before 1800. According to early authors, up to about 1850, tobacco was also smoked through it. It is not certain, however, that what they saw being put into the water-pipe was in fact tobacco. It looks as if hemp-smoking in a water-pipe came first, that tobacco was first introduced in the form of snuff, that when tobacco was first smoked it was through the water-pipe, that later the European-style pipe was adopted for tobacco, and that thereafter the water-pipe was reserved for hemp.

At all events the early description of the Xhosa and Thembu pipe is an eland or other antelope or bullock horn, *igudu, isigodlo*, with a hole in the side, a few centimetres below its mouth, and into which a reed or wooden stem, *ijono*, was placed at an angle, with a bowl, *impeko*, on the top of the stem (Pl. 113: 6). Van der Kemp describes the wooden bowl and stem as in one piece. Thunberg gives as an alternative to the horn a 'long hollow stick' into a hole near the end of which the stem, with the bowl on top, is put. Sparrman's hollowed stem 'above 4 feet' long, with the bowl 'at the bottom', may be a somewhat vague reference to this. Kay mentions the use by the Thembu of a water-melon (by which he may mean a gourd (Pl. 113: 2)) for the water, but these are exceptions.

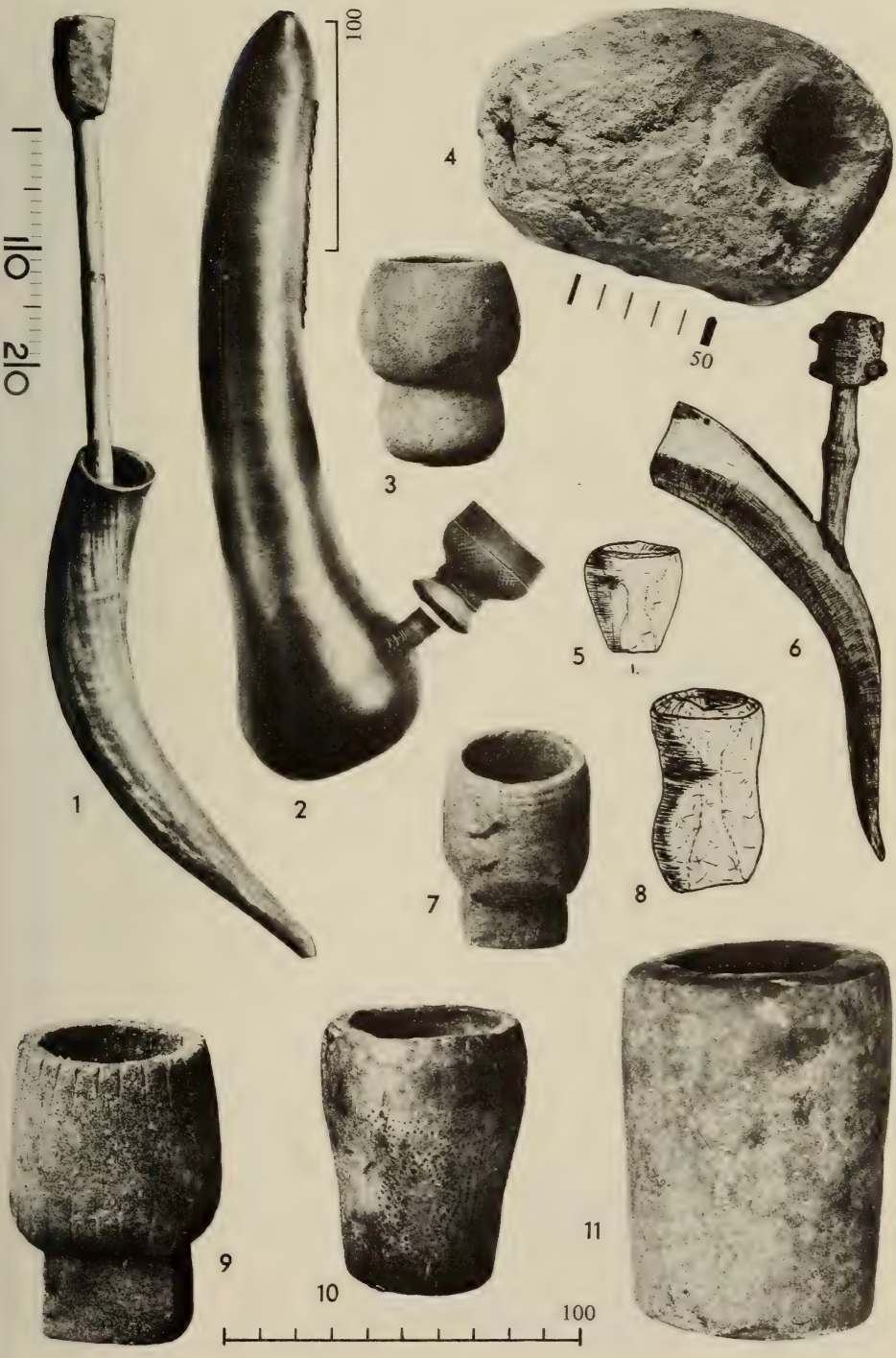
The earliest description of the bowl is that it was cylindrical, either of stone, soapstone, wood or red clay (Pl. 113: 3, 5, 7, 9–11), 25 to 80 mm long, about 20 mm in diameter, and 'as if squeezed with two fingers in the middle' (for comparison see Pl. 113: 8).

Tobacco or hemp or even a mixture of the two was put in the bowl, with a live coal on top, water was put in the horn to cover the base of the reed stem and the smoke was inhaled through the water. Some smokers placed the mouth over part of the open end of the horn with the rest of the opening pressed against the cheek, others put a hand over the opening and left a small gap between the fingers and thumb (Pl. 110: 2). According to some authors water was drawn into the mouth

PLATE 113

Water-pipes.

1. *igudu*, water-pipe, 835 mm, Bomvana: Elliotdale, 1948.
2. Water-pipe, 332 mm, Mpondo; no locality, no date (EL 1142).
3. Stone pipe-bowl, 50 mm, Mpondo; no locality, no date (EL 567).
4. Water-pipe of clay, 150 mm; 'Transkei', no date (Queenstown Museum).
5. Pipe-bowl of dark-grey baked clay, 29 mm; excavated near East London (SAM–520), ill. in Shaw 1938*b*, pl. 87 (1).
6. Water-pipe, 545 mm bowl to tip, Xhosa; Komga, no date (former Camp collection), ill. in Shaw 1938*b*, pl. 88 (7).
7. Stone pipe-bowl, 50 mm, Mpondo; no further data (EL 567).
8. Pipe-bowl of red baked clay, 46 mm; excavated at Beacon site, near Durban (SAM–5857), ill. in Shaw 1938*b*, pl. 87 (5).
9. Stone pipe-bowl, 80 mm, Mpondo; no further data (EL 567).
10. Clay pipe-bowl, 70 mm, Thembu; no further data (EL 261).
11. Stone pipe-bowl, 100 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale, no date (TM 35/407).


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100

with the smoke; according to others a mouthful of water was taken from a calabash or bowl after inhaling. The water was then spat out with a whistling noise through a hollow stick tube, *ijelo, ijono*, either into a wooden trough or on to the ground in a pattern. This game was still known up to 1955. According to Bachmann the Mpondo stuffed part of the horn with mealie-cob leaves and made the head of a hollowed sweet potato, but modern informants did not know this.

In several modern pipes seen, the reed, instead of going through the side of the horn, is placed right down in it through the open end (Pls 110: 2; 113: 1). In specimens where it does go through the horn there is sometimes gum round the junction (Pl. 113: 6). The bowl may still be made of clay, or stone, wood or metal. Informants at Langa stated that the clay bowls were made by women. The modern bowls seem to be larger, possibly because there is a greater amount of hemp available.

This type of smoking was a social event, and the pipe was passed round the circle for each to take a few draws.

Another form of the water-pipe, said to have been copied from tribes north of the area, was one formed with damp clay in the ground. After the earth had been moistened and pressed firm a passage was made through it by means of a twig. Water was put in this passage. It was said by informants that if the soil was clayey, the passage became saturated and held the water well. One end of the passage was enlarged to take the hemp, and to the other end or to a reed placed in it, the mouth of the kneeling smoker was applied. An extension of this was to remove the improvised pipe from the ground and fire it (Pl. 113: 4).

How common the practice is nowadays is impossible to say. Nine years after the official ban, F. Cornner (corresp.) said he had not seen a dagga-pipe among the Mpondomise in his forty years residence there. Nevertheless, dagga-pipes were still being confiscated in magistrates' courts up to the time of this investigation. Hemp is still commonly grown, mainly for sale.

A modern development, mentioned by Mpondo and Xesibe informants in 1955, is to roll the hemp into a cigarette, or to mix it with tobacco for smoking in the ordinary pipe.

PLATE 114

Tobacco pipes.

1. *inqawa* with lead inlay, 138 mm; 'Transkei', no date (SAM–2878).
2. Horn tobacco pipe, 156 mm, Mpondo; no further data (Alb. D43).
3. Wooden pipe, 151 mm; 'Kaffraria', no date (KM).
4. *inqawa* with lead inlay, 392 mm, Fingo; Healdtown, 1890 (Alb. D42).
5. *inqawa*, 275 mm, Mpondomise; Tsolo, 1936 (SAM–5513).
6. *inqawa*, 227 mm, Thembu; Umtata, 1935 (TM 35/459).
7. *inqawa*, 159 mm, Mpondo; Ngqeleni, no date (TM 8033).
8. Xhosa smoking a tobacco pipe; Qwaninga, Willowvale, 1948.
9. Thembu man of rank smoking; Thungwana, Mqanduli, 1960.


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TOBACCO PIPES

The advent or development of wooden pipes for smoking tobacco must gradually have ended the smoking of tobacco through a water-pipe.

The earliest description of a wooden pipe different from the water-pipe was possibly that by Sparrman previously mentioned. Alberti (in 1802) and Döhne (in 1836) remark on the likeness of the wooden pipe to the European clay pipe then in vogue, albeit somewhat larger, and Bell's drawing (Fig. 21) shows this. Many

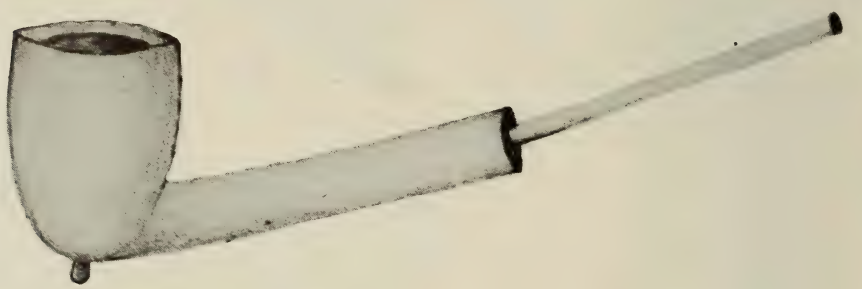


Fig. 21. Wooden pipe with mouthpiece, 'Kaffir', drawn by C. Bell, 1834 (Cape Archives).

modern examples still have the spur at the base of the bowl, as on the clay pipe. The bowls appear soon to have become somewhat larger than those of European wooden pipes but with short stems. Now some stems are longer and have been seen up to 45 cm long (Pl. 114: 4). According to early descriptions the wood for the pipe was taken from the fork of two branches or of branch and trunk, so as to get a natural angle. Modern tools, however, make this unnecessary, as the wood can be chopped and sawn into blocks of suitable size, and then shaped. In general the harder woods are chosen, particularly *Acacia caffra, umnyamanzi*, and *Miletia caffra*, the heart-wood of which has a good colour and is capable of taking a high polish. The root portion is liked particularly, as is old wood. The stem is bored with an iron drill, usually, but not always, straight through to the front of the bowl where it is then plugged with matching wood. The bowl is hollowed out to meet the passage from the stem. It is then lined with tin to prevent charring. The stem at the mouth end flanges widely, and then has a short reed or hollow wooden tube fitted into the opening as a mouthpiece, *ingcaphe* (Pl. 114: 5, 6, 8, 9). This is usually made by the owner and is sometimes tied to the stem (Pl. 114: 5). It was said that the owner is loth to part with this latter, as it would be dangerous for such an intimate personal possession to fall into hostile hands. This shape of stem, with its mouthpiece, prevents the end of the stem from becoming worn through, and the mouthpiece is said to cool the smoke.

On completion of the pipe some makers rub in any sort of fat other than pig's fat. (Pig's fat is apt to cause cracks in the wood.)

A more recent development is to make the latter part of the stem out of horn, which is more durable. It is shaped like a modern European pipe-stem, and does

not take a separate mouthpiece. An unusual example seen was carved entirely out of horn (Pl. 114: 2).

Yet another sort of tobacco pipe, called *iklam*, has a stem or mouthpiece of horn, shaped, heated and bent into a curve. It does not have a separate mouthpiece. It is used by men only (Fig. 22). More rarely this sort of tobacco pipe or



Fig. 22. Wooden pipe, *iklam* type, Thembu, Cala, 1935 (SAM–10307). Total width 107 mm.

just the head was carved out of soapstone, like the Khoi (Hottentot) fashion in the west.

Wooden pipes (Pl. 114: 1, 3–9) became and have remained a tremendous vogue among the Xhosa, men and women, and though Kay in the 1820s thought that they were 'prodigiously clumsy' they were later very elegantly made. The decoration of the bowl particularly gave rise to a display of artistic talent that is not often demonstrated in Xhosa material culture. Sometimes the bowl or stem is carved into a variety of human, animal, or conventional shapes (Pl. 114: 3); sometimes bowl and stem are quite plain but beautiful in form and in the wood used, especially in the exploitation of the dark centre wood. Sometimes a plain bowl is decorated with brass, copper or zinc applique, fixed on with tiny metal tacks, or sometimes patterns are inlaid with melted lead (Pl. 114: 1, 4), which was run into previously prepared incisions while the pipe was laid in the sand. This latter technique was practised as early as 1837, and is said still to be used today but was

not seen. A recent fashion, among Mpondomise and Mpondo in particular, is to have a plain pipe, and decorate the stem with beads (Pl. 114: 5).

Pipes were made by men. The tool used was formerly a spear blade, then a store-bought knife. Present-day specialists have a full tool kit, with some store-bought articles and others made or adapted for special uses. Most pipes were made and given as presents, but those with lead inlay were sold for a calf. According to Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964) the latter were only used in headmen's families, but this was denied by Xhosa informants. Wooden pipes were early sold by traders. Today pipes are made for sale and the price is said to be determined according to the length of stem. Several Xhosa pipe-makers were visited, and one Mpondo, who said, however, that he had learnt from a Xhosa. Bhaca informants said that they bought their pipes from Xhosa or from a store. (For a fuller description of pipe-making see Gitywa 1971: 130–137; Hooper 1981: 185–192.)

As with dress and ornament, social usage dictates at what stage in life people may smoke and the style and size of the pipe. In general the length of stem and size of bowl increase with the increase in social status. Thus newly initiated boys use pipes with small bowls and very short stems, while old men and women and diviners use the longest-stemmed and longest-bowled pipes. Within the various categories the bowls of men's pipes are shorter than those of women's pipes.

SNUFF-BOXES

If a large supply of snuff is ground it may be kept in a suitably large calabash, *igula*, but for personal daily use a small snuff-box, *iqhaga*, is carried. Snuff-boxes have generally been highly ornamental. They have been made of a variety of materials (Pl. 115): bone, horn, calabash, nutshell, reed, a type of paste, tortoise-shell (according to Steedman but not confirmed), the scrotum of a calf or a sheep, wood (according to Backhouse and Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964)), and latterly cartridge cases, bottles or tins. Tins specially introduced by traders during the twentieth century were small and round like ointment boxes with a mirror or the head of King George V on the lid. C. T. Nauhaus mentions tiny lidded baskets in a calabash shape but this is unconfirmed, and no such snuff-boxes have been seen. When the material was suitable the snuff-boxes were decorated with branded or incised designs, and from early in the nineteenth century increasingly with bead-work. In the 1820s, the trader H. F. Fynn, then south of the Umzimkulu River, evidently carried beaded calabashes as an item of gift or exchange. This prompts

PLATE 115

Snuff-boxes.

1. Gourd snuff-box, height 80 mm; 'Transkei', *c.* 1875 (SAM–6928).
2. Snuff-box of hide-scrapings, diameter 73 mm; 'Transkei', *c.* 1850 (SAM–3319: 2).
3. Gourd snuff-box, diameter 62 mm, Mpondomise; Tsolo, 1937 (SAM–5809).
4. Snuff-box of hide-scrapings, 181 mm; 'Transkei', 1898 (SAM–58: 1).
5. Snuff-box of hide-scrapings, with iron spoon, height 136 mm; no data (SAM–5934).
6. Gourd snuff-box, diameter 85 mm, with green beads, Thembu; Cala, *c.* 1932 (SAM 4981: 1).



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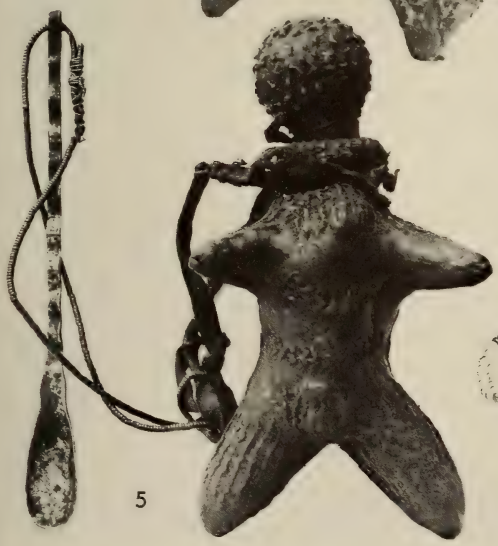
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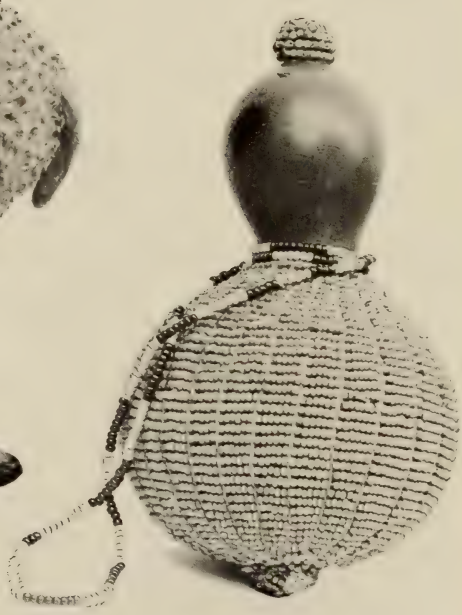
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the interesting question whether or not the practice of beading the calabash was introduced from outside. The most common snuff-boxes were probably the small calabashes (Pl. 115: 1, 3, 6), and the most remarkable were certainly those made of paste (Pl. 115: 2, 4, 5). In lieu of a snuff-box, snuff might be carried in a small skin pouch. Today small tins or small calabashes are the most common.

The paste technique appears to have been confined in southern Africa to the eastern province of the Cape and southern Lesotho. Yet according to Kay's statement, made contemporaneously, the Fingo knew it when they came into Kaffraria and introduced it there. But it was mentioned by Fynn in the 1820s and drawn by Bell in 1834. It has been compared by Balfour, it seems unjustifiably, to the *tandu* technique of Nigeria (see note in sources). The paste was made by scraping blood and loose tissues off the inside of a freshly killed skin that was being cleaned, mixing with this a little clay and if necessary a little more blood, and kneading the whole into a good paste. According to Cripps, scrapings of hoofs and horns were used, while Joest favours the diaphragm of a newly killed animal, but these seem unlikely. A clay core of the desired shape—globe, calabash or animal or human figure—had been made previously and dried in the sun, and on this the paste was spread, the details were modelled and a sharp nap was picked up with an awl. It was again put in the sun to dry. When dry a hole was cut in a suitable place, which later became the mouth of the snuff-box, and through it the clay core was picked out. A stopper and cord for attachment were fitted and the snuff-box, *iqhaga lamanyama, iguza* (Mpondo only), was complete. Fingo, Xhosa, Thembu and Mpondo used this technique up to the end of the nineteenth century, but it has now died out.

Snuff-boxes were worn round the neck, attached to the arm-band, attached to the cloak, attached to the girdle, even attached to long hair by the Mpondo, or sometimes carried in a bag. Xhosa snuff-boxes often had an awl or picker attached with which to loosen the snuff. Fingo and Mpondo used to wear the reed variety, and the latter still do, in a hole in the lobe of the ear, perhaps with a spoon in the other ear or tied to or stuck in the hair.

PLATE 116

Snuff-spoons and snuff-boxes.

1. Horn snuff-spoon with comb, 215 mm, according to Museum records Mpondo of Umtata (FH 138).
2. Horn snuff-box, diameter 37 mm; 'Transkei', *c.* 1875 (SAM–6927).
3. Bone snuff-spoon, 120 mm, Thembu; no locality, *c.* 1875 (SAM–6935).
4. Horn snuff-spoon, 151 mm, Mpondo; no locality, 1901 (SAM–78).
5. Horn snuff-spoon, 150 mm, Xesibe; Mt. Ayliff, no date (EL 1007).
6. Horn snuff-box, 183 mm, Xesibe; Mt. Ayliff, no date (EL 1005).
7. *intshaza*, 174 mm, Mpondo; Qawukeni, Lusikisiki, 1948.
8. Gourd snuff-box, diameter 81 mm, Xhosa; no data (SAM–3328).
9. Woman with snuff-spoon in her hair, Mpondo; Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki, 1948.
10. Woman with snuff-spoons in her hair, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt. Frere, 1948.


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The method of taking snuff is to pour a little from the snuff-box into the palm of one hand, and by means of a small spoon (see below) apply it to each previously cleaned nostril in turn, until much sneezing and watering of the eyes is produced. Fleming alone mentions as part of the outfit a small brush to tidy up the nostrils afterwards, but he does not describe it. According to Lucas snuff was also rubbed into the gums. Fritsch states that the poor man, presumably to economize in snuff, had, instead of a snuff-box, a piece of skin with snuff on the hairy side, from which he inhaled.

According to Kidd snuff-taking in Pondoland was governed by social usage. It was not correct to offer snuff, but to wait till asked for it. This is not described as occurring elsewhere in the area.

SNUFF-SPOONS

People of all the tribes used a spoon, *intshaza, incebetsha, intshengula*, when taking snuff, as has been described above.

According to Cripps the snuff-spoon was used by the Mpondo as a handkerchief as well. The Xhosa spoons are described as having been of wood, horn or iron (Pl. 115: 5) and those of Fingo, Thembu, and Mpondo as ivory, bone (Pl. 116: 3, 7), wood or, in the case of the Mpondo and Thembu, horn (Pl. 116: 1, 4, 5).

The Xhosa and Thembu generally attached the spoon to the snuff-box, and for convenience it was of small size—say 15 cm overall length, with bowl about 2 to 2,5 cm long. But like the Fingo and Mpondo they sometimes stuck the spoon in the earlobe or hair.

Most of the spoons made latterly, and they were only seen among the Thembu, Mpondomise, Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca, are of bone or horn, but Mpondomise were making them from metal teaspoons also. The spoons are made by men. Modern Mpondo and Bhaca use the spoon as a hair ornament as well (Pl. 116: 9, 10), and many wear several stuck at angles in the hair. For this reason the stem tends to be longer, up to about 25 cm. Some of the spoons have a forked stem to stick in the hair more easily (Pl. 116: 3).

MEDICINE, MAGIC AND RELIGION

SOURCES

1686 'Stavenisse' (Godée Molsbergen 1922) pp. 62–63, 94 — Xhosa: burial, initiation

pp. 62–63 — Xhosa: burial

'Soo haast iemand sieck word brengen sij hem buijtens huijs en corael, alwaar hij in een bijsondere en afgescheijdene woningh door een gemeen en slegt persoon gediend word, en ingeval hij te sterven komt wordt hij van sijn oppasser in d'aarde gedolven, sittende op sijn hurken met de knien tegens sijn borst.'

p. 94 Xhosa: *khwetha* hut, costume

'Gedurende den tijd dat dese Christenen onder dese heidenen gehuijsvest hebben konde se anders niet bespeuren als alleen dat de besnijdenisse onder hun so hoogh in agtingh is dat niemand voor man kan verstrekken tensij deselve besneden is, gedurende dese pleging wonen de besnedenen in een hutjen alleen ende de pijn uijtgestaan sijnde bedekken hun dese nieuw gewordene mans het middellijv met groene bladeren. . . .'

1686 'Stavenisse' (Moodie, D. C. F. 1838) p. 427 Xhosa: initiation

English version of above.

1686 'Stavenisse' (Bird 1888) p. 42 Xhosa: initiation

English version of above.

1752 Beutler p. 310 Xhosa: burial

'. . . de lyken haarer overleedene worden hier of daar in boschagien begraven, en sy bedecken de graven met takjes; se vermeyden naderhand by die plaats te komen en geloven dat so se eens daarover liepen, se alsdan binnen kort soude sterven.'

1776 Hallema (1932) pp. 134–135 Xhosa: circumcision

'Wij examineerden heden eene jonge Kaffer uit ons gevolg en vonden, dat hij gelijk de Joden besneden was. Volgens zijne beduidenis omtrend de groote der kinderen geschiede dit op hunne 6 of 7 jaren met eene blank geslepen assegai, door den vader of een ander zonder onderscheid.'

1778 Van Plettenberg p. 48 Xhosa: burial

'. . . hunne dooden begraven zy niet maar brengen die eenige schreeden van hunne woningen af, daar zy dezelve aan de lugt en 't gevogelte ten prooy laten, uytgenomen wanneer een capitain onder hun sterft, die onder een misthoop in hunne kraal werd gestoken, wanneer zy tevens de kraal of plaats geheel verlaten en een ander verblijf neemen:'

1797 Barrow (1806) pp. 166, 174 Xhosa: circumcision, burial

p. 166 Xhosa: circumcision tool

'To perform the operation of circumcision nothing more is necessary than a sharp piece of iron in the form of a blade of a knife.'

p. 174 Xhosa: burial

'The Kaffers differ also very materially from all the neighbouring nations in their manner of disposing of the dead. Funeral rites are bestowed only on the bodies of their chiefs, and of their children. The first are generally interred very deep in the dung of their own cattle accumulated in the kraals or places where they are pent up at nights; and the bodies of infants are most commonly deposited in the ant-hills that have been excavated by the myrmecophagae or ant-eaters. The common people are exposed to be devoured by wolves. As these animals drag them away immediately into their dens, the relations of the deceased are in no danger of being shocked or disgusted with the sight of the mangled carcase.'

1800 Van der Kemp (1804) pp. 453–454 Xhosa: cairns, burial
pp. 453–454 Xhosa: cairns

'I lived in a place near the Keiskama, where I observed a great heap of stones, and that every one who passed by threw a stone or a handful of grass to it. The Caffra captain Khanja, who lived in the same place, declared, that he himself was totally ignorant of the reason of this custom. The Hottentots also throw stones upon the graves of their people, but this was not a grave.'

p. 454 Xhosa: burial

'They do not bury the dead, but throw them for the wolves; to be buried is the King's exclusive privilege. But commonly they lay their sick people out in the field, to be devoured by the wolves, before they die, as soon as they consider their case to be desperate. They are, however, often mistaken in their prognosis, and the sick returns to his house, and recovers; if not, the consequence is a second, and perhaps a third exportation, after which the last step is to lock him up in his house with a little meat and drink, and then the whole kraal breaks up and leaves him to die.'

1803 Paravicini di Capelli p. 134 Xhosa: burial

'Na het afsterven leggen zy hunne dooden in zyn kros gewonden in de aarde, dog ondiep genoeg om door de wolven opgegraven te worden dat veeltyds gebeurt. De hut, ja zelfs de kraal daar iemand sterft, word verlaten. . . .'

1802–6 Alberti (1810*a*) pp. 83, 102, 199, 203–204 Xhosa: implements
p. 83 Xhosa: lancet, cupping

'Tegen sommige plaatselijke smarten bezigt men gewoonlijk eene aftapping van bloed, welke vele overeenkomst heeft met het koppen onder de Europeërs en op de volgende wijze geschiedt. Tot deze heelkundige verrigting bedient men zich van twee werktuigen; het eene is een klein stuk ijzer, aan het eene einde plat geslepen, hebbende de gedaante van eenen beitel: het andere bestaat in het boveneinde van eenen koehoorn, waarvan de punt afgesneden en doorboord is. Nadat het pijnlijk gedeelte met den gezegden beitel genoegzaam gekorven is, maakt men het vleesch in de rondte met het tweede werktuig eenigermate gelijk, ten einde daardoor het indringen der lucht van onderen te verhinderen, en eenig verband tusschen dit werktuig en het gekorvene deel te bewerken. Eindelijk wordt de hoorn vast gehouden, de mond aan de opening gebragt, eene hoeveelheid bloed daarmede uitgezogen, en zulks naar goedvinden meermalen herhaald.'

p. 102 Xhosa: switch

'Alsdan wordt een afzonderlijk rund geslacht. De Toovenaar doopt eene roede in deszelfs bloed en besprengt daarmede alles, wat zich in den omtrek bevindt.'

p. 199 Xhosa: disposal of body

'. . . of ook wel aan de dieren ter spijse. Ook dit laatste is bij de Kaffers in gebruik, voor zoo ver de Afgestorvene tot de gemeene klasse behoort. Alsdan heeft geene de minste lijkstaatsie plaats.'

pp. 203–204 Xhosa: burial

'De Begrafnis der Opperhoofden en van derzelve Vrouwen is, . . . van de behandeling van het Lijk eens gemeenen Kaffers zeer verschillende. . . .

Een stervend opperhoofd blijft in zijne hut liggen, tot dat hij wezenlijk dood is. Alsdan wordt het lijk in eenen mantel gewonden, en door zijne Beambten in het midden van den Rechtsban of Veedrift begraven. Terstond drijft men in deze plaats een aantal Ossen, die zoo lang in gedurige beweging worden gehouden, tot dat de eigenlijke grafplaats van de overige oppervlakte niet meer te onderscheiden is.'

(See also Alberti 1810*b* (English edition): 43, 52, 93, 95.)

1803–6 Lichtenstein (1811) pp. 408, 411–412 Xhosa: cupping, cairn

p. 408 Xhosa: cupping

Nothing more.

pp. 411–412 Xhosa: cairn

Nothing more.

1811 Anon. pp. 148, 217–218 Xhosa: lightning, burial practices

p. 148 Xhosa: lightning

'. . . where . . . the lightning strikes into any place near a kraal, all the Caffres . . . wash themselves, and dress in their cleanest clothes. Then the oldest men put up a high pole at the place, where the lightning has struck, upon which all present hang their corals and beads and other ornaments. Those families who possess cattle, bring one or more fat oxen, . . . and offer them as a burnt-offering.'

pp. 217–18 Xhosa: burial, mourning

'If a Caffre is ill, and so weak, that his recovery is despaired of, his companions remove him from the kraal into the open fields, lay him down on the ground, surround him with bushes, kindle a small fire in the neighbourhood, and leave him, ... If the patient, thus forsaken, dies, they abandon his remains to the wild beasts, and remove into another part of the country. The widow or widower of the deceased throw away their clothes, cut off their hair, and shun all human society, till it may be supposed, that the remains of the relative are entirely gone into corruption. . . . Upon the decease of an Ingoo, his property is divided into two equal parts; one half goes to his family, and the other is put into his grave, ...'

c. 1813 Campbell, J. (1815) p. 366 Xhosa: burial

Nothing more.

1820 Stocker (1819–20) p. 53 Xhosa: circumcision

'At the age of puberty the young Kaffer undergoes the process of circumcision, which is not performed without much ritual form, after which he becomes effective in his tribe and receives defensive weapons either from his chief or father for his future protection.'

1821–4 Thompson, G. (1827) **2** pp. 357–358 Xhosa: cupping horn, burial

p. 357 Xhosa: cupping horn

Nothing more.

pp. 357–358 Xhosa: burial

'The Caffres, in former days, buried their dead, but at the present time only the chiefs and persons of consequence are interred. When they think that death is approaching, they carry out the sick person into a thicket near the kraal, and leave him to expire alone; for they have a great dread of being near, or touching a corpse, and imagine that death brings misfortune on the living when it occurs in a hut or kraal. Owing to this superstition, they are so anxious to get rid of the dying, that it sometimes happens that those who have the honour of being buried, are actually interred while yet alive.'

1824 Ross pp. 215, 222 Xhosa, Thembu: burial

p. 215 Xhosa: grave

'For a grave they make a deep hole, six feet at least. The dead person is put in in a sitting posture, large stones on each side of the dead person & one above; all is covered over with earth tightly so that the wolves may not get to him.'

p. 222 Thembu: burial

'When a person appears to be dying he or she is carried out of the house & laid under a bush with a fire near; often without an attendant. Should he live he may come home; should he die, a few branches are laid over the body. Chiefs & their families are buried. These too are placed in their graves before death & then covered in.'

c. 1824–5 Smith pp. 92, 96, 104, 160, 374, 394 Xhosa: burial, magical practice

p. 92 Xhosa: divining calabash

'The use of this is another way by which witchcraft is discovered. They make a hole in the bottom of the calabash and pour water through it into the calabash then hangs it up in the house whilst he dances. After dancing he takes it in his hand turns it over holds it up and calls over names and when he calls the name of the person who has bewitched the sick the water runs out of four or five holes which is in the top of the calabash.'

(This account is very close to that of Ayliff (1832) and may have been added by Smith later than his own observations.)

p. 96 Xhosa: burial

'If a grown person dies in a house the whole kraal becomes impure and must be abandoned. If a child dies in the same manner the hut alone becomes impure and must be forsaken. The corpse of person so dying remains undisturbed in the hut.'

p. 104 Xhosa: cairns

'Heaps of small stones. In various situations those are met with, and it is a custom for every traveller passing to throw one or two upon it and at the same time ask for what they are on their way to seek for such as success in getting a wife, for sufficiency of food on the journey and generally for good luck. The origin of this custom not known. They call them "Issivivani".'

p. 160 Xhosa: charms

'They have a particular kind of wood which the[y] string in small portions on a piece of bullock's hide and then suspended round the neck, and as the wood is very partial to the wearer it will protect and bring him through the most eminent danger undiscovered and unhurt. This wood they generally wear when they proceed on warlike expeditions or plundering excursions against the colonists. When engaged in the latter acts, and their efforts at first have been crowned with success they carry off the cattles for some distance and then direct their face to the point at which they affected the robbery, then take off by the action of their teeth a small portion of the wood suspended about their neck chew it and then eject all round the saliva and minutely divided substance which they believe exert such an effect that they are sure to see the pursuers first or if that is not the case, but should be the reverse, the latter will not be able to injure them by fire arms even every so close as the protecting substance will avert the baneful intention of the other. They have another sort of bush also which they chew, and eject mixed with the saliva in the same way either when they see their pursuers or before that, which they believe causes the latter either to pass them undiscovered or else to fall into a sound sleep thereby allowing the aggressor to escape with his booty. This bush I did not see in flower, but the leaves appeared somewhat like a species of *Diosma*. Some prefer wearing the first sort of wood attached to their karosses, or fixed to the stick upon which they tie their hassegays one piece being placed at each extremity and another in the middle. The merits of one or other of these plans is still disputed and by some one is considered best and by other another. As has been already remarked they use the same when they proceed on warlike expeditions against each other and they say that when the wood has much love for the wearer, the hassegay though at first coming directly for the breast of the individual will turn off before it reaches the spot and make a circuit round one or other of his sides. Should it so happen however that its inclination should be the reverse then it permits the instrument to affect its destructive intention.'

p. 374 Cape Nguni: cairns

(Answer to a questionnaire by Smith:) 'I am of opinion that this custom is of hottentot and not of Caffre origin:—you are of course aware that the hottentots once held the whole of the country at present occupied by the caffres. I suppose the caffres on finding these heaps of stones along all the principal paths of the country and being informed of the custom by such hottentots as from time to time intermingled with them, merely imitated their custom in adding a stone to the heap in passing them.'

p. 394 Cape Nguni: burial

'Are buried in sitting posture knees bent upward.'

1825 Fynn (1950) p. 115 Ntusi: circumcision

'The man whose business it is to perform the operation lives apart from everyone else, his hut being generally a short distance from those of the rest. He uses for the purpose an assegai which he sharpens on a rough stone. This is done

that the blade may become more like a saw than otherwise, its roughness being supposed to accelerate the cure. After each boy has undergone the operation, the parts are washed with an infusion of roots of a cooling nature. Each now puts on a dress specially prepared for the occasion and occupies a hut in which he and the others live apart. . . . The dress is made of a kind of flaggy grass, tied in bunches and is intended to cover nearly the whole body, the face being painted with clay.'

1825–9 Kay (1833) pp. 194, 195, 211–212, 345 Cape Nguni: burial, cairns

p. 194 Cape Nguni: burial

'Excepting infants, the Chiefs and their principal wives are the only persons who are at present privileged with the rites of sepulture. . . . The place of burial is the cattle-fold; in which are the remains of the Kaffer monarch invariably deposited beneath the feet of his herd. The grave consists of a circular pit dug several feet deep, in one side of which is a recess or niche, sufficiently large to admit the corpse. This is sometimes placed in a sitting posture; and at others left standing. The armour, smoking apparatus, and various other articles which the deceased was in the habit of using, are all buried with him.'

p. 195 Xhosa, Thembu: burial

'But by the Amakosae and Amatembu, &c., a distinct enclosure is not unfrequently made for the purpose; and after the place of sepulture has been covered up, two or three persons who have been employed as sextons are then appointed to keep and see that it is not disturbed either by man or beast. A certain number of cattle are now placed upon it; to the benefit of which these men are exclusively entitled.'

pp. 211–212 Cape Nguni: cairns

'In various parts of Caffraria, and, according to the accounts given by the Amafengu, in the still more distant regions likewise, are found large stone heaps; to which the natives attach a kind of sacred character, and which by the Kaffers are called the *issivivani*. They consist simply of round piles of small stones, thrown loosely together, and are generally met with on the sides or upon the summits of mountains. Their size, of course, varies according to circumstances; but their form is always the same, obviously unstudied and devoid of all art. They are invariably erected within a few paces of the path. Every passenger regards it as a duty incumbent upon him to add another stone to the number, or otherwise a green branch. . . . While engaged in this act, he prays that his journey may be prosperous; This constitutes the great object of his petition; in concluding which he spits upon the article held in his hand, casts it upon the heap, and then proceeds.'

p. 345 Mpondo: burial

'On looking around, my curiosity was excited by a hut in ruins; and I was induced to inquire why thorns and branches, &c., were laid in such order about its fallen roof; upon which, they told us that it was the dwelling of their Captain's late wife, and now her grave. Being a woman of rank, she had been allowed to die in her habitation: a hole was then dug in the centre of the floor to receive her corpse, and after carefully burying her, they had cut away the pillars and foundation of the

house, and thrown down the whole to decay upon the spot on which her hands had placed them. No one dared to take a stick or a twig from this pile for any purpose whatever.'

1826–32 Shrewsbury (1869) pp. 234, 325–326, 384 Xhosa: beliefs, burial

p. 234 Xhosa: beliefs

(1826) 'It is a remarkable fact that amongst this people there is not a single vestige of idolatry nor any recollections of idolatry having ever been known amongst them. . . .'

pp. 325–326 Xhosa: burial

(1829) Nothing more.

p. 384 Xhosa: burial

(1832) 'Interment of the deceased is becoming much more frequent throughout the land.'

(1829) Rose p. 147 Xhosa: cairns

'We remarked on the banks of the Kei River, some of those heaps of stones which are to be met with on the hills near the Fish River, and which are generally said to be thus marked by the Kaffers, as the spots where European soldiers were killed. I inquired particularly regarding them, and was informed by our guides, that when a Kaffer felt weary, he had but to add a stone to the heap to regain fresh vigour. I asked how the first stone came there; and only heard that their fathers and their grandfathers had done it, and they did it. These heaps are by the Kaffers called *Vivani*.'

1829 Bain p. 99 Bomvana or Thembu: burial

'Busac amused me on our way to Se'kies with an account of the Caffre manner of burying the dead, which is simply by divesting the corpse of everything in the shape of clothing or ornaments and dragging it into the fields, where it is instantly devoured by the vultures and beasts of prey. Their Chiefs are, however, honored with a grave in or near the cattle craal where they are buried with all their favourite ornaments about them. Should the grave be opened and the latter abstracted by any sacrilegious thief, their soothsayers are consulted. . . .'

1830 Anon. (1829) p. 440 Xhosa: burial

Nothing more.

c. 1831–2 Smith pp. 109, 120, 121, 123 Cape Nguni: burial, cairns

p. 109 Mpondo: accession of great wife

'When the Amaponda king makes his principal wife (the mother of the successor) great he must fit up a kraal for her and supply her with cattle, etc. On that occasion it is customary to kill some person of importance, perhaps a chief (the principal object is to get his cattle though other reasons are assigned to give to the wife). The head of the person killed must be placed at the chief's kraal. After this the wife goes to the house built for her by the people. When the man is decapitated the cattle are carried off and given to her.'

p. 120 Xhosa: burial

Nothing more.

p. 121 Mpondo: cairns

'Heaps of stones. Travellers take one up and throw it on heap and say: "You must make me strong that I may walk well and quick." They spit on the stone before throwing it on the heap. The old people say they have seen this since children but know nothing more of them.'

p. 123 Thembu: burial

'Three Tambokies were killed by thunder; in the afternoon of one day and next day they buried them. . . . They bury everything that has been killed by thunder.'

(1832*a*) Anon. p. 147 'Caffre': cupping, burial

p. 147 'Caffre': cupping

'In some inflammatory cases, however, they had a more rational method of cure, by cupping the patient, and in others by the use of simples; but even then the effects were attributed to the power of the magician.'

p. 147 'Caffre': burial

Nothing more.

(1832*b*) Anon. p. 146 Cape Nguni: cairns

Nothing more.

1832 Ayliff pp. 753–754 Xhosa: divining calabash

'As the chief man of the two had a calabash in his hand, we inquired, "What is that in your hand?". . . . "What use do you make of it?" "O, it is a thing which speaks truth.". . . . "When I am called to find out who has bewitched the sick person, I pour water into it through this hole:" pointing to a hole in the bottom of the calabash. "Then I hang it up in the house while I dance; after dancing I take it in my hand, turn it over and hold it up, and call over names, and when I call the name of the person who has bewitched the sick, the water runs out of these holes:" pointing to four or five holes in the top of the calabash; "and thus we find out the right one. . . ."'

1832 Boyce p. 663 Tembu, Mpondo: skull vessel

'A male child has been born to Faku lately, which . . . is . . . the heir to its father. According to custom which has prevailed from time immemorial among the Amapondas and Amatembu, it was deemed necessary for a great Chief of a particular family, in which the honour is hereditary, to be put to death, so that his head might be used as a vessel to hold a decoction of roots, with which the new-born child was to be washed: this charm will, they imagine, prevent Faku's family from becoming extinct.'

1833 Fritsch, Hoffmann & Bonatz (1834) p. 58 Thembu: child's, other, burials

'We were surprised to find him digging his own child's grave, for their custom is to place a dead infant in an ant's nest, near which the mother must sit three days.

An old Tambookie woman died, and we were pleased to observe . . . that a

grave was prepared for her; but it was left to hired Bushmen to carry her out of the house to be interred.'

(1833) Morgan, N. pp. 35, 38, 42, 43 Xhosa: medical, religious practices

p. 35 Xhosa: cupping

'In their treatment of disease no regard appears to be paid to the character of the complaint; the treatment is generally loss of blood by a rough sort of operation, consisting of scarifying and drawing blood after the manner of cupping amongst us.'

p. 38 Xhosa: circumcision tool

'When they have fixed upon a time to perform this operation which does not appear to be done at any particular age, all the children are assembled together, and it is done by the principal person of the kraal. The operation is performed invariably with a sharp stone, and forcibly brings to mind Exodus iv. 25: nor is it, as generally supposed, always performed about the time of puberty, for, as there are various privileges to which the children are entitled after the operation, which they cannot have until then, their parents, to qualify them, frequently perform it at a very early age. I have seen many that had not arrived at six years of age, who had been long circumcised.'

p. 42 Xhosa: cairns

Nothing more.

p. 42 Xhosa: euphorbia trees

'When a woman has twins two euphorbium trees are planted before the hut, and by the growth of them they pretend to know whether the children will both live or die; for if one or both the trees should perish so they say will happen to the twins.'

p. 43 Xhosa: burial

'On the death of a Chief or any of his family, the like custom is observed by all who were under his rule. The burying place of the Chief or his family is in the cattle kraal;* that of the common people is in the holes formed by the ant bear or other wild animals, which they fill up with stones or dirt.'

(Note *:) 'When the chief is buried the cattle kraal is filled up with bushes, and the huts are all deserted. An extent of country is marked out, over which no person must pass or cattle graze. A breach of this rule is punished with confiscation of property, and if committed by a stranger the punishment is slavery. A certain number of cattle—bulls, cows, and calves—is turned out on this land, and they are ever after held sacred; they cannot be killed or even milked, but live on this spot, herded by people set apart for the purpose. When the grass has grown over the grave the land is relieved from this taboo, but the cattle are still held devoted, and they die and rot on the spot, no part of them being taken or applied to any use whatever.'

1834 Bonatz (1834*b*) p. 404 Thembu, Xhosa: no burial

'The custom of leaving the dead unburied is, to the last degree, revolting to the Christian mind. As soon as the sorcerers declare the patient to be past recovery,

he is laid upon a skin, carried out into the field, and left there to die; nor do the relatives visit the place, till they have reason to believe, that the corpse has become the prey of wolves and vultures. It often happens, that the patient thus doomed to death recovers, returns home, and lives many years. We have found it a work of great difficulty, to induce these superstitious people to bury their dead. For a considerable time, our Hottentots performed this service for them; but, at length, we found it necessary to insist upon their undertaking it themselves. Sometimes I assisted them myself, in the labour of digging a grave.'

1835 Alexander (1837) **1** pp. 401, 402; **2** p. 105 Xhosa: lancet, cupping horn, cairns, grave

1 pp. 401, 402 Xhosa: lancet, cupping horn, cairns

Nothing more.

2 p. 105 Xhosa: grave

'The Officers walked about the country within two or three miles of the camp; and a small party of us one day visited the lately deserted kraal of Hintza, lower down the river. We found there the grave of one of his daughters, roofed over with boughs, and plastered with clay.'

(1836) Martin pp. 149, 168–169 Thembu, Xhosa: burial

Quoting Bonatz (1834*b*).

1820–56 Shaw, W. (1860) pp. 429–430 Xhosa: chief's grave

'The great Chief Dhlambi died in February, 1828 . . . according to the custom in such cases, "the hut in which Dhlambi died was closed, never to be inhabited again." A grave was dug, in which he was buried, and a circular enclosure, or cattle-fold, was formed over and around the spot where the grave was situate. In this fold were placed ten oxen, besides a number of milch cows, which stood at nights therein, and thus obliterated all trace of the grave itself. . . . A watchman of the grave according to usual custom had been appointed. He had sole charge of the cattle, and milked the cows for his support, other food being sent to him for use from time to time. He remained in charge for about a year; and then the cattle were removed to the ordinary cattlefold, while the watchman was at liberty to return to his own dwelling; but from that time these cattle were considered as "devoted;" and they were not allowed to be killed and eaten, unless, in some time of sickness or calamity, the wise man or Priest consulted directed one of them to be slaughtered as an offering to the *umshologu* of the departed Chief.'

1839 Backhouse (1844) p. 231 Xhosa: cairns

Nothing more.

1839 Hallbeck p. 260 Fingo: burial

'The Fingoos depart from Caffre usage in another particular,—that they bury their dead, instead of leaving them to be devoured by wild beasts. Such, at least, has been their practice since their settling within the bounds of the colony;'

1836–44 Döhne (1844) pp. 22–23 Xhosa: euphorbia trees, burial

p. 22 Xhosa: euphorbia trees

'Bei der Geburt von Zwillingen muss der Mann ausserdem noch ein Stück von dem Blatte eines Milchbaumes (der wilden Aloe) holen, (welches, wenn es in die Erde gesteckt wird, bald ausschlägt und in Zeit von 9 Monaten gegen 4 Fuss hoch wächst,) und es an die Südseite des Hauses, in welchem die Zwillinge geboren worden sind, pflanzen. Hat die Pflanze die angegebende Höhe erreicht, so wird sie ausgegraben, und mit ihrer Milch werden die Zwillinge gewaschen und alsdann in Wasser gebadet. Den Grund aber, warum dies geschehen soll, wissen die Eingebornen selbst nicht mehr anzugeben.'

p. 23 Xhosa: burial

Nothing more.

1842–7 Ward (1848) p. 138 'Kaffir': burial

Nothing more.

1848 Anon. p. 40 Xhosa: lightning

'Es hatte in dieser Woche auf einem benachbarten Kraale eingeschlagen, ein Haus war durch den Blitz in Brand gerathen und ein Ochse getödtet worden. Die Bewohner des Kraals riefen nun eine alten Zauberin herbei, ein Ochse wurde nach Kaffergesetz geschlachtet und als Opfer verbrannt, um den Himmel zu versöhnen und den Platz vor fernerer Gefahr zu sichern. Der Kraal selbst aber is ein wenig weiter weggezogen, da die Leute dem alten Platz nun doch nicht mehr trauen.'

1851 Baines (1842–53) **2** p. 207 Xhosa: charm

'One of Umlangenie's charmed sticks, about the thickness of a quill and two feet long, was tied to his assagais, but he stoutly denied having had dealings with the impostor.[39]' (Note 39:) 'Umlanjeni . . . was a wizard. . . . He was said to give "charm sticks" to warriors which would make them immune to musket balls.'

1851–2 King (1853) p. 186 'Kaffir': cairn

Nothing more.

(1853) Fleming pp. 112–113 Xhosa: cairn

Nothing more.

(1856) Fleming pp. 228–229, 276 Xhosa: cupping, divining

pp. 228–229 Xhosa: cupping

'For instance, their mode of cupping is simple but very efficacious, and they very judiciously use it as a remedy. It may be described as follows:—

They first raise the skin with the point of a bodkin, or "kaross needle," at the spot where they wish to operate. They then, with a very sharp knife, make an incision in the flesh at each side of the needle, about half an inch long: . . . between these they apply the end of a cow's horn, and by pressing it firmly against the part, and sucking through a little hole made in the point of the horn, they thus succeed in drawing in the flesh, and forcing out the blood more effectually and profusely than a European surgeon does by his regular cupping glass and lancets.'

p. 276 Xhosa: divining rods

'A solemn silence then ensues, during which the "doctor" rests himself, and then proceeds with a bundle of divining rods in his hand, to walk round throughout the assembly. As he approaches the chief, he watches the rods in his hand, and dexterously makes one of them move, or leap out, from amongst the rest. He then singles out this rod, and throws the others into the fire, and being rubbed with a kind of inflamable matter, they there crackle and blaze brightly, thus demonstrating to the Kaffirs that they are charged with supernatural powers; with the remaining one he then proceeds through the assembly again, and this time, he makes it vibrate, not only when opposite the Chief, but also when in front of the victim whom he is about to single out.'

1856 Kropf p. 33 Xhosa: bier

'Dann und wann sahen wir 4 bis 6 der ältesten Männer kommen, die jungen Leute blieben weg. Nach vielem Hin- und Herfragen hörten wir denn, weshalb sie nicht zur Kirche kamen. Sie sagten, sie fürchteten sich, in die Kirche zu kommen, weil dort über ihren Köpfen die Todtenbahre liege.' (Note: 'Die Kaffern lassen nach dem Begraben ihrer Todten die als Bahre gebrauchten Stangen auf dem Grabe liegen und dort verfaulen. Niemand würde je dieselben wieder anrühren.') 'Wir suchten sie zu überzeugen, dass Ihnen dies Stück Holz nicht schaden könne, ...'

(1858) Maclean pp. 50, 92–93 Xhosa, Thembu: *ubulunga*

p. 50 Xhosa, Thembu: *ubulunga*

'The presents of the father of the bride to his son-in-law are produced. These are, one head of cattle for a kaross, another, the hair of the tail of which is to be worn round his neck as a charm, ...'

pp. 92–93 Xhosa, Thembu: *ubulunga*

(Contribution by J. C. Warner:) 'These are the two great domestic superstitions, which are universally practised by the Kafirs as preventives, antidotes, and charms against all kinds of evils. The "isiko lobulunga" consists in tying the long hair drawn from the tail of a cow or ox round the neck of the individual, for whose benefit the rite is performed. Each family has certain cattle set apart for this purpose, and which are, to a certain extent, considered sacred; they cannot for instance be sold or given away; nor even lent to a person not related by blood to the family to which they belong.

The age at which this rite is performed appears to be immaterial; it is, however, generally performed on infants when they are about six months old. The father invites all his friends and neighbours, and for whom a feast is provided. He then proceeds to the cattle fold, selects a beast from among those set apart for this purpose, pulls a quantity of long hair from its tail, and presents it to the mother, who, after twisting it into certain fanciful shapes, ties it round the child's neck.'

1861 Kühn p. 159 Fingo: tooth extraction

'Sie verwundern sich dann meistens, dass der Zahn so schnell heraus ist; so, sagen sie, sei es bei ihnen sonst nicht gewesen. Ich liess mir daher erzählen in

welcher Weise sie es damit sonst zu halten pflegten. Sie haben ein eigenthümliches Instrument, Isilanda genannt, welches jeder Kaffer stets bei sich führt, einer sehr dicken Stricknadel ähnlich, etwas kürzer, an einem Ende scharf zugespitzt, am andern Ende gerippt, um etwas festfassen zu können. Gewöhnlich werden damit eingetretene Dornen aus den Fusssohlen geholt, was an einem Tage mehr als einmal geschehen kann und worin sie eine grosse Uebung und Geschicklichkeit haben. . . . Mit dieser Nadel wird denn auch der Zahn herausgeholt, erst alles Zahnfleisch abgetrennt und dann durch Bohren in der Zahnhöhle der Zahn locker gemacht, bis er los genug ist, um entfernt zu werden. Diese Operation dauert gemeiniglich wenigstens einen halben Tag und sie sagen selbst davon, es sei "eine Morderei" Kukubulawa. Kein Wunder also, dass sie bei unsrer Manier des Zahnausnehmens den Kopf hinhalten und keine Miene verziehen.'

1860–6 Wilson, E. (1866) p. 169 Sotho ('Macatees'): divining bones

'The medicines and charms are carried in a bag made of the skin of the dekker (a wild buck). The former is composed of herbs of their own selection and a wooden jar of sheeps' fat; the latter are made of a lot of portions of bones or horns, tied together in the form of a circle, and to which is attached by a piece of string a flat bone, marked on both sides after the manner of dice. On first entering a hut where the patient lives, they toss these charms in the air, the dice-marked bone, indicating the state of the patient's health.'

1863–6 Fritsch, G. (1872) pp. 104–105, 108 Xhosa: divination, *ubulunga*

pp. 104–105 Xhosa: divining bones

'. . . Prophezeiungen . . . und man bedient sich dabei einer Art Zauberwürfel, wie sie auch andre Völker in ähnlicher Weise benutzen. Dieselben bestehen als Regel aus den kleineren Carpal- oder Tarsal-Knochen vierfüssiger Thiere, untermischt mit Hornplättchen, denen einige Zickzacklinien eingegraben sind; so finden sich dieselben in den Händen der gewöhnlichen Leute, während bei dem Doctor zur Erhöhung der Andacht noch einige Thierschädel mit fletschenden Gebissen, Schlangenhäute und ähnliche Gegenstände figuriren müssen.

Der gemeine Man trägt seine -*Tollus*- in einem ledernen Beutelchen bei sich und befragt dieselben mit grosser Zuversicht, wenn er irgend eine Auskunft wünscht: Wo seine Gefährten bleiben? wohin sich das Vieh verlaufen hat? welche Richtung die günstigste ist, um Wasser zu finden? u.s.w., indem er nach der Stellung der einzelnen, unter bestimmten Ceremonien an die Erde geworfenen Stücke seine Entscheidung trifft.'

p. 108 Xhosa: *ubulunga*

Nothing more.

1858–89 Stanford **1** p. 5 Gaika: charms

'It was Makana who promised victory to the Gaika tribes in 1819; it was Umlanjeni in 1850 who furnished the warriors with little sticks[6] which were to be pointed at the white men with a shout of "Bolowana" and the effect would be that the bullets from the rifles of the white men would be turned to water.'

(Editor's note 6:) 'Sticks of *Plumbago capensis* (A. Kropf & R. Godfrey, Kafir English Dictionary, 2nd ed., Lovedale, 1915).'

1845–89 Kropf (1889*a*) pp. 122–123, 194–195 Xhosa: euphorbia trees, charms, divining bones

pp. 122–123 Xhosa: euphorbia trees

(Taken from Döhne 1844: 22:) 'Von Zwillingen, die nicht immer als etwas Unnatürliches angesehen werden, wurde manchmal einer zum Wohle desandern, manchmal beide zum Wohle der Familie getötet. Geschieht es nicht, so hat der Vater ein Blatt des Milchbaums (*Euphorbia candelabrum*) zu nehmen (das in die Erde gepflanzt in neun Monaten etwa vier Fuss hoch wächst) und es an die Südseite des Hauses, in dem die Zwillinge geboren wurden, zu pflanzen. Hat es die an gegebene Höhe erreicht, so wird die Pflanze ausgegraben und mit ihrer scharfen Milch die Zwillinge gewaschen und dann in Wasser gebadet. Zwei solcher Euphorbien nebeneinander stehend, zeigen an, wo Zwillinge geboren und getötet worden sind. Gewöhnlich werden Zwillinge nicht getötet, ...'

pp. 194–195 Xhosa: charms

'Er bereitet Mittel, um den Hexen keinen Einfluss zu gestatten, weiss sich durch seine Mittel die Gunst des Häuptlings und seiner Räte zu verschaffen, Blitz, Hagel, Rost im Korn, Krankheit abzuhalten, und jegliches Vorhaben glücklich auszuführen. Diese Mittel, die mit Ausnahme der von Dieben gebrauchten meistens harmlos sind, werden öffentlich angewendet und gesetzlich gebilligt. Zu diesen gehört *indawule*, die Zähne des Leoparden, aufgereiht mit Perlen und Stückchen aromatischer Wurzel einer Binsenart. Dieses Halsband wird teuer bezahlt, um den Hals getragen, verheisst es den Schwangeren eine glückliche Geburt und bewahrt die Mädchen vor Unglück. Die Kaffern glauben, dass der *itola* durch dies *indawule*, wenn er es besprochen, aus seinen Bewegungen weissagen könne. *Ikubalo*, ein Stück Wurzel, besprochen von ihm, und dann in das Kleid eingenäht, bewahrt vor Unglück, und Amulette, von ihm geweiht, können den Dieb frei machen.'

1845–89 Kropf (1889*b*) p. 63 'Kaffir': divining bones

'Die Medizinmänner erfreuen sich trotz ihres meist zweideutigen Benehmens allerorts der höchsten Achtung; ihr Hokuspokus, ihr Hantiren mit den berüchtigten Zauberwürfeln aus den Knochen von zehn verschiedenen Thieren wird stets als göttliches Thun betrachtet. . . .'

1868 Anon. (1869) pp. 317–318 ?Xhosa: *khwetha* ceremony

'In der alten Behausung waren alle alten Gegenstände als: Felle, Schüsseln, Becher, Stöcke, Pfeifen, Tanzputz etc. etc. aufgeschichtet, des Feuers harrend. . . . Dann empfing jeder einen neuen, mit Fett stark eingeriebenen Stock, welcher Wunderkraft besitzt, und oft erst mit dem Greise ins Grab wandert. . . . Jetzt wurde das alte Haus mit sämmtlichen Inhalt in Flammen gesetzt, und jeder Anwesende schrie aus voller Kehle: Das alte Haus brennt!'

1869 Anon. (1868) p. 506 Fingo: doctor's paraphernalia

'The missionary subsequently saw a part of the Fingoo's stock of wonder-working remedies, which he exhibited with no little self-importance. Besides a few pieces of roots and barks, and some styptics, the skin bag, which he opened, contained several strange objects, mostly wrapped in dirty rags. Among these were a baboon's skull, a piece of serpent's skin, a fragment of crocodile's hide, the claws of an earth-hog, some powders, burned to coal, and preserved in small goat's-horns, small skins of the animal which is called the mouse-dog, fragments of pottery, glass beads, etc. etc.'

1871 Meyer p. 514 Hlubi: war medicines

Nothing more.

1874–8 Cunynghame (1880) pp. 134–135 'Kafir': fertility doll

'At Kafir marriages a very curious doll is used. It is made of a wooden cylinder about a foot long and four inches in diameter and covered over with beads. Representations in coloured beads are made of the eyes, nose, mouth, & hair, & little arms and legs are attached. Some of these dolls are reputed to bring good luck to the marriages where they are used, and some bad. If a doll is fortunate it is worth many head of cattle;'

1877–8 Norbury (1880) pp. 42, 140 Cape Nguni: cairns, charms

p. 42 Cape Nguni: cairns

'In journeying about the Transkei, one occasionally encounters a pile of small stones near the footpaths, which have their origin in the following custom:—Should a Kafir be going in search of a wife who has decamped, . . . or should he be engaged in any similar pursuit, he throws a stone on the heap, saying, as he does so, "May I have luck." The auspicious spots where these piles have accumulated have been primarily discovered and marked by the witch doctors.'

p. 140 Xhosa: charms

'The warriors had all been "doctored" before the fight; they had the usual war charms round the neck, and the paint on the forehead. I took off one of these charms, consisting of two short pieces of wood fastened round the neck with a string: the wearer had evidently felt his courage flagging, for he had made two deep bites into the wood. Gneto, Kreli's witch doctor, a man of immense influence among the Galekas, was said to have sold 3000 of these charms during the week preceding this engagement, the price being about a shilling each.'

1877–9 Ex C.M.R. (1881) p. 98 Xhosa: charms

'She [the witch doctor] also *doctored* the army, giving each man a piece of hair string, with some bits of wood attached, to hang round their necks, as a charm against the bullet of the white man.'

1875–87 MacDonald (1890*a*) pp. 132, 189, 208, 216–217 Cape Nguni: practices

p. 132 Cape Nguni: euphorbia trees

Nothing more.

p. 189 Mpondo: first fruits, charms

'Among the Pondos nothing of the new crop may be eaten till after the chief has held the feast of first fruits. When sowing seed it is mixed with bits of snake skin, and also small pieces of the skin of the ant bear are added. Along the coast there is a practice of scattering fine black sea sand, and the powdered root of a certain plant, over the outskirts of the fields. This is to avoid blight and hail.'

p. 208 Cape Nguni: cairns

Nothing more.

p. 208 Cape Nguni: horns on hut

'There are no human sacrifices offered by South African natives, nor have I found very distinct traces of fetish. The nearest approach to it I have observed is a custom in regard to the skull and horns of the animal sacrificed in case of death by lightning. These are placed in the roof of the hut, and must not be touched by any human hand, except by the magician. There they remain for years as an object of veneration and quasi-worship'

pp. 216–217 Cape Nguni: sacred fire-sticks

'When the native Africans use special fire, either in connection with sacrifice or the festival of first-fruits, it is produced by a doctor, and in the following manner:— Two sticks, made of the *Uzwati* tree, and called the "husband and wife", are given to him by the chief. These sticks are prepared by the magicians, and are the exclusive property of the chief, the "wife" being the shorter of the two. The doctor . . . proceeds to kindle fire in the usual manner, ... The sticks are handed back to the chief by the doctor—no other hand must touch them—and put away till they are required next season. They are regarded as in a measure sacred, and no one, except the chief's personal servant, may go to the side of the hut where they are kept. After being repeatedly used for fire-making, the doctor disposes of what remains, and new ones are made and consecrated by the magician.'

1875–87 MacDonald (1890*b*) pp. 274, 275, 285, 293 Cape Nguni: medical, religious practices

p. 274 Cape Nguni: cupping

'After the patient has been examined, the following may be taken as a characteristic method of treatment. A small portion of the skin, generally behind the left shoulder, is rubbed by a stone or other rough substance, till slightly abraded, but not bleeding. Then a prepared horn is applied, the magician sucking the smaller end, and forming a partial vacuum under it. The abraded surface bleeds slightly, and on removing the horn, he searches, or pretends to search the accumulated blood, and presently starts to his feet with an ant, beetle, or other insect in his hand, exclaiming, "There is the disease for you; it is now extracted; the patient shall do well."'

p. 275 Cape Nguni: burial

'Formerly it was customary to bury chiefs only, now sepulture is universal, except in cases of death by lightning and certain other accidents.'

p. 285 Cape Nguni: skull as vessel

'The war doctor may order any noted enemy slain to be decapitated. After this the head is boiled and the roof of the cleaned skull made into a bowl for holding the charming medicine with which he sprinkles the soldiers. War medicine from such a vessel is supposed to have special virtue, and to convey to others something of the spirit and prowess of the original owner of the novel cup.'

p. 293 Cape Nguni: sticks in divination

'By-and-bye the doctor appears, sits down at a little distance, and takes a pinch of snuff. If the visitors ask for tobacco, he knows it is but a casual call and he enters into ordinary conversation. If they do not ask, he, scenting a case, goes into the house and brings out a dry hide and some sticks. These he throws down before his visitors and says, "You have come about a child." And they, beating softly on the hide with the sticks, reply in a low voice, "We agree." The doctor proceeds, "You have come about a woman." The gentle beating is continued, and the same reply is made as before. The next remark is, "The man you have come about is very ill." They beating loudly, reply as before, twice repeated. On such lines our friend proceeds. . . .'

(1883) Cape of Good Hope Appendix I pp. 407–409 Mpondomise: practices

p. 407 Mpondomise: boys' initiation

'When a number of boys are to be circumcised. . . . A hut and a kraal are built for them at a distance. . . . The boys remain at their kraal . . . for a period of three or four months, and when they are perfectly healed . . . their hut and kraal are put in flames, and the boys rush with all their speed to the nearest and appointed drift of a River . . . and wash themselves in it.'

p. 408 Mpondomise: girls' initiation

'The "Intonjane" (rite of undergoing the age of Puberty) is a custom that has also been in existence from time immemorial. When any woman reaches this age a hut is selected and a partition of mats made, behind which this girl lies or sits concealed. . . . After a month or two perhaps the parents of this girl . . . give notice that . . . the "Intonjane" must go out as it is called.'

p. 409 Mpondomise: *ubulunga*

(At the marriage of a chief's daughter:) '. . . the party sets off for the kraal of the young man, driving four or five head of cattle, and when they arrive at the kraal one of the cattle is killed and the remainder are left as the "Ubulunga" cattle, from which cattle she generally plucks hair from the brush, and she wears that as a charm against all misfortunes that may happen to her person.'

(1887) Matthiae p. 19 Xhosa: burial

Nothing more.

(1894) Ratzel **2** p. 43 figure 'Kaffir': divining bones

Nothing more.

1895 Smith p. 81 Xhosa: herb for wounds

'*Helichrysum pedunculare*, D.C.—Kaffir, *isi-Cwe*

The Kaffir *abakweta*, youths undergoing circumcision, use the leaves of

isi-cwe. This plant is believed to have the power to keep down dangerous inflammations. The woolly underside of the leaf is put next a wound.'

(1902) Fletcher p. 1041 'Kaffir': burial

'Whenever a chief of standing dies, his death is immediately reported to the councillors . . . four or five men of good family are selected by them to bear the corpse from the hut, the body being wrapped up or rolled in a mat lengthwise, together with the blankets used by the deceased previous to his death. It is then carried into the cattle kraal, ...'

(1903) Bartels p. 339 Xhosa: divining bones

'Mit dieser Angabe, dass den Kaffervölkern dieser Würfelzauber ursprünglich unbekannt und erst von den Basutho importiert worden sei, stimmen zwei Tatsachen sehr gut zusammen. Die eine ist, dass in dem grossen Werke von Peter Kolb "Naaukeurige en uitvoerige Beschryving van de Kaap de goode Hoop (Amsterdam 1727)", welches die Sitten und Gebräuche der Eingeborenen auf das Ausführlichste behandelt, an keiner einzigen Stelle der Würfelzauber erwähnt worden ist. Wahrscheinlich ist er in damaliger Zeit im Kaplande noch nicht bekannt gewesen. Weniger zu vereinbaren ist es mit der oben wiedergegebenen Angabe von Fritsch, dass der Missionar Kropf, welcher 40 Jahre unter den Xosa-Kaffern gelebt hat, und der ein Buch über dieselben herausgab, trotz einer ausführlichen Besprechung ihrer Zaubergebräuche doch nirgends etwas über den Würfelzauber berichtet.'

(1906) Hewatt pp. 48, 91 Cape Nguni: cupping horn, lancet

p. 48 Cape Nguni: cupping horn, lancet

'A cupping instrument called "Luneka" and needles "Izinthlum" are used by the Kaffir Surgeon for acupuncture and bleeding as in snake bite, pleurisy etc.'

p. 91 Cape Nguni: cupping horn

'A native cupping glass "Luneka" (a cow's horn open at either end, suction by the mouth being applied at the smaller) is then thoroughly used.'

(1906) Müller, A. p. 769 Mpondo: divining bones

'In Pondoland werden die Knochen vor dem Würfeln in einem kleinen Kürbis geschüttelt und, wie vorhin beschrieben, auf den Boden geworfen. Die Lage der Knochen gibt alsdann die Richtung an, wo irgend ein zu entdeckender Zauberer wohnt, wo Sachen verloren gingen, oder, wenn die Knochen über den Körper des Patienten springen, wo die kranke Stelle sich befindet. Eine besondere Wirkung auf die Einbildungskraft seiner urteilsunfähigen Zuschauer erzielt der Wahrsager, wenn er erklärt, dass die Lage der Knochen ihn noch nicht befriedige, und wenn er nun noch ein zweites und drittes Mal würfelt. Trotzdem kommt es zuweilen vor, dass seine Aussagen sich später als mit den wirklichen Tatsachen in Widerspruch stehend erweisen. Das macht aber dem Wahrsager wenig Kummer, er erklärt, er sei diesmal von den Knochen überwaltigt worden und würde daher nun eine andere Methode versuchen.'

(1914) Schweiger pp. 58–59 Xhosa, Fingo: *khwetha* hut

'Es wird für sie eine *isikweta* errichtet, d.h. ein Platz mit ein oder zwei Hütten, welcher von den Wohnungen der übrigen Menschen etwas getrennt ist und nur den *abakweta* reserviert bleibt. . . . Aufgabe der Frauen ist es, alles nötige Material herbeizuschaffen, welches zum Bauen der *isikweta* für die *abakweta* erforderlich ist. Sie haben für die Weiden, Pfosten, Balken, für das Deckgras, die Bindemittel usw. zu sorgen, während die Männer den Bau der Hütten aufführen. Gewöhnlich werden zwei Hütten gebaut, die *isutu* und die *unqu pantse*. In der *isutu* halten sich die *abakweta* auf; das Wort *isutu* selbst bedeutet Gesellschaft, Klub oder Kraal der *abakweta*. Die kleinere, die *unqu pantse*, dient für die Aufbewahrung der Lebensmittel. Beide Hütten werden wie die gewöhnlichen Kaffernhütten gebaut, mit Ausnahme, dass der Boden nicht gestampft wird.'

(1915) Kropf p. 454 Xhosa: cairn

'A heap of stones thrown together by travellers at certain steep and dangerous passes on a difficult, tiring journey, a small stone being added by every passer by, who says, *Tixo ndincede*, God help me; or *siphe amandla*, give us strength, whereby the traveller asks for help to accomplish his enterprise or errand. Whether his object is good or evil, whether he is going to steal his neighbour's cattle, or to pay a visit to his friends, or to pay his addresses to a young woman, he will use the same form.'

(1916) Kingon p. 186 Cape Nguni: field medicine

'They still go down and burn certain medicines, a collection of grotesque and fanciful odds and ends, in the middle of their fields, in order to prevent their fields being bewitched, or the worm from injuring their mealies, or the birds from eating their Kafir corn. Each man seems to have his own special "medicines", and he relies on these to ensure a good harvest. One may even say that in their view a good harvest is due to the discovery of some effective "medicine" rather than to proper cultivation. But experience speaks in loud tones. Already witchcraft is practised secretly rather than openly, and their belief in its power, while still a force to be reckoned with, may be described as passing.'

1924 Brownlee, W. T. (1924–5) p. 115 Xhosa: *ubulunga*

'A married woman is entitled to expect from her father the gift of a cow, called "the cow of well-being", and from the brush of this she pulls hair and weaves herself a necklet as a charm against illness: this cow remains her property, and is the only property she may own unless she be a skilled herbalist and able to earn cattle for herself.'

1924–6 Brownlee, W. T. [Part 1] p. 307; [Part 2] p. 34 Cape Nguni: stirrer, charm

[Part 1] p. 307 Xhosa: stirrer for medicine

'This ceremony is called among the Gaikas and Gcalekas *ukupehletela*; other tribes give it the name of *ukupunga*. In performing this ceremony the doctor obtains certain herbs which he puts on a flat stone and pounds into a pulp with a

smaller stone. A small earthenware vessel is then half filled with cold water and the pulp is deposited in it. A forked stick about a foot in length is taken, the forked end is inserted in the bowl, the other end is held between the palms of the hands, which, being rubbed together, cause the stick to revolve rapidly. The water is thus stirred until at length white froth rises to the surface. (It must be *white* froth). The future doctor is then washed with the water and the froth is poured over his head. This ceremony of washing and dancing continues over a period of two or three years. . . .'

[Part 2] p. 34 Cape Nguni: charm

'. . . and the bone of a porpoise boiled in the fresh milk of a cow with a new-born calf, and placed in the gateway of the cattle-fold, will cause an abnormal fecundity in the flocks and herds. . . .'

(1925) Goodwin p. 19 Mpondo: magic practices

p. 19 Mpondo: *ubulunga*

'The father of the girl presents his bride-daughter with two or three cattle, one of which is the ubulunga beast, a very sacred animal. Among other things this beast's tail hairs are hung around the mother's neck "to purify the blood of her child." It keeps off all evil influences, and guards the child from many malevolent things that may harm it.'

p. 19 Mpondo: euphorbia trees

'If twins are born much more ceremony must be gone through . . . after all this is over two euphorbia candelabra trees are planted behind the hut. Roots of these trees are taken and boiled. The poor twins are then washed in this too.'

p. 19 Mpondo: euphorbia trees, caps for twins

'The milk of the trees is mixed with cow's milk, and two head-dresses of grass are made for the twins, these being painted white with the mixture. In future if either twin gets ill, both twins are taken and washed in the shades of their respective trees, with a decoction of the roots of the trees, lest both should die.'

(1926) Schapera pp. 123–124, 126 Xhosa, Mpondo: customs regarding twins

pp. 123–124 Xhosa: euphorbia trees

'When twins are born, two euphorbia trees are planted behind the hut to notify the passer-by that twins exist in that kraal. Each twin is considered the owner of his own euphorbia. In the case of triplets three euphorbias are planted.

The growth of these euphorbias is supposed to coincide with the growth of the twins. If the children are of the same size the trees grow to an equal height; if one of the twins is short in stature his tree will likewise be stunted in growth. In the same way these trees indicate the state of health of the twins. If one of the euphorbias withers or is in danger of dying, people infer that its owner too is ill; and even if the owner is away from home his relatives will know that he is probably already ill. In some instances the trees are fenced in to prevent their being bitten by the cattle and oozing milk, in which case it is believed the twins themselves

would fall ill. The milk of these trees is often used as a lotion for the children, especially in cases of illness.'

p. 126 Mpondo: euphorbia trees, head-dresses

Nothing more (from Goodwin 1925)

1926 (?Godfrey) p. 12 Xhosa: charm

'*i-Cakata* the Cape Honeysuckle. Pieces of the stem of this plant are woven into a string and worn as a necklace by a woman who has a new-born child.'

(1927) Cook pp. 516–517 Bomvana: euphorbia trees

'As soon as the second twin is born, the midwife informs the husband, who may make no comment. He must go at once to the forest and select two small Euphorbias of about equal size. These he brings back and plants himself on the woman's side of the hut (among the Bomvanas the right-hand side as you enter the hut). The Euphorbias are planted about twelve inches from the hut wall, midway between the door and the back. Some of the Bomvana siduko plant two aloes as well as the Euphorbias. . . .

The Euphorbias, with or without the aloes, are carefully fenced and the twins are washed inside the enclosure, in a tincture of Euphorbia root in water. For the purpose of grinding up Euphorbia roots, a flat stone is often used, which is kept in the enclosure and may not be used for any other purpose. The stones are never thrown away or replaced as long as the twins and the trees survive. Some of the siduko, however, do not use these stones.

The Euphorbias must not be injured for fear of endangering the life of the twin to whom the tree belongs. Each twin has its own tree and in the case of triplets three Euphorbias are planted. The identification of the particular tree of either twin is often a matter of doubt and uncertainty. Generally the first tree planted or the largest tree is held to belong to the elder twin. But it is often when the death of one twin is followed (as it is universally believed will happen) by the death of one of the trees that the association in incontrovertibly demonstrated. If a leaf of one of these trees is injured, two white beads must be placed at the base of the tree to ward off evil consequences. (Ama Tingata). Even when a kraal site has been deserted the Euphorbias and their enclosing fence will be left untouched and can frequently be seen standing intact in the midst of mealie lands.

Twins of either sex when they have grown up and left their homes will, when sick, return long distances to wash beside their Euphorbia trees.'

1927 Anon. pp. 137–138 Cape Nguni: goat in ritual

'The goat is par excellence the creature used in sacrifice; this explains why goats are so universally reared and why they are kept in country that seems far better adapted for sheep. Goats must be at hand for the native, as a goat may be wanted suddenly for ceremonial purposes. Sacrifices play an important part in native life, and the sacrifice of a goat is considered a necessary accompaniment of such outstanding events as the birth of a child, the initiation into manhood and the initiation into witch-doctorate, as well as in cases of sickness or when a kraal has been struck by lightning.

No doubt the details differ in the different tribes, but the general procedure is the same. The goat destined for a sacrifice must be black. The sacrificial goat, presented at childbirth, is stabbed with an assegai behind the left shoulder; and, when it bleats, the kraal-owner begins to "bonga", that is, he breaks forth with exulting voice in the praises of his kraal. The creature is skinned and its jaws are hung up on the principal rafter of the hut. Next day the relations are invited to offer up propitiation. The meat is dished up and put on mats, but, before it is eaten, beads are given to every person by the kraal-owner with the word "Camagu". The meat is eaten and finished that day. Next day the child is scarified on the face or other part of the body according to the custom of the family. The skin is made into a covering for the child, and in this covering the child lies when being carried on its mother's back.

When a child is sick, the goat chosen for the sacrifice is shewn to the child. Before the goat is actually killed it is prodded with an assegai to make it bleat; the bleating is necessary to provide a propitious omen for the recovery of the child. The goat's skin is worn by the sick child. A goat may also be sacrificed to ward off death from a sick man.'

1927 Vogel, J. p. 74 — Xhosa: initiation hut

Nothing more.

1928 Brownlee, F. p. 181 — Fingo: screen for corpse, circumcision

p. 181 — Fingo: screen for corpse

'It may here be mentioned that, in the case of a death in a hut the body is placed on the right side of the hut next to the wall and is curtained off with a suspended mat or blanket, so that persons entering the hut may not be rendered unclean by their proximity to the corpse.'

p. 181 — Fingo: spear for circumcision

'The Surgeon, after cautious and diplomatic suggestion, showed me the lancet with which the operation was to be performed. It was the blade of an assegai, the shaft of which had been replaced by a wooden handle. The blade was razor sharp and was carefully wrapped in a bandage and carried in a leathern sheath. I was told that this instrument had been preserved from ancient times and used from year to year as occasion required. Its well worn shape and the reverent manner in which it was handled went to confirm the statement that it, along with the office of Surgeon, had been handed down from father to son for many generations.'

1928 Godfrey p. 6 — Thembu or Xhosa: lightning

'Three days later I found the remains of the lightning-struck hut knocked down and arranged in the form of a cone.'

(1929) Nauhaus, C. pp. 3–4 — Xhosa: circumcision knife, initiation hut

Nothing more.

(1931) Coertze pp. 17, 33 — Xhosa: divining bones

p. 17 — Xhosa: divining bones

'Die Xosa's noem hulle dolosse *indawule*. Ons vind nêrens 'n plek waar die

dolosse van die Xosa's beskrywe is nie. By Ratzel vind ons egter 'n plaatjie van 'n stel. . . .

Dit is presies dieselfde voorwerpies wat ons in 'n Suid-Sotho-stel sou verwag het. By hierdie voorwerpies kry ons ook nog astragali, ongelukkig is daar geen nader omskrywing nie.'

p. 33 Xhosa: divining bones

'Die feit dat die volk dieselfde dolosse het as die Basotho (Basotholand) en dat hulle dit *indawula* noem, wys dat hulle dit van die Basotho oorgeneem het.

Kropf sê niks oor dolosgooiery in sy boek oor die Xosa nie, alhoewel hy hulle waarsê-metodes breedvoerig behandel.

Merensky sê dat die dolosgooiery eintlik by die Basotho en Bechuana tuishoort en dat om hierdie rede "Leute von diesen Stämmen auch öfter unter den Zulu und anderen Küstenvölkern als vagabundierende Wahrsager umherziehen." Dit alles wys dat die Amaxosa dit van die Basotho oorgeneem het.'

(1931) Cook pp. 48, 50, 52, 53, 55, 57, 63, 90, 96–98, 105, 119, 133–136 Bomvana: charms, initiation

p. 48 Bomvana: *ubulunga*

'After delivery the infant is washed. . . . First they let him drink from his mother, ... After ten days he may drink *amasi*. On the day the child drinks *amasi* a *bulunga* necklace is put round his neck.'

p. 50 Bomvana: charms

'*The Amakubalo Necklace.*—In order to enable the mother to provide sufficient milk she makes herself, after the birth of the child, a necklace of wooden beads strung on bark string. These beads may number two or eight. In the old days eight was considered the right number. These wooden beads are shaped much like a rifle bullet and are reddish in colour from contact with the woman's ochred body. When eight are worn, two face front and back and two each side. When two only are worn they face the front.

This necklace is worn until the child is weaned.'

p. 52 Bomvana: initiation hut

'On an agreed day all the men and women of the district gather to build the hut for the boys. The hut (*itonto*) is made of a wicker framework put up by the men. The women have meanwhile gathered thatching grass and when the men have completed their task the women thatch the hut in the same way as is done in the construction of the *Nqupantse* hut.'

p. 53 Bomvana: *khwetha* kraal

'Immediately in front of the hut door and with its gateway facing the door is built a small cattle-kraal of Mimosa thorn bush.'

p. 55 Bomvana: circumcision knife

'The blade of the assegai is not wiped after every boy. Those who follow the chief are thus said *ukusula igazi lenkosi*—to wipe the blood of the chief. . . . As the operator works down the line a couple of men follow. They dress the wounds

with *izicwe* leaves (Helichrysum pedunculare) with other leaves bound over them. *Sagoni* leaves are also used.'

p. 57 Bomvana: initiation-lodge beds

'*Life in the Itonto*.—When the boys are healed they are allowed to make themselves *qonga* which are rough bedsteads made of sticks. On these they sleep. They are made "when the fleas are bad."'

p. 63 Bomvana: initiation hut

'Concluding Ceremonies.—. . . . The hut is fired. In it is burnt the old blankets, skirts and headdresses. The boys may on no account look round at the burning hut.'

p. 90 Bomvana: burial

'Not much time is lost in interring the body and if possible this is accomplished before rigor mortis sets in. . . . In the case of the head of the kraal his grave is always dug just outside the cattle-kraal gate on the left-hand side looking from inside the kraal. . . . The grave is shaped like a round well but on one side at the bottom a small excavation is made. This is called *igumbi* (corner).'

p. 96 Xhosa: cairns

'*Isivivane*.—These are stone heaps made by people each throwing a stone on a heap when they cross certain rivers. There are none in Bomvanaland. Amongst the Gcaleka these are found at the Vulindlu forest, and Mhlaplani Gap. Men and women as they place the stone on the heap say "*Sivivane ndipe amandla*"—*Sivivane* give me strength.'

pp. 97–98 Bomvana: euphorbia trees

Nothing more.

p. 105 Bomvana: *ubulunga*

'One man of the Nyauza *siduko* informed me that the necklaces for twin calves must be made of hair plucked from the owner's own *ubulunga* beast. If he has not such a beast, then hair from the mother of the calves or even from another beast is taken. He would never take hair for such a purpose from an ox nor from his wife's *ubulunga* beast.'

p. 119 Bomvana: *ubulunga*

'This beast is known as the *ubulunga*. A girl may even receive an *ubulunga* beast before marriage, but this is not common. From the tail of this beast hairs are plucked and plaited into a necklace which keeps her healthy. If any of her children become ill or even to foreguard against this, necklaces from this same cow are given to them. Twins especially wear them. A woman must get a man to pluck these hairs out of the cow's tail as she may not do this herself. The cow is the property of the woman's house and is heritable only by the heirs of her house, although it is, of course, under the control of the husband. Little boys may take a necklace from their mother's beast. When they grow older they may take a necklace from a calf of that cow. A little boy or girl who takes a necklace from his mother's beast will be helped by his mother's ancestors. If he takes a necklace from a descendant of this cow the ancestors of his father's kraal will succour him. It must be noted that an *ubulunga* beast is not renamed when taken from the father-in-law's kraal to the son-in-law's kraal.

In the case of divorce the *ubulunga* beast returns with the woman or another is sent in its place. The children, if remaining at the father's kraal, take necklaces from the father's beast.

Men.—Men, too, wear *ubulunga* necklaces to make them fat. The hairs are taken from the oldest cow the man has, age being a great consideration. The hair from an ox or bull is of far less efficacy. It is immaterial how or from whom the cow was acquired. (Another means of getting fat is by shaving the head.)

An *ubulunga* necklace is not buried, but kept in a hut except in the case of twins.'

pp. 133–134 Bomvana: sticks in divination

'The name *igqira lentonga* (doctor of sticks) arises in this way. When people wish to *vumisa* or consult a doctor in the manner described above they set out to visit one of these *igqira lentonga* bearing in their hands *iminqayi* or sticks with the bark on. These have become black with soot through being kept in the roof of the hut. Men and women carry these, a woman taking one of her husband's who may possess several. People who see the party thus armed greet them but refrain from asking the inevitable questions as to where they are going as the sticks testify their intent. On arrival at the doctor's kraal they sit down and place their sticks and headgear behind them. The doctor then starts his questions.'

pp. 135–136 Bomvana: charms

'To Prevent Lightning.—The following measures may be taken by any man who knows how to set about them. Usually a doctor is called in.

A horn is placed just above the door on the roof ponting towards the oncoming lightning storm. This contains a medicine known as *umhlabelo*. Sticks of *mabope* (acrid *ocarfus Natalitins*) or *Matshinitshini* wood are stuck in all round the roof. They stand upright with sharpened points smeared with medicine and menacing the storm.'

1931 Hall pp. 662–663 photos by Duggan-Cronin Bomvana: initiation

Nothing more.

(1932) Dornan p. 699 Xhosa, Bomvana: euphorbia trees

Nothing more.

(1932) Soga, J. H. pp. 178, 205–207, 249, 253, 291, 292, 296, 320, 395 Xhosa: medical and magical practice

p. 178 Xhosa: herbalist's paraphernalia

'The *xwele* (herbalist) is not strictly speaking in the same category as the priest-diviners. His is not a religious profession, but simply that which corresponds to a medical practitioner or doctor. His type is more that of the alopathic than the homeopathic variety, for his doses are on a generous scale. His dispensary is round his neck and in his goat-skin bag, in which he carries various specifics for different diseases. Strung round his neck are a number of antelopes' horns, sometimes adorned with stoppers, on which have been worked elegant designs in beadwork. In these he carries various powders. The contents of this "chemist's shop" are the

powdered roots of herbs, powdered parts of animals, reptiles and insects, and some of a supposed mystical nature.'

p. 178 Xhosa: lancet, cupping

'There are several methods of blood-letting, (a) by perforating a vein with a sharp knife, and (b) making incisions in the skin—*intlanga*. In cupping, a gourd of from two to three inches in diameter is taken, the bottom being cut out, and part of the neck cut across, to which the mouth is applied for the purpose of suction. A small cow's horn is also used in the same way.'

pp. 205–206 Xhosa: *ubulunga*

'The term *ubu-lunga* is the noun of the verb *uku-lunga*—to be right, correct. In this present connection it refers to a necklace made of hairs taken from the tail-brush of a cow or ox. Its purpose is two-fold: (a) worn round the neck of an unmarried girl it is to over-rule or correct any circumstances inducing heart soreness and hysteria; (b) worn by a married woman it is to prevent any illness or evil from coming upon her or her children, and also to dispel such illnesses as they are already subject to. . . . In early times the *ubu-lunga* animal, that is the one from which the hairs to make the necklace of the bride were taken, usually accompanied *u-duli*—the bridal party. In those days it was a serious matter to leave this animal behind. . . .

The construction of this necklace is simple. A number of hairs are pulled out of the tail-brush of the cow. These are woven into a circlet of *ulu-zi* (the inner bast of *Ficus Capensis*) and placed round the woman's neck.'

p. 206 Xhosa: charms

'*Water-lily—In-Tekwane*.

The blue flowering water-lily, a member of the natural order of *Nymphaceae*, is a charm of considerable importance both from its connection with the water-sprite (*i-canti* or *u-Mamlambo*), and its healing virtues.'

p. 207 Xhosa: charms

'*U-Qoto—A climbing plant*.

This is the young mother's charm. There are several roots used by mothers as protective charms for their children. Like the others *u-Qoto* is attached as a pendant to a necklace, and is supposed to afford protection to infants from a sorcerer's evil designs.

Before entering the hut of another family, lest it should possess some occult powers of mischief, the mother bites off a piece of the root which hangs from her necklace, chews it and spits a little on the infants' forehead and throat so that no evil influence may affect it.

Um-Tomboti—Widringtonia juniperoides.

Um-Tomboti is a strongly-scented forest shrub, and for that reason is much favoured by women especially, who wear small lengths of the root strung on a necklace. The roots of this plant effect the same result as the one previously mentioned. They are ground to powder, mixed with water, then smeared over the young mother's body. The infant is treated in the same way, but in addition to being

smeared is given a small portion internally. This wards off evil from both mother and infant.

U-Mabope—Plumbago.

. . . It is a charm to prevent lightning striking a homestead. A stick cut from the plumbago plant is forced into the ground so that it stands upright, but at a considerable slant and pointing to the heavens, and the coming storm. Both it and the pelargonium (*u-nomolwana*) are used as charms for an army before going on the war-path. By means of its influence the enemies' weapons are rendered useless and bullets are turned to water.'

p. 249 Xhosa: *ubulunga*

'*Ubu-Lunga—The necklet charm.*

Each boy before leaving home for the *tonto* or as it is also called *i-sutu* has *ubu-lunga* (a necklet of hairs from the tailbrush of a cow) put round his neck as a charm to ward off evil, and secure for the wearer good health. Occasionally one or more of the boys may be twins. If, then, only one of two male twins is to undergo circumcision his necklet is first placed round the neck of his twin brother who is not to undergo the rite. It is then taken off and placed round his own.'

p. 253 Xhosa: initiation hut

Nothing more.

p. 291 Xhosa: charms

'Shortly after the child is born the roots of a certain plant are brought home and hung up in the hut above the child's sleeping place, as a charm to ward off any evil influence from it. Each mother believes in the efficacy of a particular root, so that there are many to choose from. The mother also wears a necklace of the root round her neck, in order that when she goes about with the infant, she may chew parts of the root and blow them over the child for good luck.'

p. 292 Xhosa: euphorbia trees

'On the birth of twins the father immediately sets out for the forest, and digs up by the roots two young Euphorbia trees. He takes them home and plants them alongside the hut in which the twins were born. The mother, on every occasion of performing her ablutions, does this standing over the plants. This serves the double purpose of charming away any evil influence from the little ones, and waters the young trees, which symbolize the two young lives.'

p. 296 Xhosa: euphorbia trees

Nothing more.

p. 320 Xhosa: burial

'Before the body is put in, the clothes worn by the dead person, . . . pipe and every personal article are taken to the grave and are placed in it first.'

p. 395 Xhosa: charms

'At the bottom side of some cultivated lands, a small shrub called *i-Todlwane* may often be noticed. It has been planted there purposely, for it is supposed to possess the power of conveying growth and abundance to crops.

The generic term for all plants used as field charms is *isi-Sukulo*. This is the nominal form of the verb *uku-Sukula*—to sharpen, to urge, etc.'

(1932) Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk pp. 25–26, 190 — Xhosa, Fingo: dressing for circumcision

pp. 25–26 — Xhosa: dressing for wound

'The Xosas use the dried scales of the bulb [*Boophone disticha* Herb, *iswadi* or *incwadi*] as an outer dressing for circumcision. . . . It should be noted that Tutin found that the outer layers of the bulb contained no alkaloids.'

p. 190 — Xhosa, Fingo: dressing for wound

'The leaf of *Helichrysum pedunculare* DC., Xosa *isiQutsi, isiCwe*, is applied by the Xosas and Fingos as a dressing after circumcision, the idea being that it prevents the development of serious inflammation.'

1932 Godfrey (1932*b*) p. 132 — Cape Nguni: charms

'There are a few names for shells, the outstanding one being probably *ingqogo*, in use for the univalve shells of the genus *Nerita*, which are black with white spots; these shells are held in high esteem by the native people. No doubt they are employed for various purposes, but they are mainly used as charms to prevent wind in children. One shell, or perhaps two, may be strung on a piece of string and tied round the child's body with the shell itself overhanging the buttocks. On cloudy days children are believed to be specially affected by wind, and are in consequence liable to throwing their food, but the wearing of the shell is believed to counteract any such tendency. If the *ingqogo* is not procurable, another shell *ingcaca* is used as a substitute.'

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 84, 165, 237–238, 270–271, 304, 343, 404 — Mpondo: religious, medical practice

p. 84 — Mpondo: first fruits

'Formerly the new season's sorghum and pumpkin might not be eaten until the first-fruit ceremony was performed by the chief.'

p. 165 — Mpondo: initiation

'During adolescence came initiation. Formerly the Pondo had circumcision schools through which every boy between 17 and 20 passed. Chief Faku (who died in 1867) during his reign prohibited these schools. . . . Whatever the reason for dropping circumcision the schools have practically disappeared from Pondoland. Only a small Pondo clan, the amaNqanda, which at the time of the stopping of circumcision lived in Thembuland, and only returned to Pondoland after the annexation, and a few Pondomise and Fingo groups living in Pondoland, retain it.'

pp. 237–238 — Mpondo: *ubulunga*

'Before a baby can drink milk a necklace made of the hairs of its father's I.Y. [*inkomo yo6ulunga*] is fastened round its neck. If it has been born at its mother's home it must still be given a necklace of the hairs from the father's cow before it can drink. Later, if it is going away to visit relatives and drink the milk of a strange *umzi*, it is again given a necklace of the hairs. A pregnant woman wears the necklace, and formerly, when there was circumcision, a boy undergoing circumcision wore it. It is a usual remedy for sickness. . . . Hairs for an *intambo yo6uluunga* (thong of the brush) may be plucked by any one, provided the plucking has

been ordered by the owner of the *umzi*. . . . The patient may wear the thong till it falls to bits, or he may discard it when he recovers. In either case the remains must always be stuck into the thatch at the back of the great hut of the *umzi* to which the beast from which the hair was taken belongs. A married woman goes to her father's or brother's *umzi* to throw away her thong if it was made from brush of the I.Y. of her home.'

pp. 270–271 Mpondo: cairns

'All through Pondoland there are cairns of stones called *isivivane*. Passers-by used to pick up a stone, spit on it, and say as they placed it on the pile, "*Isivivane* give me strength and health". . . . No one ever went specially to a cairn to place stones, but they never passed without putting one on. It gave them strength for a journey, and strength to walk. They would place a stone even if they came across a cairn in a foreign country.

There is no tradition as to how the piles of stone originated. The cairns are found all through Xhosa and Pondo country, and Callaway speaks of them in Zululand. The custom seems to have no connexion with any other custom of the Pondo, and has now completely died out.'

p. 304 Mpondo: cupping

'Treatments by doctors (*amagqira* or *amaxhwele*)

Headache. Cut temples. Two small cuts are made and the blood sucked through a horn.'

p. 343 Mpondo: medicine flasks

Nothing more.

p. 404 Mpondo: first fruits

'The similarity between the first-fruits ceremony and the other army treatments, and the fact that the public first-fruits ceremony was dropped when wars ceased, although other magic flourishes, supports the view that they were performed first and foremost to strengthen the army.'

1918–48 Hamilton-Welsh (Louw 1964) pp. 44, 45, 48, 52, 69–94, 144 Cape Nguni: charms

pp. 44–45 Thembu: charm

'Solomon carries . . . a charm famous in the district. He calls it *ntombazana*. . . . Actually it is a . . . coco-de-mere. . . . These drop into the sea and are occasionally washed up on the Pondoland coast. Their arrival is a thing of mystery. . . . Hence magic powers are attributed to them. . . . Solomon Daba shakes *ntombazana* and portions of the dried pith come out. These he sells for large sums . . . and they are carried in small horns or leather bags specially made for the purpose.'

p. 48 Thembu: divining mat

'*Ingubo yenyamakazi* Kaross. The more skins are in it, the greater the divining-power. It is said to bring pleasant dreams. I obtained this from Solomon Daba and it is made of the skins of thirteen animals.'

p. 52 Fingo: spear in divining

'*Isigula* Spear for calling down the spirits of ancestors. . . . The handle is heavily beaded. When everything has been arranged for the ceremony and there is tense expectation, he dramatically thrusts his spear heavenwards, then brings it down with great force thrusting it into the ground in front of him. This brings down the spirits of his ancestors from heaven, who will assist him in the divination, smelling-out or any similar undertaking.'

pp. 69–94 Cape Nguni: charms

List of specific charms for various requirements.

p. 144 Cape Nguni: divining bones

'A native doctor or *inyanga* always carried in his outfit, besides herbs and charms, a bag of divining-bones or *oodolosi*. These consist of small bones, stones and shells, and are used to foretell the future or determine the whereabouts of lost or stolen property. From my personal experience a fair degree of accuracy is shown by them. The bones are obtained from all kinds of animals. They comprise chiefly vertebrae and knucklebones of lions, cattle, jackals and even human beings. Some of these are specially marked with wire or thread, ox-hair or beads, or else they are engraved with symbols known only to the *inyanga*.'

(1937) Soga, T. B. pp. 45, 129 Xhosa: divining, burial

p. 45 Xhosa: sticks in divination

'Kuba ubuko umnqayi iyintongana yamatamsanqa nenzuzo apata yona umntu ekuhamba-hambeni pakati kohlanga. . . . Nokubana baya kuvumisa ibikwa ngumnqayi intonga epatwayo.'

[There was the *umnqayi*, the long pointed stick, which was a little stick of good luck and gain, which a man carried when he went to and fro amongst the people. . . . When the men went to consult a diviner, it was the *umnqayi* also which they carried.]

p. 129 Xhosa: burial

'Ukuncwatywa komntu ema-Xoseni ngokukodwa ubesenziwa imfumbata esaqawuka, ambelwe umnxuma ubesiselera, ube nekumbi ukuba asiwahodi. Wofakwa alunyukelwe ukuze ubuso bake bukangele ngasekaya. . . .'

[The burial of a person was as follows, among the Xhosa in particular: immediately after death he was doubled up and a grave with a recess was dug for him; it had the recess, for it was not the hole of an antbear. Care would be taken to place him in such a way that his face would be turned towards his home.]

(1939) Duggan-Cronin pp. 30–32, 34, pl. 28 and legend Xhosa: *ubulunga*, euphorbia trees, initiation, burial

Nothing more.

1944 Brownlee, F. pp. 23, 24 Xhosa: grave, cairn

'For the last resting place of the great Xhosa Chief Rarabe, a place was selected on a commanding height overlooking the Kei River. His grave is in the soft red soil at the foot of great grey boulders. There the mourners planted twigs from the tombo tree—the wild fig. Those twigs are now grown into stately shade-

giving trees. They are so old that moss hangs from them. Those not knowing, rest under their shade, those knowing, approach the spot silently and respectfully place a small stone on the cairn that is there. "Nkosi", they may say, "place your blessing upon me as I place this small stone of remembrance on your resting place. *Amandla sivivane* (Give me strength, oh cairn)."'

p. 24 Xhosa: mat at burial

Nothing more.

1945 Makalima chapters 11, 14, 15, 30 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: religious, medical practice

chap. 11 pars 60–61 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: euphorbia trees

Nothing more.

chap. 14 pars 25, 27, 32 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: initiation

Nothing more.

chap. 15 pars 2, 6, 7, 10, 13 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: burial

Nothing more.

par. 14 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: burial

'Ingcwaba lake lembiwa ngabafana ngezingxa. Lembiwa lane gumbi. Lati lakuba lembiwe, lenziwa indlu ezantsi, indawo azakulala kuyo umlumzana.'

[His grave was dug by young men with sharp-pointed sticks or iron rods, and in digging it a recess was made, an underground cavity for the deceased, as a man of standing, to lie in.]

pars 17, 18 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: burial

Nothing more.

par. 22 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: burial

'Laditywa ngomhlaba kwagandwa, kwabekwa amatye ngapezulu, namahlala okutintela impahla. Akuzange kulinywe nto ke pezu kwengcwaba.'

[The grave was filled up with earth and stamped in. Stones are placed on the top and bushes to keep away stock. Nothing is ever planted on top of the grave.]

par. 27 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: burial

'Wangcwatywa emangcwabenina? Hayi wangcwatywa ebuhlantini bake njengokuba engumninimzi yena. Abangabanye bona bangcwatywa endaweni eyodwa yamangcwaba.'

[He was buried inside his cattle kraal as owner of the homestead. Other people are buried in the graveyard.]

par. 29 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: burial

'*Esingcwabo sahlukana kwezinye*?:—Apa kuti amangcwaba afana onke, ngapandle kokuba elomtu omkulu nokuba yiNkosi ayabiywa ukuze ohluke kwawabanye abantu nje. . . . Engcwabeni lomntu oliwele ungafika ubone kulinywe umhlontlo.'

[Here at our place the graves are all the same except that of an important person or a chief. They are fenced so that they may differ from those of the other ordinary people. . . . At the grave of a twin you will find a tree euphorbia planted.]

chap. 30, par. 23 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: divining bones
Nothing more.

par. 43 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: divining bones
'Ewe, amatambo, ayasetyenziswa.'
[Yes, the bones are used (by a diviner).]

par. 44 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: divining bones
'Kuyaxilongwa nangendawule (amatambo).'
[Examination is also carried out by divining bones.]

par. 53 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: splints
'*Indlela zokubopha into eyophukileyo*:— Xa umtu ophukile, kulungiswa amaceba, abotshwe ngotwatwa macalomabini. Umaneke ekululwa, ebotshwa, kanti ubehlatyelwe kulondawo kuqala. Uyasezwa omnye umhlabelo ngapakati ngomhluzi. Ezinye incutshe zisuke ziti umtu makanyatele pantsi, lisuke icule lifake umhlabelo kulondawo ebenyatele kuyo asuke alobeke umtu aphile, engaphatwanga.'
[When a person has a broken bone, splints are prepared and they are bound with leather on both sides. They will keep on binding and untying him, having first had medicine rubbed into the incisions to remedy the fracture. Other experts make a person tread on the ground and the expert then puts medicine to remedy the fracture on the spot where he trod and the pain is then reduced and he is healed without being touched.]

par. 57 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: cupping
Nothing more.

pars 63–69, 80–83 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: medicines
Describes the gathering, processing, and administration of medicines.

(1946) Burton, A. W. (corresp.) Xhosa: *ubulunga*
Nothing more.

1945–50 Walton (Wilson *et al.* 1952) pp. 191, 195, 200–220 Xhosa, Fingo: diviners, sacrifices, initiation

p. 191 Xhosa, Fingo: diviners
'The doctor diviners, being gifted with the power to smell out witches and sorcerers, as well as to interpret the symbolism of dreams and the wishes of other people's ancestors, are called in to diagnose the causes of illness or other misfortune. They also prescribe remedies, ordering sacrifices if illness be attributed to the displeasure of ancestors.'

p. 195 Xhosa, Fingo: sacrifices
'Cattle are believed to be the link with the ancestral spirits, and sacrifices of cattle and goats necessary to provide food for them.'

p. 200 Xhosa, Fingo: initiation
'It is realised that the present form of the initiation ceremony is of much shorter duration than the traditional one, and even the shorter ceremony of the present day may be greatly modified to suit the convenience of a boy attending school.'

pp. 201–202 Xhosa, Fingo: treatment of circumcision wounds

'The boys' wounds are roughly dressed with *izigqutsu* leaves from the *izichwe* plant, probably having certain styptic qualities and which are said to help relieve the pain, and are bandaged with mealie husks.'

p. 203 Xhosa, Fingo: no more dancing

'The dancing, which formed such an important part of the traditional ceremonies, has disappeared in Keiskammahoek District.'

pp. 204–220 Xhosa, Fingo: initiation

Nothing more.

(1949) Duggan-Cronin pp. 16, 17, pls 59, 75 and legend Mpondomise, Mpondo: practices

p. 16 Mpondomise, Mpondo: *ubulunga*

'Cattle are believed to be very closely associated with the ancestors, and the commonest form of appeal to them is to wear a necklace made of the tail hairs of a cow (*inkomo yobulunga*) belonging to the old stock of the family. Young married women, like the one in Plate LXXV, are most commonly seen wearing these necklaces, but men use them also.'

p. 17 Mpondomise, Mpondo: initiation

'Men's initiation included seclusion for several months in a hut built at a distance from any homestead, very strenuous dancing, hunting, and instruction in manly behaviour, as well as the physical operation. This custom was abandoned by the Mpondo during the reign of Faku (possibly because it incapacitated fighting men, needed for protection against Shaka's raids), but it is still practised by the Mpondomise.'

pl. 59 Mpondomise, Mpondo: euphorbia trees

Nothing more.

pl. 75 and legend Mpondomise, Mpondo: *ubulunga*

Nothing more.

1949 Hammond-Tooke (1953) pp. 76–80, 85 Bhaca: first fruits

p. 76 Bhaca: ceremony of first fruits

'It appears that the ceremonial was last performed in its entirety by Chief Mngcisana in 1926; the last few decades have seen a marked modification in the attitude of many people to *ingcube* and an increasing slackness in the detailed observance of the custom.'

pp. 77–78 Bhaca: preparation for first-fruits ceremony

'*Ingcube* always takes place at the end of summer. . . . Some time before *ingcube* the tribal herbalist goes into the forests that clothe the mountain kloofs with his assistant to collect the medicinal herbs and vegetable substances necessary for the ceremony. These medicines belong to the species *itihlambeto* and are extremely potent. They are brought back and stored at the back of a special hut in the royal kraal set aside for them, called *nondlu ayivalwa* (the open hut) because of the fact that it is never shut during the reign of a chief, only during a regency. In this hut, too, are kept the horns of medicine and ritual paraphenalia handed

down from former chiefs endowed with peculiar sacredness.' (Note: '. . . At the Makaula capital, the huge smoke-blackened antelope horns, spears and *ingcube* headdress of Mngcisana can still be seen, but to-day no one knows their correct function or significance.') '. . . Cattle and goats are slaughtered to provide the skin skirts of the women, and men and boys practise racing the cattle in readiness for the great cattle race that forms a prominent part of the ceremonies. A short time before the start of the ritual men are sent by the chief into the forests and river valleys to cut bush for a special cattle kraal to be erected near the Great Place. It is circular in shape, constructed entirely of brushwood, and is called *isi6aya sengcu6e* (the cattle kraal of *ingcube*). It is round this kraal that the pageant of the first fruit ceremony is centred.'

p. 78 Bhaca: chief's skull

'The first *ingcube* after the installation of a chief was always of especial significance, and the ritual dictated that the skull of a slain enemy be used as a receptacle by the new chief when washing with the tribal medicines. A fresh skull had to be secured at each chief's installation, and would then serve for all the *iingcube* of his reign.'

p. 79 Bhaca: fire-sticks

'. . . the *inyanga yempi* kindles the sacred fire. This must not be lit with matches but in the traditional manner by using fire-sticks called *uvatsi*.'

p. 80 Bhaca: stirrer

'The herbalist now takes a clay pot containing certain *intseleti* medicines and twirls (*ukuphehla*) a stick in the mixture until it is churned into a foam that spills over the lip of the receptacle.'

p. 85 Bhaca: medicine-whisk

'. . . the herbalist walks swiftly round the semi-circle of warriors . . . and sprinkles each man and his weapons with a bunch of dry grass dipped in the pot.'

1949 Hammond-Tooke (1955*a*) p. 17 Bhaca: novice diviner's charms

'Always the novice dreams of a beast, which may or may not be in the herd of a relative, a white stone, *ikhu6alo*, the possession of which is necessary to complete recovery, and a spear. The *ikhu6alo* stone's whereabouts is revealed in a vivid dream, ... Early in her sickness she dreamt of a particular goat in N's kraal which was slaughtered for her without question . . . and bracelets were made of the skin (*iingqwambi*) and placed on the wrists and ankles to alleviate the pains.'

1949 Hammond-Tooke (1955*b*) pp. 24, 52, 53, 65 Bhaca: practices

p. 24 Bhaca: burial

'An area is set aside as a graveyard in each location. Formerly all members of a homestead were buried near the cattle kraal. . . . People killed by lightning or drowned are buried at the spot where the tragedy occurred. Today the great majority of burials are conducted by the local evangelist and wooden coffins, stocked by the traders, are used.'

p. 52 Bhaca: circumcision

'An interesting phenomenon is the adoption of circumcision ceremonies under the influence of the nearby Hlubi, especially in locations bordering on Kinira and Ncome and the Matatiele boundary, e.g. Mandileni, Ntlabeni, where there are large Hlubi populations and considerable intermarriage. Although there is some evidence that circumcision was practised formerly it is today no longer part of true Bhaca custom.'

p. 53 Bhaca: divination

'Divination by means of bone-throwing is not a Bhaca custom, although it appears to be practised today by a few diviners, and communion with the *amathongo* is established by means of trances accompanied by dancing.'

p. 65 Bhaca: circumcision

Nothing more.

1949 Hammond-Tooke (1958) Bhaca, Hlubi, Mpondo: circumcision, girls' initiation

pp. 16–19

p. 16 Bhaca: circumcision

'Today the Bhaca do not practise circumcision, although there is evidence that they did so formerly, informants stating that it fell into disuse during the troubled period when the great chief Madzikane led his people out of Natal. This earlier observance of circumcision is endorsed by Kohler who, writing of the Bhaca of southern Natal (Bulwer), states that, although not practised today, circumcision was a feature of early Bhaca culture.'

p. 17 Hlubi: circumcision

'In the two locations under Hlubi headmen, Kinira and Ncome, elaborate initiation ceremonies are held annually at which large numbers of boys are circumcised at one time, with a lengthy seclusion period "up the mountain", the killing of many cattle, the observance of rigid food taboos and the imparting of sex instruction. The operation is performed by experts (*iingcibi*) and the whole ceremony is still an important and vigorous element of social life.'

p. 17 Bhaca, Mpondo: circumcision

'There is evidence that this spreading of the custom to tribes who do not at present practise it, e.g. Bhaca and Mpondo, is a fairly general phenomenon in the Transkei. In Pondoland an increasing number is submitting to the operation at mission hospitals, and Mpondo students at Fort Hare and Lovedale (in a Xhosa area) frequently return home circumcised.'

pp. 17–18 Bhaca: girls' initiation, celebration

'All Bhaca girls, however, at the time of their first menstruation should go through a special ceremony which marks the transition from girlhood to womanhood. Two terms are today used to describe this rite, viz, *umngquzo* and *umgubho*. . . . The word *umgubho* refers more especially to the feasting and dancing at the end of the seclusion period and is used by Christians who wish to make a distinction between the traditional pagan rites and the modified form of the ceremony practised by them.'

p. 18 Bhaca: screen for *intonjane*

'From the time that the girl enters the hut she is known as *umulakhube* or *umtfombi* and, while the goats are being fetched, she sits with her back to the doorway and does not speak. Formerly she was placed behind a mat screen (*isikhuselo*) made from *incembe* grass, so placed that a small space was partitioned off at the back of the hut. This room is called an *umgongo* and is seldom seen today. Word is also sent to the girls of the location, who will come each day to help stamp and grind maize for the feast to be held on the final day, and who cut the special rush, *umkhanzi*, with which to strew the hut floor.'

p. 19 Bhaca: ritual spear

'The goat is thereupon returned to the stock kraal and stabbed by the father with the special spear kept in all kraals for ritual killings.'

1951 Kain Zulu: cairn

Occurrence in KwaZulu.

(1954) Duggan-Cronin p. 31, pls 164, 168–171, 173, 181 and legends Hlubi, Xesibe, Bhaca: ceremonial

p. 31 Hlubi, Xesibe: initiation

'Among the Hlubi, and possibly the Xesibe, boys at the age of puberty go through an elaborate initiation ceremony during which they are further instructed in tribal lore.'

pl. 164 and legend Bhaca: diviner (*isangoma*)

'. . . Practically all Baca witch-doctors are women.'

legend to pl. 168 Bhaca: first fruits

'The *ingcube* (festival of the first fruits) is the most important ceremony of the tribal year. No-one may partake of the new green fruits . . . until they have been ritually eaten by the chief and the army and been sprinkled with protective medicines. It is a time of feasting and dancing when the women are dressed in all their beadwork finery.'

pl. 169 and legend Bhaca: first fruits

Nothing more.

legend to pl. 171 Bhaca: protection for twins

'As a further protection a chicken is killed and a necklace is made from the leg bones for the mother, and from the minute foot bones for the twins.'

legend to pl. 173 Hlubi: initiation huts

'Circumcision ceremonies . . . last from three to six weeks and during this time the boys . . . live in specially built grass huts, beehive in shape, called *iiphempa*.'

pl. 181 and legend Hlubi: fertility dolls

'These two young married women are holding "dolls" given to them by their parents to ensure fertility. They are made of wood and covered with beadwork and are returned after the first baby is born. The name *umntwana wesigonga* (child of wood) emphasizes their function.'

1949–62 Hammond-Tooke (1962) pp. 18, 74, 81–82, 84, 176–177, 179–197, 222, 229–230, 244–245, 256–259, 266–267 — Bhaca: magic, ceremonial and medical practice, burial

p. 18 — Bhaca: charms

'Various charms (*amakhubalo*) are used to ensure a good crop.'

p. 74 — Bhaca: umbilical cord

'The umbilical cord (*inkaba*) is never severed with a knife but with a stem of *inchongolo*, a hollow grass found near rivers, or *isiqungwa* (Tambookie grass). Other informants say that the sharp-edged *ubengu* grass is used: in any event it is believed that the use of a knife will cause the baby to bleed profusely.'

pp. 81–82 — Bhaca, Hlubi: initiation

Nothing more.

p. 84 — Bhaca: girl's initiation screen

Nothing more.

pp. 176–177 — Bhaca: crop magic

'The main feature in Bhaca magic is the use of medicines (*imithsi*). The term is derived from the word *umthsi*, meaning "a tree", and reflects the fact that most medicines are made from herbs, roots, leaves and other vegetable substances. . . .

Formerly, no one could begin to plant until the chief had ceremonially used his medicines to secure a good crop. At the end of winter (about August) the chief sent word to the various headmen that, on a certain day, representatives of all the families in their areas should forgather at the Great Place. Each had to bring with him a small basket called *ingcekance*, containing the choice seeds of kaffir corn and maize grains set aside for planting after the preceding harvest. On their arrival all the grain was put into large baskets with grain from the Great Place, and the whole doctored with medicines by the chief to ensure fertility. Informants stated that the grain of the people would "get blessing from that of the Great Place", and that the magical "essence" would spread through the whole like leaven. After the seed had been thoroughly mixed, the small baskets were again filled and carried home to the various kraals where the same rite was repeated, and the rest of the seed of each *umti* mixed with the "blessed seed of the Great Place".' (Note:) 'Members of the Mpoza *ibandla* state that the ceremony was last performed by Rolobile (*c.* 1925).'

pp. 179–197 — Bhaca: feast of first fruits

A full description of the feast of the first fruits, including the doctoring of the army.

p. 222 — Bhaca: tribal medicine

'The success of the army in battle depended largely on its doctoring with medicines (*iintseleti*) by the tribal magician (*inyanga yempi*). As we have seen, the doctoring was an annual rite performed at *ingcubhe*, but in times of war a special treatment was deemed necessary before the start of a campaign or an expected attack.'

pp. 229–230 Bhaca: graves

'Formerly all blankets, sticks, pipes and spears of the dead man were buried with him and grains of maize and kaffir corn were placed in his hands, but no food. . . .

To-day, among the Christians, a man is buried in his oldest clothes, and, if a church member, his membership card is buried with him in the coffin—a passport to paradise. An increasing number of men and women are being buried in a shroud which fits round the body and is gathered at neck and wrists.'

pp. 244–245 Bhaca: doctors

'Initially it is necessary to distinguish two types of "doctor", viz. the herbalist (*inyanga*, Xh. *ixhwele*), and the diviner (*isangoma*, Xh. *igqira*). Both are practitioners in the art of healing and both manipulate medicines to that end. . . . The herbalist is a specialist in medicines. . . . Unlike the diviner, the herbalist does not commune with the shades nor can he divine—although in other respects their functions overlap. Diviners are easily recognized as they invariably dress in white and wear a fringed head-dress of white beads as a mark of their calling. . . . Not everyone can become a diviner. . . . It is interesting that the majority of diviners among the Bhaca are women.'

pp. 256–259 Bhaca: diviners

A description of the initiation and practice of a diviner.

pp. 266–267 Bhaca: herbalists

A description of the practice of a herbalist.

1956–8 Hammond-Tooke (1958*b*) pp. 47–48, 50–53, 59–60, 88 Xhosa: magic, ceremonial

pp. 47–48 Xhosa: birth practices, euphorbia trees

'The birth of a child still involves the observance of traditional customs such as the use by the mother of certain protective medicines and the killing of the ritual imbeleko goat in thanksgiving to the ancestors. The umbilical cord is cut with a sharp piece of grass and the placenta is immediately taken and buried by the midwives (abafukamisi). For the first ten days of its life the Xhosa baby must be passed through the smoke of a fire in which special herbs are burnt to ensure health. Special customs must be observed on the birth of twins as they are believed to be particularly vulnerable. The father plants two euphorbia trees (umhlontlo) on the side of the hut in which they were born. A special relationship is believed to exist between the plants and the twins and in the event of one or both of the former dying it is thought that the twin it represents will also sicken and perhaps die. The euphorbias are watered with the water used for bathing the twins and, when either of the twins is sick, the roots are pounded, mixed with water and used for washing it.'

p. 49 Xhosa: *ubulunga*

'Apart from the passing of the ikhazi or marriage cattle from the family of the groom to that of the bride certain other gifts of cattle are made by the bride's father . . . the inkomo yobulunga is a sacred beast which stands in a special relationship

to the health and well-being of the wife. It is always a cow or a heifer and remains the woman's inalienable property. Its tail hairs are used to make a necklace which is worn to ward off evil.'

p. 50 Xhosa: burial

'Although nowadays a specific area of a location is set aside as a burial ground, the burial of commoners is a comparatively recent development. . . .'

p. 51 Xhosa: burial

'Subsequently it became usual for the owner of a kraal to be buried at the gate of his cattle kraal, in a sitting position in a niche dug to one side of the grave. . . . More and more people, however, are being buried in coffins supplied by the local traders, and in special burial grounds set aside in each location.'

pp. 51–52 Xhosa: initiation

'The Cape Nguni generally are unusual among South African Bantu in that they do not have a system of age regiments into which all adult males, and often females, are organized on the attainment of adulthood. Among the Xhosa tribes, however, initiation into full tribal membership is marked by the circumcision of boys and the performance of a special ceremony for girls. . . . A wealthy or influential kraalhead will take the initiative and build a beehive-shaped lodge (ithonto, iphempe, isuthu) for his son, and other youths of the neighbourhood will make use of it. . . . Wounds are bound with medicinal leaves (Helichrysum pedunculare and H. appendiculatum). . . . At the end of the seclusion period . . . the lodge and the sheepskin karosses worn during the seclusion period are burnt. . . .'

pp. 52–53 Xhosa: girls' initiation

'Girls also must go through a ceremony to mark the change from girlhood to womanhood. . . . Initiation for girls is called intonjane . . . and involves the seclusion of the girl in a hut at her father's homestead for two periods of about ten days each, separated from each other by a couple of days. A mat screen (umkhusane) partitions off the back of the hut and the floor is strewn with rushes and grass. . . . On the tenth day a beast called umtshato is sacrificed to the ancestral spirits. On the final day the grass and rushes are publicly burnt and the end of the seclusion period is marked by the killing of the . . . beast of the burning of the mat, and a special dance of the men (umdulo). In recent years there has been a strong tendency for this ceremony to be dropped and it is now practically obsolete.'

p. 59 Xhosa: first fruits

'The main national religious festival in all these tribes was the annual feast of the first fruits (ulibo) at which the first fruits were ritually tasted and reaping controlled by the chief. This custom has died out in all the tribes of the district.'

p. 59 Xhosa: magic

'Most tribesmen use magical techniques to protect kraals, stock and lands and to safeguard them from lightening and the machinations of enemies.'

pp. 59–60 Xhosa: doctors

'Diagnosis of the origin of illness is in the hands of diviners (amagqira) of whom three types are found among the Xhosa viz. ixakazana (the usual type),

isanusi (specialist consulted when the ixakazana fails) and the itola or war doctor who strengthens the army with his medicines. . . . The class of amaxhwele (herbalists) are experts in medicines who have a large and varied pharmacopoeia but do not divine illness. They supply the charms and medicines for the doctoring of fields, stock and minor ailments.'

p. 60 Xhosa: charms, *ubulunga*

Nothing more.

p. 88 Xhosa: first fruits

'As a Christian, the chief no longer performs the great tribal ceremonies of the first fruits (ulibo) and rainmaking, formerly so important in the politico-economic life of the Xhosa peoples.'

1960 Gitywa (1970) pp. 11, 12, 14–16, 19 Xhosa: initiation

p. 11 Xhosa: bandages

'On the eve of the appointed day of circumcision, the boys fetch . . . the leaf bandages of the *Helichrysum pedunculare, izichwe*. These are hidden. . . . On no account are these items taken home for fear of their being bewitched. . . . During the course of the day, men prepare two strips of skin (sheep) with the hair removed. These strips are the *igqeshu*, a girdle bound round the waist. One end of this is used to hold the penis in a horizontal position; the second is the *ityeba* for binding the leaf bandages around the circumcision wound.'

p. 12 Xhosa: anti-fainting medicine

'After the bandaging each boy is given a piece of antheap, *isiduli* or *isiqalane*, to suck and swallow. . . . The swallowing of the antheap is to prevent the initiate from fainting.'

p. 12 Xhosa: lodge

'After the fortification with antheap, the initiates are led to the lodge, *ibhoma*, where each is shown his place. These sleeping places are kept throughout the period of seclusion.'

p. 12 Xhosa: *ubulunga*

'. . . the initiates had *ubulunga* necklaces with blue beads on . . . the necklace was used as a preventive against illness or the evil designs of sorcerers during the initiates' period of seclusion.'

p. 14 Xhosa: lodge

'A definite ritual boundary is marked by a low thorn fence around the lodge. This is called *intendelezo*, beyond which no women or girls may trespass.'

p. 15 Xhosa: burning of lodge

'The initiates . . . are strictly warned that everything they use has to be left in the lodge to be burnt. The only exception to this are items such as household utensils (pots, water containers etc.) which are taken back home and blankets which the initiates used . . . the boys . . . according to custom, have to wash the blankets at the river before taking them to their homes. Should the washing of the blankets be impossible then it is also acceptable that the blankets be placed on the kraal manure in the cattle pen for the whole day before being taken into the hut.'

p. 16 Xhosa: burning of lodge

Nothing more.

p. 19 Xhosa: instruments

'The institution of circumcision is undergoing gradual but perceptible changes among the Xhosa. . . . The scalpel substitutes the assegai, *umdlanga*; bandages replace the leaves of the *Helichrysum pedunculare*; the various ointments displace the use of the maize-stalk borer as an unguent; there is no lodge to burn, no dramatisation of the "destruction" of the past, hence the epithet when hospital circumcised men are stigmatised: "we do not know where the site of your lodge was". . . .'

(1961) De Lange pp. 86, 87, 89, 90, 100 Xhosa: dolls

p. 86 Xhosa: dolls

'I found on enquiry that the old Bantu women still adhere to and religiously believe in the old customs. One reported to me thus "All these dolls are for the same thing and are called *onomgogwane*. When a little girl plays with ordinary dolls (*onopopu*) all the time, her mother knows it means she will have a large family. But as she grows up she cannot play with these dolls any longer, and the old woman makes her a special little doll (*nomgogwane*) which she wears round her neck so that she will get married and have lots of children and good luck. This she wears until she is about to be married. A big doll is then made for her to carry in her arms and nurse, so that she will have lots of children." An old Galecka woman told me of the dolls, and her story was confirmed by an old Xhosa woman.

Love Dolls

The young girl's dolls are not often made nowadays . . . this practice has all but died out. These are the little dolls which young girls wear around their necks, which could be called "love-dolls", as their first function is to attract a husband, though with the object of having children. . . . One of our specimens was collected in Basutoland, the other two are Xhosa, one being made by a Xhosa woman who was one of Kreli's people. It seems to be a Xhosa custom. . . .

If a young woman of 18 or 20 or even older, through misfortune has not succeeded in marriage, an old woman will give her a doll which the girl is then supposed to hang around her neck when she sleeps at night, or wear beneath her clothing. A string of beads is often specially made attached to the doll so that it can be used as a necklace. . . . If her main reason for wearing the charm is to find a husband, some degree of secrecy is in operation. It would be a matter for shame were it discovered that she was looking for a husband.'

pp. 87, 89 Xhosa, Thembu: dolls

Figures 3, 6.

p. 90 Xhosa: dolls

'This (*intonjane*) is the ancient Nguni fertility rite and established custom; the practice of having a doll may be a recent accretion for it has no effect on tribal life and was not noted by early writers.

Only certain Xhosa tribes have adopted the custom of Bride-Dolls, which is in reality a Basuto custom. . . .'

p. 90 Xhosa: love-dolls

'These love-dolls take various forms. Sometimes there are two dolls together, representing a man and a woman, instead of a single doll. The dolls may be merely symbols of human beings, so abstract as to be almost unrecognisable. . . . It is a fact that sometimes a single doll is worn, while other necklaces have two dolls, evidently not supposed to represent two babies, but rather a man and a girl. . . . The dolls worn openly were the single ones. The double ones seem quite clearly meant to bring a man and a woman together. Specimen 1750 . . . is another double one, and so abstract that were it seen, it would hardly be suspected of representing a man and a woman. This endorses the story that these dolls were kept secret. The custom of the love-doll seems to have a double purpose, and the stress laid on one or the other, determines the form the charm takes. . . .

The lack of information on this custom is probably due to the secretive nature thereof, and the fact that it is not a regularly repeated rite practised by the whole tribe. The fact that it is practised at individual whim, induces one to believe that it is a recent custom, without the full sanction of the tribe.'

p. 100 Xhosa, Xesibe: fertility dolls

'*Calling-the-Baby-Dolls*

These dolls are charms which are very rarely seen today, and are utilised by women who have proven barren. A model of a baby carved out of wood is placed on the roof of her hut by a witch-doctor. They refer to this as "calling-the-baby"— . . . The custom is fast dying out. The specimen in the East London Museum was collected by Dr. Mima Trollip, who attended a woman near Idutywa who for years had been barren. The doll was carved by a friend of the woman's husband, and placed on her hut by a witch-doctor, and was later given to Dr. Trollip for attending her, about 1939. This is a custom which was common among the Xesibe . . . as late as 1944, when three wooden dolls, . . . were seen by Miss M. Courtenay-Latimer on the apices of the owners' huts. These dolls have a very tenuous life, being placed on the hut until the baby arrives, and then burned and buried with the afterbirth and any soiled clothes. . . . It [the doll] is not carried by a bride, and not made before the wedding. It is only made after the woman has proven barren.'

1962 Birch p. 4 Transkei: herbalist's shop

'Mrs White . . . handles more than 100 different varieties of roots alone, and she knows the name and efficacy of each one. Roots are often powdered and combined with four or five other roots for various purposes. . . . Sneezewood roots are powdered and mixed with water and rubbed on the faces of young babies to prevent them getting sunburnt and to improve their complexion.'

(1963) Thelejane pp. 34, 35 Mpondo: rain-making

p. 34 Mpondo: medicines, chief's clothing, insignia

'The relevant chief . . . on knowing when *khonga* will be held, had to prepare himself by washing with his medicines of chieftainship (*izihlambezo*), "and prepare

his sticks" (*ilungise iintonga zayo*) for the occasion. On the day of *khonga* the chief had to wear his traditional blanket of authority, which was made of skins of leopards or other skins decorated by strips of leopard skin, and carry his special stick.'

p. 34 Mpondo: dress at rain-making

'The people are supposed to wear old, dirty clothes and carry the special sticks of peace (*iintonga zoxolo*). These sticks are the ones usually kept with the assegais, and when men go to a feast they carry them and smear them with fat after eating the meat.'

p. 35 Mpondo: dress at rain-making

'The people show their displeasure at what the ancestors have allowed to continue by clothing themselves in old, dirty clothes, as they do when they go to war, and also to show the ancestors that if drought continues there will be poverty and because of that they will look shabby.'

1963 De Jager p. 294 Xhosa: charms

'They distinguish: (a) *Ikhubalo* (pl. *amakhubalo*) a magical material which is worn or chewed but never mixed with water and drunk. (b) *Intsizi* or *Iyeza*—magical material charred and/or ground before use. Both may or may not be therapeutic in action.'

1966 Stagg p. 9 Transkei: medicine store, circumcision

p. 9 Transkei: medicine store

(Popular account of medicines on sale:) 'The scene was a Transkei "medicine" store . . . there were long shelves packed with an enormous assortment of bottle, boxes and containers.'

p. 9 Xhosa: circumcision

'Instead of a collision between two worlds, one often sees two ways of life blending quite happily, to the benefit of all . . . a medical doctor in Umtata . . . told me of the new trend in the age-old Xhosa initiation ritual for youths. These boys, on reaching manhood, . . . undergo circumcision at the hands of an elder . . . the result is often infection leading to grave illness, and sometimes death. . . . In increasing numbers, the boys are now brought to hospital for the actual surgery which is done under modern and aseptic conditions. They are then restored to their people for completion of the initiation ceremonies.'

1968 Holt (1969) pp. 92–96, 100, 104, 112, 117, 120, 121, 126, 155, 256, 276 Tshezi: initiation

p. 92 Tshezi: initiation

'Male initiation rites take place between the ages of about 17 and 24 . . . circumcision has tended to be neglected or deliberately avoided in recent years.'

pp. 93–96 Tshezi: initiation lodge

'The lodge (*ithonto*) is built near his [the head of the lodge's] homestead, where he can keep his eye on them. . . . One suddenly heard voices . . . and traced the sounds to a row of women . . . with long bundles of grass on their heads. They

were effusively joyous, dancing, pirouetting and shouting . . . their men-folk [were] busy building the framework of a lodge for them to thatch.'

(There follows a full description of the making of the hut.)

p. 100 Tshezi: bandage

'. . . the leaves of a plant called *indlebevu*.' (Note: '. . . a species of *Helichrysum*. . . .') '. . . These were wrapped . . . around the wound and tied on with black braid (*ichele*) bought in a trading store. In the olden days sinews of oxen were used, or strips of goat- or sheep-skin.' (Note: '[or] with an *ityeba*, or long strip from inside the bark of an *umthombe* tree (. . . *Ficus natalensis*).')

pl. 111 Tshezi: initiation hut, penis-sheath

Photographs.

p. 104 Tshezi: sticks for eating

'Until their wounds are healed . . . they must not eat with their hands, but be given the meat by their attendants at the end of little pointed sticks. The *iinkobe* maize they can pick up themselves, but with calabash spoons and not with their fingers. . . .'

p. 112 Tshezi: burning of lodge

'As soon as they have gone a short way, some men set fire to the lodge. All their old possessions—blankets, sticks and the like—are consumed in a huge bonfire of fierce flames. The novices may be told to sit down with their backs to it, ... I never on any occasion saw one of the novices look back. It is said that if one did he would become feeble-minded.'

pp. 117–131 Tshezi: girl's initiation

Description of girl's initiation.

p. 120 Tshezi: seclusion

'The novice should remain secluded in her hut for more than two months . . . one may . . . see novices with babies sitting behind the screen.'

p. 121 Tshezi: bleaching of skin

'This long-continued existence in darkness, coupled with daily ablutions in water infused with the roots of "Tambookie grass" induces such a bleaching of the skin as I should never have believed possible. . . .'

p. 121, pl. VI Tshezi: girls' initiation

'The novice's food is prepared for her in her hut. She may not eat it in her hands, but must pick it up with a pointed stick or spoon.'

p. 126 Tshezi: gall bladder

'While the *intsonyama* [sacrificial ox] is being roasted, the gall bladder is brought behind the screen and part of its contents are poured on her head as she kneels . . . on her palms . . . chest . . . on her feet.'

p. 155 Tshezi: *ubulunga*

'Next day Noyise's [the bride's] people plucked hairs from the tail brush of the cow . . . and put them round her neck.'

p. 256 Tshezi: burial

'In digging a grave to-day the old custom of making a recess in one side to receive the body is not often followed. Instead, when the grave is deep enough,

a further narrower excavation of just the right size to receive a coffin is made in the bottom of the grave, leaving a shoulder of ground on each side. Into this excavation the body is lowered. Across the top of it, resting on the shoulders of ground, are placed short lengths of poles, and these are covered with sods of earth. . . . The deceased's mat is placed in the grave for his body to lie on. [If a coffin is used] his mat is spread on top of the sods resting on the cross-poles.'

pp. 276–309 Tshezi: diviners

Description of roles of diviners, their training and initiation.

1970 Elliott pp. 50, 57, 83–85, 90–92, 106–107, 115, 118, 124 Xhosa: practices

p. 50 Xhosa: *ubulunga*

'Every married woman has such a cow and its purpose is to provide hairs from its tail for magic necklaces for its owner. The hairs are plucked from the cow's tail (they may not be cut) in the early light of day and they are bound into necklaces, which fan out around the wearer's neck and give her strong magic protection against sickness and keep away evil spirits.

The cow of the home is never sold and must stay with its owner all its life. . . . When the original cow gets old, one of its heifer calves is set aside to take her place. Then the old animal is killed and eaten by the family and their guests on the same day.'

p. 57 Xhosa: charms

'The young mother at this stage wears a necklace of small round lengths of root as thick as her small finger and nearly as long. Each piece is similarly painted white with clay or chalk. . . . At the same time she wears another necklace made from the tail brush of her "cow of the home". . . . Her baby . . . also wears a tiny necklace or arm band of hair but, in its case, the hair comes from the brush of the father's cow.

In some Xhosa circles these "healing" necklaces are said to be worn only on instructions from a witch-doctor, but the people that I have questioned in the Ciskei say that their women wear them of their own accord whenever necessary for the sake of their health.'

pp. 83–95 Xhosa: initiation

A description of the ceremony.

pp. 83–84 Xhosa: *ubulunga*

'. . . each candidate . . . is given a necklace made of the tailbrush of his father's "cow of the home".'

p. 84 Xhosa: spear for circumcision

Nothing more.

p. 85 Xhosa: bandages

Nothing more.

p. 85 Xhosa: antheap against dizziness

Nothing more.

pp. 90–91 Xhosa: sticks, blankets, burning of hut

Photographs.

p. 92 Xhosa: sticks

'. . . from the straw on the inside of the hut, four knobkerries blackened by months of smoke were taken and put with the blankets. These sticks are of special significance and form part of their introduction to their new status in life.'

pp. 106–107 Xhosa: practitioners

Nothing more.

p. 107 Xhosa: euphorbia trees

Figure.

p. 115 Xhosa: practitioners

Nothing more.

p. 118 Xhosa: divination

'The second type of diviner is the one who has a collection of bones, skulls, skins and other media with which he works. He has a special hut in which he keeps them and which he uses for his divining . . . a diviner in the Komgha area . . . who works in this fashion . . . arranged a collection of monkey, baboon and wild cat skulls and bones, small pieces of animal fur and many other strange items all round him on the floor of his hut. Then he jabbed an assegai into the ground in their midst, and while it stood there quivering, the diviner talked to the things and asked them all that he wanted to know. Apparently the direction in which the assegai shook indicated which of the bones or other items would answer him. As soon as the assegai stopped moving, the witch-doctor became silent and went into a trance while the bones "answered him" and gave him the message of the ancestral spirits.'

p. 129 Xhosa: burial

'The only member of a family who has a specific place of burial is the head. He is buried under the brush at the back of the cattle byre from where he can watch over the cattle in the byre and also over the homestead. An alternative position is on the right hand side of the byre, but towards the back, as it is faced from the gateway. The brushes of the fence are removed for the grave to be dug and are put back in place on top of the grave on the day after the burial. . . . Other members of a family are buried anywhere in the veld, "it does not matter where".

The tribal way of burial is for the corpse to be wrapped in a blanket and placed in a recessed shelf at the side in the bottom of a grave about four feet deep. Then sticks and stones are placed across the opening of the recess to stop the earth from filling it in. As the grave is filled, thorns are thrown in to prevent wild animals from digging and witches from tampering with the body for nefarious purposes. . . .

It is perhaps of interest to note here that in the old days the Xhosa did not bury their dead. It was only in about the year 1818 that a prophet by the name of Makana, who built up a considerable reputation for his magical powers, decreed that from that time forth the dead should be buried. Those who disobeyed this law, he said, would incur the wrath of the spirits. The custom caught on quickly and soon became general practice.'

(1970) Gitywa p. 11 — Xhosa: bandages
Nothing more.

(1974) Kruger pp. 37, 40 — Xhosa: divination, burial
p. 37 — Xhosa: diviners
Nothing more.
p. 40 — Xhosa: burial
Nothing more.

(1975) Hammond-Tooke pp. 17, 18, 43 — Cape Nguni: initiation
p. 17 — General: girls' initiation
Nothing more.
p. 18 — Bhaca, Xesibe, Mpondo: circumcision
'Male initiation, involving circumcision, seems to have been universal formerly but is no longer performed by Bhaca, Xesibe and Mpondo.'
p. 43 — Mpondomise: initiation
'The Mpondomise. . . . Although they are ultimately of Mpondo stock, . . . circumcision is performed according to the Xhosa rite (but without the spectacular dances at which the initiates dress in grass skirts and masks) and many of the dances are in the Thembu style.'

(1976) Davison pp. 81–83, 85, 143 — Cape Nguni: medical use of horns, ivory
pp. 81–82, fig 1. — Cape Nguni: cupping horns
Nothing more.
p. 82 — Cape Nguni: enema
Nothing more.
pp. 82–83 — Cape Nguni: medicine flasks
Nothing more.
p. 85 — Cape Nguni: charms
Nothing more.
p. 143, fig. 55 — Cape Nguni: medicine flask
Figure.

(1976) Broster pp. 4–5, pl. between pp. 10–11, pp. 36–50, 56, 92–108 — Thembu: religious, medical practice
p. 4 — Thembu: girl's initiation
Nothing more.
pp. 4–5 — Thembu: child's necklace
'From a few months old and upwards children are received into the Qaba faith. . . . The child's face, body and limbs are painted with red ochre. . . . After all have feasted, the father of the child addresses the guests. He says, "I now offer the beads. May the child be healthy and prosper!". . . .

The host approaches the men first and then the women. He gives each guest two small white beads. Each one receives, and returns the beads with the word "*Camagu*". When all the beads have been given and returned the man takes the

beads to his wife. She immediately threads a simple necklace of knotted beads and fastens it on the child. Then only, may mother and child meet the guests.'

pl. between pp. 10–11 fig. 40 Thembu: fertility dolls

Photograph of 'doll necklaces'.

p. 36 Thembu: doctoring of seed

'In association with the girls of the *umtshotsho* [teenagers], the girls of the *intlombe* [young people] participate in two further ceremonies related to the crops. The first is known as *nqoloqho*. . . . Prior to sowing . . . a committee is elected, a choice made of the *ixhwele*' (Note: 'A herbalist.') 'whose medicine is to "doctor" the fields and the girls are notified.

The committee delegates three men to collect one seed of every type sown and to take these to the *ixhwele*. . . . The *ixhwele* grinds these and mixes them with a magic powder which has the power to protect the crops from insect pests, particularly the maize stalk borer. The men are instructed to sprinkle the powder at a certain time and place.'

pp. 36–37 Thembu: herbalist

Nothing more.

p. 37 Thembu: protecting the crops

'When the mealies are 45 cm high the girls of the *ngoloqho* [*sic*] are summoned to assemble. They are required to sing and dance around each mealie field.'

p. 38 Thembu: first fruits

'In March, as the first mealies ripen in the fields, the committee again summons the girls. . . . Within a short period the first crop of mealies and pumpkins is collected and the girls of *umtshotsho* and *intlombe* celebrate *ulibo* (the first fruits). . . . From every field around which they dance the girls are given gifts. Each afternoon . . . pumpkins, melons and mealies . . . are prepared in a special manner . . . it is taboo for the men of the tribe to partake of the first fruits.'

p. 39 Thembu: girl's initiation

'In this ritual the girl is placed in seclusion behind a grass mat. The ceremony lasts a month. During this period the girl undergoing initiation is never addressed by her own name but as *I-ntonjane*, or Chrysalis.'

pp. 39–50 Thembu: girl's initiation

Description of the ceremonies.

p. 45 Thembu: fertility necklace

'During the feast Nozoleka is adorned with a fertility doll necklace. It is made of a tiny bottle covered in green or yellow beads and is worn to ensure fertility.'

p. 56 Thembu: *ubulunga*

'These two animals must accompany the bride when she sets out, the cow is called the *ubulunga* or "beast of correctness". . . . From the tail of this animal Nomvuyo will pluck hairs to make herself a protective or charm necklace. Her children will also wear these *ubulunga* necklaces.'

pp. 92–108 Thembu: diviners

Discussion of profession of 'witch-doctor'.

pp. 93–94 Thembu: medicine bag, medicines, implements

'. . . in cases of serious illness a witchdoctress or witchdoctor is summoned. Accompanied by a retinue of students he or she arrives carrying a medicine bag made of the entire pelt of a monkey. . . . The medicines—seeds, dried leaves, herbs, bits of roots and bark and animal tissue are unpacked and laid on the floor next to a large flat stone which has been placed in readiness by the hostess. . . . After a discussion the illness is diagnosed and the witchdoctress . . . selects her medicine and grinds it on the stone. A handful of this powder is placed in a can of water. Then the doctor takes a forked stick and . . . rotates it rapidly in the can, frothing the liquid. Meanwhile the acolytes have kindled a fire in the hut and the medicine is infused. When it has cooled a bottle is filled and thereafter the patient receives two doses daily.'

p. 96 Thembu: charm necklace

'A great variety of charm necklaces made of animal teeth, porcupine quills, sea shells, bones and animal hair are worn [by doctors].'

pp. 105–106 Thembu: planting, harvest

'The three dances which the witchdoctors arrange over New Year, harvest and spring are joint affairs.'

(1977) Sobahle pp. 272, 273, 289 Xhosa: ritual significance of white beads

p. 272 Xhosa: diviners' beads

'With the introduction of beads and beadwork into Xhosa culture, the diviners . . . chose white beads matching the white ochre. They believed that white beads had cleansing and purifying powers called *inkanyiso*. The beads are supposed to appease the ancestors when offered to them, ... The beads are also used when the diviners make offerings to the river spirits, *abantu bomlambo*.'

p. 272 Xhosa: white beads in ritual for baby

'The beads replaced the medicine as *Icamagu*. instead the officiator would say 'camagu' as he gave out the beads to the people present. These were then collected, threaded, and worn by the baby round his neck.'

p. 273 Xhosa: beads at sacrifice

'Again, the white beads replaced the traditional medicine. They are threaded on to a sinew, *usinga*, and worn round the neck of the family head. . . . In all of the above rituals only pure white beads (*intsimbi emhlophe*) are used, as only white beads feature in all religious activities . . . as they believe that, together with the white ochre, these beads signify *inkanyiso*, from the ancestors.'

p. 289 Xhosa: decline of beadwork

'Today, it is evident to anyone that beadwork is fast disappearing. This decline is not only evident in the social sphere but also in the religious sphere, where it could be said bead-wearing was backed by the ancestors.'

MEDICINE, MAGIC AND RELIGION: TERMS

incakuba, isicaguba, icaguba 1. *incakuba* (Em) small sharp instrument for letting blood, D; lancet for making incisions for medicine, X Mp. 2. *isicaguba*, nD;

hlonipha for knife or something sharp, Bo. 3. *icaguba*, nD; lancet for incising face (Bh–Hammond-Tooke 1955*b*) **996** (917)

ingadla 1. lancet, D. 2. long thin rod of iron, flattened at end, which is whetted to a transverse edge, used as lancet or to incise ornamental marks on skin, Mp **997**

isilumeko (from *-lumeka* to cup) 1. cupping horn, Bh. Not generally used because they say *uphondo lokulumeka* if horn, D Xes T, *iselwa lokulumeka* if a calabash, T **998**

uphondo 1. horn, tusk of elephant, D, general. 2. horn as trumpet (Mp–Lichtenstein 1811 *phôndo*). 3. *uphondo lokucima* (from *-cima* give an enema) enema horn, Mp. 4. *uphondo lweyeza* medicine horn, Bh, general **999** (264, 1016, 1058)

iceba 1. chip, split, D; splinter (X–McLaren 1915). 2. piece of split wood, also if used as splint for broken limb, T Mp **1000**

ubengu 1. (a) white rind of the stalk of 'Kafircorn' or sweet cane, (b) piece of sharpened cane used by midwives for dividing the umbilical cord, D. 2. cane knife (X–McLaren 1915) (i.e. 'knife of cane'). 3. sliver of sugar-cane bark, as pulled off with teeth when chewing cane, or similar strip of bamboo or cane or reed, broken or cut off, general. (Note: 1 (b) is thus merely a special meaning. Cf. also Venda *lumengu* sliver of sugar-cane rind, clearly of same origin and all derived from *-benga*, see 754 *ubengo*) **1001**

ikhubalo, commonly also in pl. *amakhubalo* (from a verb not found in X, but cf. Sotho *-gobala*, Venda *-huvhala* get injured, which are equivalent forms, and indicate a concept of physical detriment and hence of protection against danger) 1. generic term for various roots used as ornaments and charms, which were tied up in a blanket or strung up as a necklace, to ward off evil or secure good, D. 2. wooden beads used as charm (Bo–Cook 1931). 3. wooden beads (Mzamane). 4. actually the modern meaning, which is probably the old one also, is that of charms worn by nursing mothers to protect their infants. Made of slices of root strung on necklace, or doctored bits of white wood or other substitutes for the real thing **1002**

isinyango (from *-nyanga* heal by means of medicines, charms; charm) 1. charm worn on the body to ward off evil or to secure some good, D. 2. not confirmed **1003**

isisukulo 1. charm to procure increase of cattle or an abundant crop, D. 2. the generic term for this class of charm (X–Soga) **1004**

iyeza medicine in the widest sense of the term, D **1005**

ubulunga small portion of hair plucked from tail brush of cattle, signifying a state of right, property or ownership in such animal, fastened round the neck or arm of young person, to cheer up, D X Mp, general **1006**

umthi tree, shrub, herb, plant, hence medicine, D, general **1007**

umthombothi sandalwood (*Excoecaria africana* Mull. (now *Spirostachys africana*

Sond.)), a hard scented wood, used as a perfume, pieces of which are worn on a string round the neck, D X **1008** (178, 850)

ithambo 1. bone, D. 2. a small white bead generally worn by Kafirs, and so named because it resembles bone in its substance, D. 3. *tamboo*, the most valuable bead (X–Steedman). 4. pl. *amathambo* divining bones (modern) **1009** (145, 263, 285)

indawule (the phonological equivalent of Sotho *taola* divining die, and perhaps derived from it) 1. (Em) bones of different animals thrown, similarly to dice, by witch-doctors to aid them in foretelling the fortune or misfortune of a man or war party, or in discovering lost property, D (T–Makalima). 2. used in East Griqualand according to X. 3. not known, X Mp. 4. in his monograph, Kropf (1889*a*) gives this name to necklace talisman of leopard's teeth, beads, and pieces of root **1010**

itshoba 1. bushy end of an animal's tail, tassel, D. 2. fly-whisk (whereas *umtshoba* on animal), whisk for sprinkling medicine, general. 3. ox-tail hair, Fgo X. 4. cow-tail hair used as ornament on basketwork, Mpm **1011** (220, 957)

isigubu 1. bowl out of which beer is drunk, D. 2. wide-mouthed calabash, medium-sized, diameter 15–20 cm, for salt and other dry substances, as seed, Mp. 3. large calabash for beer, Mp. 4. calabash for beer, obsolete. 5. calabash wash-basin, X. 6. calabash not used for milk, Xes Bh. 7. beaded gourd for holding medicinal water (T–Louw 1964) **1012** (563)

ixhayi 1. short jutting branch (on hut pillar) left for use as peg to hang things on, D X Mp Xes. 2. rack made of wood for suspending a gun, D. 3. upright poles of skin-dressing frame, Bo Bh. 4. stirrer for medicines, twirled between palms of hands, to stir medicines or for boys to stir up beestings, Bo X Mp **1013** (88, 254)

umcephe half a calabash, used as a ladle, for drawing water, milk, beer, D, general except Bh **1014** (153, 567)

umhlanti 1. witch-doctor's medicine bag, D. 2. any old bag, X Mp. 3. bag of skin, known to T as an Mp word **1015**

uphondo 1. horn, tusk of elephant, D, general. 2. horn as trumpet (Mp–Lichtenstein 1811 *phôndo*). 3. *uphondo lokucima* (from *-cima* give an enema) enema horn, Mp. 4. *uphondo lweyeza* medicine horn, Bh, general **1016** (264, 999, 1058)

isivivane heap of stones thrown together by travellers at certain steep and dangerous passes on difficult and tiring journey. Traveller adds a stone and prays for strength, D X Mp, general **1017**

ibhoma 1. nD. 2. hut for *abakhwetha*, Mp T **1018** (182)

iphempe 1. small temporary hut in garden to afford protection to those who work there, D, mostly crop-watcher's shelter, general. 2. also shelter for herd-boys in bad weather, Bo. 3. circumcision hut, Bo Xes Hlu **1019** (30)

isuthu the company, club, or kraal of the circumcised youth, D, i.e. hut for *abakhwetha*, general **1020**

ithonto 1. small enclosure containing two euphorbia trees, indicating that twins have been born at the adjoining kraal, D. 2. circumcision hut of *abakhwetha*, X (Bo–Cook 1931, X–Soga), miscellaneous informants **1021**

isikhwetha 1. place with one or two huts, removed from the community and reserved for *abakhwetha* (X–, Fgo–Schweiger), T. 2. huts and cattle kraal of the circumcised (X–Nauhaus 1929). 3. language used by *abakhwetha* during period of seclusion, D T **1022**

izichwe (pl.) *Helichrysum pedunculare* DC., a medicinal herb used for inflammation in a wound, especially to heal circumcised boys, D (Bo–Cook 1931) **1023**

isiqutsi 1. nD. 2. *Helichrysum pedunculare*, leaves used for dressing circumcision wounds (X–, Fgo–Watt & Breyer-Brandwijk) **1024**

iqonga 1. elevated place for storing fruit, corn, etc.; store, shelf, D, general, for various purposes, as rack for sticks, firewood, platform on poles built in fields for crop-watchers. 2. rough bedstead of sticks made and used by healed *abakhwetha* (Bo–Cook 1931) **1025** (86, 109, 323, 505)

umdlanga 1. nD. 2. spear used for circumcision, X Mp **1026**

igumbi (from *-gumba* carve, scoop out wood) 1. corner or room, recess, antechamber immediately at the entrance of a house, D. 2. part of hut on each side of the entrance inside; part nearest wall all round inside of hut, general. 3. recess in wall, recessed sides of grain pit, recess in grave to take the body, general **1028** (70)

ingcwaba (from *-ngcwaba* bury; X pron. *inchwaba*, *-nchwaba*) grave, D, general (but it seems likely that this word was either coined or given vogue by missionary objection to *idlaka*, which had heathen connotations of rites, medicines, etc.) **1029**

ithinta 1. nD. 2. grave, Mp **1030**

idlaka the grave with the corpse and all the relics (clothes, saddle, pipe, bag, etc.) of a man who has died, D. (This is none too clear. It is the original word and has come back into use nowadays but it is disliked by many Christians) **1031**

MEDICINE, MAGIC AND RELIGION: DISCUSSION

While the existence of a Supreme Being is recognized, the centre of Cape Nguni spiritual life is the belief in the continued existence of the spirits of the ancestors and in their ability to influence affairs on earth. This belief frequently required the sacrificial slaughter and eating of cattle or goats. It did not, however, involve the making of images or of any material objects where the ancestral spirits might reside.

The interpretation of the wishes of the ancestors or the identification of the activities of other spirits, the diagnosis of illness, and the decisions about the measures to be taken is the work of specialists.

The practitioners in these fields are of two sorts, the herbalist, *ixhwele* (Bhaca *inyanga*), who administers herbs that are known generally or only to him- or herself to be useful in specific complaints, and the diviner, the 'witchdoctor' of the literature, *igqira* (Bhaca *isangoma*), who is as much concerned with prevention as with cure, and attempts both by magical means. Diviners are able to smell out evil-doers. It is they who communicate with the ancestral spirits and they perform religious functions. Herbalists may be said to belong to a profession that any ordinary person may practise after an apprenticeship, and diviners to follow a vocation to which people feel a supernatural call and into which they are first apprenticed and finally ceremonially initiated. Both will treat crops and stock as well as people. Sometimes both are combined in one person, but in each there are specialists in various branches, for example, in former times the Xhosa *itola*, a diviner who treated the army for war. Both men and women practise both professions.

Master diviners may provide special huts for their apprentices to live in. Some of these seen in 1971 resembled the *khwetha* huts—the old *ungquphantsi*.

DIVINATION

The Cape Nguni method of divination, and this is true of the immigrant peoples as well, was by 'smelling-out' and there was a good deal of individuality in the method used. It might, as in the more spectacular public cases of old, be by the inspired utterances of the diviner himself, without material aids or in trance, or he might use a stick, which in his hands suddenly manifested special powers, to identify the wrongdoer. Another method, first recorded by Smith or Ayliff, and still until recently practised, was to listen to the voices of the spirits in a calabash, or to fill the calabash with water and watch the behaviour of the water when the names of suspected persons were recited. Among the Thembu the smelling-out was sometimes commenced by stabbing a spear into the ground to bring down the spirits of the ancestors to help in the divination. A recent variation of this, practised by Xhosa, was to spread divining bones, then bring the spear down into their midst. The diviner then watched the behaviour of the spear when he spoke to the bones, and in trance received their answers.

Divination by throwing the bones was not a true feature of Cape Nguni culture. The first mention in the literature is after 1850, when the bones were seen amongst an immigrant Sotho group, and it is likely to have been by immigrants or itinerant diviners from outside that the practice was introduced. Kropf, in his work on the Xhosa, gives the name *indawule* to leopard's teeth, which were made into necklace charms by doctors and supplied to individuals, and also used for divining by the doctors themselves. But he records the use of the bones in another article and in his Dictionary confines the term *indawule* to them. He and Fritsch give the impression that sets were carried by ordinary individuals and consulted by them. The set described was the same as the Southern Sotho set, as is a set in the British Museum (BM +847) acquired in 1878 and described as 'Kaffir Daula'. Hence some authors have concluded that the practice was introduced directly from Lesotho,

and the term *indawule* is obviously derived from the Southern Sotho *taola*.

The basis of divination through bones, as practised amongst Sotho and others, is that the set represents the society and the totemic groups within it. Since totemism is not part of the Nguni social order this type of divination could have no valid function among them. The method is likely to have come in as a new-fangled thing that caught the imagination and brought profit to its practitioners.

The set consisted of a few vertebrae of small animals, plus the main bones, which were two flat pieces of horn, about 5 to 6 cm long and having marks incised on one face, and two buck hoofs. Practitioners added other bones and objects to suit themselves. The bones were kept in a leather bag or a calabash.

The fact that from the middle of the nineteenth century, when it was first noted, references are few and scanty compared with the full accounts of other methods of divination, suggests that this method took some time to spread. Hlubi informants a century later described it as a new thing. Latterly divining bones have become well known though not universal among Cape Nguni, and the bones, *amathambo*, are still thrown there by some practitioners—secretly, since it is illegal.

One of the methods of procedure in private consultations with a doctor, is for the consulting party to beat with sticks on the dry oxhide that serves as a drum, while they reply to the doctor's questions. When he is on the right track they beat more loudly. A variation of this is to clap with the hands. Bomvana and Xhosa consulting parties carry sticks (*iminqayi*) from their home, which sticks are kept for this purpose, but in actual consultation they use the hand-clapping method.

MEDICAL INSTRUMENTS

There were several instruments used by herbalists and diviners.

A thin iron awl (*isilanda*) was used for many purposes, amongst others for the extraction of teeth.

An iron instrument used as a lancet (*ingadla, incakuba*) is described as small and chisel-shaped with a sharp cutting edge. It was used to make cuts in the flesh to let blood, either alone or with the aid of a cupping horn, or for the purpose of rubbing in powders, or for amputation, if any. Mpondo informants denied that amputations were attempted.

According to the Dictionary the knife used by midwives for severing the umbilical cord was a sharpened piece of cane, *ubengu*. This was recorded as used by Xhosa and Bhaca, though the earlier Xhosa and Fingo tradition was said to have been a sharp stone flake (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981, pl. 59: 4). According to Hammond-Tooke, the Bhaca considered that the use of a metal knife for this purpose would cause excessive bleeding.

A different instrument was used for circumcision, which was performed with the sharp blade of a spear, or it is said, in earlier times, a sharp stone.

The cupping instrument was most commonly a short piece of cowhorn, *uphondo lokulumeka*, Bhaca *isilumeko* (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981, pl. 59: 2), about 15 cm long, with the tip cut off so that it could be open at both ends, but

with a blob of wax at the tip so that it could be closed if necessary. Alternatively a small calabash, *iselwa lokulumeka*, might be used, with base and top cut off for openings, and with wax at the top. The method of cupping was first to cut the skin in the desired spot with a lancet, or to abrade it with a rough stone. The horn or calabash was then placed in position with the wide opening pressed firmly down on the flesh to keep out the air. Xesibe suggested damping the skin so that the horn would stick. Finally the practitioner sucked through the small end until it was considered that sufficient blood had flowed. Alternatively, after the bleeding had commenced and a vacuum been obtained by sucking, the hole might be stopped with the wax held ready in the mouth and applied with the tongue, and the horn left to continue the bleeding for a while. Informants stated that a later method was to have an instrument without a hole at the top, and to create a vacuum by lighting a small piece of paper in the horn or calabash, and allowing it to burn out after the instrument had been placed on the skin. A diviner might search the blood for foreign bodies.

The use of a large ox-horn, *uphondo lokucima*, with the tip cut off so as to be open at each end, to administer an enema, appears to be general.

Makalima alone describes the use for fractured limbs of wooden splints, bound on with leather. In 1955 Xhosa and Hlubi informants said that they used splints, and Thembu and Mpondo informants knew the term *iceba* for a splint. Dr Tom Walker of Mqanduli (pers. comm.) confirmed the use of wooden splints, tied on with bark.

MEDICINES (*amayeza*)

The word 'medicine' is used here to include all the material objects by means of which an attempt is made to influence the health and well-being of people, animals and things, for good or bad. Some are of purely magical value—talismans to promote good fortune or charms to guard against evil, especially witchcraft. Others are medicines, often of real therapeutic value to cure bodily or spiritual ills, including purification after certain conditions. Some may be used in each capacity by different practitioners, others are a bit of each in one. It would be difficult to say how much differentiation there is in the mind of the patient.

Because they are so often made of wood or herbs, the word for plant, *umthi*, is also used for medicine, but the generic term is *iyeza*.

It is not appropriate to try to give here the whole therapeutic and magical pharmacopoeia of the Cape Nguni, which is in itself a specialist study, but there are certain well-known objects, or classes of object, that are universal in the area, and may be mentioned.

Many of the talismans for good fortune in specific activities are worn round the neck, often incorporated with other objects into a necklace, or they may be hidden in the clothing. The majority are of wood or root and at critical moments a bit may be chewed and spat all round—for example, the war talismans and charms, which were prepared by the chief's diviner and either sold or issued to each warrior. It is recorded that Makana, in 1850, used little sticks of *Plumbago capensis*. Medicines, *izisukulo*, for ensuring the success of the crop or the health and

increase of the herd are, respectively, mixed with the seed or buried round or scattered over or burnt on the field, or in the cattle kraal. Sometimes the field charms are plants, which are planted among the crops or at the edge of the land. Formerly a practitioner was called in at the building of a new homestead, to plant medicated pegs, but this is rarely done now. According to De Jager, all these are the true *amakhubalo*, in Xhosa usage.

If the people of this area ever owned or used fertility dolls for the promotion of child-bearing as is common in other parts of southern Africa, it has been a very well-kept secret. There is no term in the vernacular and the earliest mention of such a doll in the literature is Cunynghame's report of the period 1874–8. The doll he describes resembles those of the Southern Sotho. The South African Museum has a single authenticated specimen (SAM–986) from the Fingo of the Herschel district, where Southern Sotho influence is strong. Again, Duggan-Cronin's photograph of young Hlubi women with beaded wooden fertility dolls comes from near the Lesotho border.

The only other references in the literature are later. Two 'dolls' in the East London Museum were described by De Lange's informants in 1961 as a 'love doll' and a 'bride (or fertility) doll' respectively. The love doll (EL 1365) is Xhosa, consists of a pair, male and female, entirely of beadwork over a wooden base. It could be attached to a necklet and was worn or carried before marriage and secretly, to ensure getting a husband and 'lots of children'. The bride doll (EL 3206) is thought to be Thembu and shows obvious Southern Sotho influence. The base is cloth, which is entirely covered with beadwork and the doll is attached to a necklace. It was worn or carried after marriage to ensure the birth of children. Both dolls are small—13 and 16 cm respectively. Ornaments of this type and of similar purpose are, according to Broster, also worn by the Qwathi.

A third type of doll was noted by De Lange, and said to have been used by Xesibe as well as Xhosa. It was carved out of wood in the shape of a baby, and placed on the roof of the hut of a woman who had not yet conceived. When a baby was born the doll was burnt and buried.

It seems likely that all these instances would have been the result of fairly recent contact with Southern Sotho.

Other *amakhubalo* are the protective charms, which are also most frequently worn round the neck, as part of a necklace. This is particularly so for charms worn

PLATE 117

Medicine flasks, stirrer and charm.

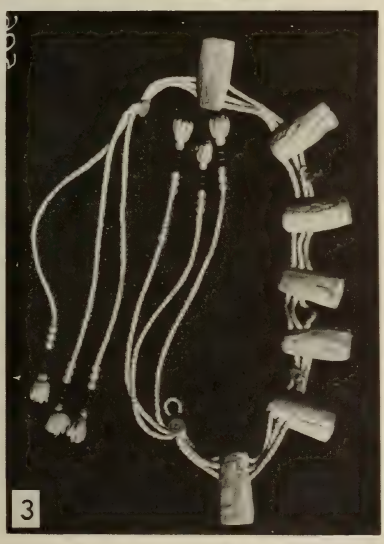
1. Gourd medicine flask, diameter 90 mm, Fingo; Peddie, 1939 (SAM, Jeffreys collection J2).
2. *ixhayi*, stirrer for medicines, 368 mm; no data (KM).
3. *ikhubalo*, necklace of pieces of root, worn as charm, no scale, Gcaleka; Qwaninga, Willowvale, 1948.
4. Horn medicine flask, *c.* 180 mm, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt. Frere, 1948.



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by nursing mothers for the good of their babies (Pls 94: 2; 117: 3; 118: 2). These latter charms are frequently bits of root or wood, and may be chewed from time to time. Sometimes the wood is made into beads. A wood much favoured is sandalwood, *umthombothi*. It is safe to say that all necklaces containing wood are charms. Shells, especially *Nerita* sp., *ingcogo*, and other objects may be so used. Sticks, generally of a special wood, particularly plumbago, *umabophe*, and in the form of pegs, are often rubbed with medicine, and issued as charms, particularly for huts and homesteads, to ward off lightning and other evils. In the west of the area, a plant, *Gasteria* sp., is frequently grown in the thatch of the hut roof to ward off lightning.

Protective charms may also be attached to clothing or to other ornaments, or hung in the hut. According to the Dictionary and the Bomvana, the generic term is *ikhubalo*, but it is not certain that that term is used specifically everywhere.

Lightning was considered to be a supernatural visitation from the lightning bird, and measures were taken to ward it off by medicines. When it struck, however, the place and all persons connected with it had to be purified. Persons or animals killed were buried, even before burial was universal, and a hut was broken down completely, and sometimes carefully fenced round to enclose the evil. According to an unconfirmed report of a Xhosa woman who visited Genadendal in 1811, it was Xhosa custom to put up, at the spot where the lightning struck, a high pole on which people hung their beads and ornaments. Xhosa and Bomvana killed a beast or a goat for a burnt offering but the Mpondo, in modern times at least, said this was not necessary. According to MacDonald, in about 1880, the skull of an animal so sacrificed would be put on the roof of 'the hut'. Except among Christians, the same preventive and purificatory measures are taken today.

One specific charm that is both protective and curative, is the *ubulunga*, which is known to all Cape Nguni proper (Pl. 118: 1, 3, 4). This is a necklace made of hairs plucked from the tail of one of a number of cattle that are specially set aside. There are one or more such cows in each family, and on her marriage a woman takes one with her as a gift from her father. This cow, however, though under the control of her husband, remains the property of herself and her family and supplies the necklaces for herself and her children. It may not be sold. There are certain fixed occasions, apparently the same among all Cape Nguni proper, for wearing the *ubulunga* necklace, such as by newly married women, by a baby shortly after birth, or by boys going off to their initiation school. The Bomvana also put them on twin calves. In these cases it is to ensure good fortune and health, but it is worn

PLATE 118

Charms.

1. *ubulunga* necklace, 310 mm, Mpondomise; no further data (Alb. G353).
2. Gcaleka woman wearing *amakhubalo* necklace; Idutywa, 1960.
3. Woman wearing *ubulunga* necklace, Xhosa; Willowvale, 1948.
4. *ubulunga* necklace, 110 mm, Fingo; Peddie, 1939 (SAM, Jeffreys collection J10).




2


3



at any time and not only by women, as a cure for specific troubles, especially illness. Men also own *ubulunga* cattle, and hairs from the man's or the woman's beast may be worn according to requirements. The active principle seems to be the spirits of the ancestors, which reside in the cattle, and the wearing of the necklace is a means of invoking their aid. The necklace should not be thrown away when worn out but stuck in the thatch of the roof.

Amongst Xhosa, Fingo, Bomvana and Mpondo, but not among Hlubi, Xesibe and Bhaca, it was the custom when twins were born for the father to go to the forest, dig up two euphorbia trees (*umhlontlo, Euphorbia candelabra*), or for triplets three, and plant them outside the mother's hut (Pl. 119: 1). Some Bomvana plant two aloes as well. The trees were fenced off and looked after with care, since it was thought that their life and that of the twins was intimately connected. Their growth should therefore be similar. If a tree be hurt or die, the twin with which it was connected would be hurt or die, and vice versa. The trees were therefore protected throughout the life of the twins. Medicine was made from an infusion of the milk or of bits of the roots, and the twins were washed with it in infancy, and later in illness, in which case they might return from a distance for this purpose. Even if the homestead is deserted the euphorbias and their enclosing fence are left intact. According to Döhne the Xhosa planted only one tree, and at about nine months dug it up and washed the twins in its milky sap. Kropf quotes this practically verbatim, and adds somewhat inconsistently that if two trees were seen standing it meant that the twins had been killed at birth. According to Makalima when a twin dies, a euphorbia is planted on its grave.

At the homestead of each tribal chief there was a hut, which the Bhaca call *elusizini*—'place of sorrow', set aside for the tribal medicines and objects of ritual significance to the tribe; for example the collection of medicines, flasks, bags and weapons said to have been brought to their present home by Madzikane, chief of the Bhaca, when they moved out of Natal (Pl. 119: 2). Among the Mpondo, the chief's diviner more or less lived at this hut.

Medicines, magical or therapeutic, and other than talismans or charms, may be dried and ground to a powder, or infused, and taken by mouth, or used to wash in, especially to wash babies. Medicines are collected in the veld and forest by the doctor. One visited in 1971 had aloes growing next to his cattle kraal, for use as medicine.

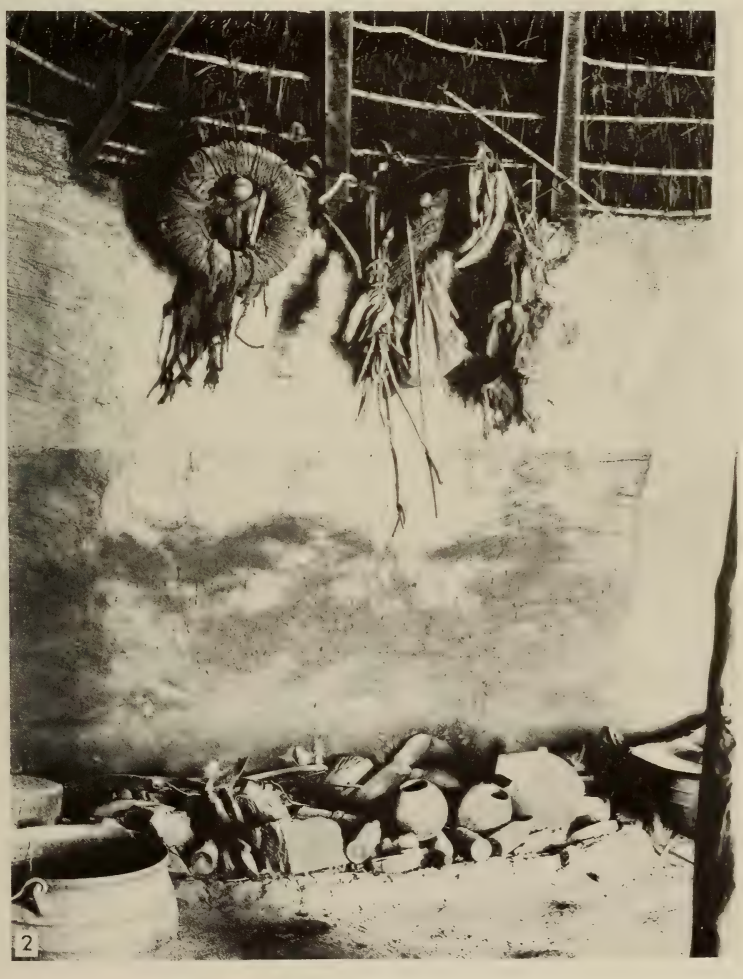
PLATE 119

Euphorbia trees; tribal medicines.

1. Two euphorbia trees (*umhlontlo*) planted to indicate the birth of twins nearby, Bomvana; Elliotdale, 1948.
2. Bhaca, tribal *inkatha* (medicine coil to bind the people together in harmony) and other relics (*imithi yokweshwama*), brought from Natal by Madzikane, founder of the tribe, and kept together with assorted material on the floor in a special hut called *Elusizini*, 'Place of sorrow'; Lugangeni, Mt. Frere, 1948.



1



2

A recent development is the sale of medicines either at trading stores in the country districts or at shops in the towns.

In addition to the traditional remedies, there has arisen an enormous vogue for patent medicines, which may be bought at the stores or obtained by post from the cities.

DOCTOR'S PARAPHERNALIA

Some medicines are used in their natural state, others have to be prepared. Small grinding-stones are used, either by the doctor or by lay persons at home, to grind them to a powder. According to Cook, the stones used by the Bomvana for grinding roots of euphorbias planted for twins are kept solely for that purpose while the twins and the trees live. The medicines are mixed in bowls, usually of pottery or half a calabash, but in earlier days a human skull might be used for this purpose on special occasions. For example, it was evidently general practice to mix the war medicines in the skull of a notable enemy killed in battle; the medicine, with which the warriors were sprinkled, was then supposed to transmit the valour of the dead man. The medicines for the Bhaca feast of the first fruits were mixed in the skull of an enemy, and a new one had to be obtained at each chief's accession. When an heir was born to the Thembu chieftainship, or when the great wife of the Mpondo paramount was installed, a prominent chief, of a family in which the honour was hereditary, was killed, so that his skull might be used as a receptacle for mixing the medicines in which the heir was washed. The intention in all cases was the transmission of qualities of the former owner of the skull.

For the practitioner's medicines and equipment a special hut, or a screened-off portion of a hut, may be used.

Medicines are stirred with a forked stick, which is twirled between the hands (Pl. 117: 2). They are kept in a horn, *uphondo lweyeza*, or a calabash, *isigubu*, some stoppered, some not. Sometimes these are decorated or covered with beadwork (Pl. 117: 1, 4). Some of the horns are strung on a cord and worn as a necklace. Other horns and calabashes are carried in the skin bag. A Mpondomise doctor was seen wearing a bandolier of beaded calabashes for his medicines.

Horns of various sizes, filled with medicine, may also be supplied to the patient as charms. For example the Bomvana place a horn filled with *umhlabelo* medicine on the roof, above the door and pointing toward an oncoming storm, to ward off the lightning.

Alberti records that the first step in rain-making was to sacrifice a beast, and by means of a small stick 'soaked' in it, to sprinkle the bystanders with the blood. This must have been some form of switch, either a stick with the end hammered to free the fibres, or possibly with the leaves left on. There is no further mention of this in the literature, but the Bhaca diviner used a handful of grass for sprinkling medicines. However, a cow-tail switch, *itshoba*, is a regular part of the modern diviner's paraphernalia, and is used for sprinkling various liquids.

Practitioners have a skin mat, on which to sit and spread their things. This may be a simple goatskin, often white, but according to Mrs Hamilton-Welsh (Louw

1964), it had greater virtue if it was made of different skins sewn together, the more the better.

All the paraphernalia are carried in a skin bag, *umhlanti.*

OTHER PRACTICES

Cairns

Isivivane is the name of the cairn that is still to be seen in places in the Transkei and Ciskei and that has been the subject of much discussion in the literature. From the earliest enquirer, Van der Kemp in 1800, to this survey no one has been able to find out its origin, nor does it appear to have been known to the Cape Nguni themselves. According to Kay these cairns were generally on the summits or sides of mountains, and always near to a path. One suggestion was that the practice was copied from the Khoikhoi (Hottentots) who were in the western part of the area at least, before the Nguni, and who had the custom of throwing stones on to graves. But cairns are well known in other parts of South Africa—one in Natal has been declared a national monument. It was also suggested and equally firmly denied that they marked the graves of important people. F. Brownlee states definitely, however, that there is a cairn at Rarabe's grave.

The cairns had no particular form or shape. The practice was that a person passing a cairn picked up a stone or bunch of grass or a twig, said a short prayer for a safe journey and success in the object of it, whether the objective was good or bad, spat on the object in his hand, threw it on to the heap, and went on his way renewed in strength and confidence.

Xhosa and Mpondo informants did not seem to think the cairns of any importance, though Xhosa said that some people would still throw a stone on to the cairn if passing. According to Hunter the Mpondo no longer even do that. There were no cairns in Bomvanaland, but they knew the custom and would presumably conform if in other parts.

There is no mention of cairns in the literature after 1932, and though their existence in certain places was reported by informants, the only one seen was by Hammond-Tooke in 1958, halfway up a hillside near Clarkebury (Van Warmelo 1965).

Feast of the first fruits

The feast of the first fruits (Xhosa *ulibo*; Bhaca *ingcubhe*) must originally have been celebrated by all the Cape Nguni, but has died out gradually or been reduced to a ceremonial eating of the new season's crops among all except the Bhaca. Among the Thembu, Broster reported a small ceremonial eating of new crops still observed in 1972. Among the Mpondo, according to Hunter, the ceremony was abandoned after the local wars had ceased and she concludes that it had been concerned with the strengthening of the army. Among the Bhaca, since the 1926 occasion, it has been celebrated with decreasing ceremonial and strictness. Special medicines were gathered and kept in the reserved hut. Sacred fire was kindled with

the special fire-sticks. A special brushwood cattle kraal was erected at the Great Place, and round it the ceremonial, including cattle-racing, took place.

Initiation

The ceremony of initiation of boys, the most important part of which was the circumcision, was at one time performed throughout this area with the possible but not very probable exception of the Bhaca. It is still retained by all except the Mpondo, for whom it was abolished by their chief Faku (who died in 1867), the Xesibe and the Bhaca. When the latter abandoned it is not clear, but latterly, according to informants, some are adopting it again through contact with the Hlubi.

The operation is performed nowadays about the age of fifteen or later, but there is no fixed age. According to N. Morgan, boys used to be circumcised quite young, so as to be eligible for certain privileges, but this does not appear to have been the case latterly.

If the full rite is to be performed, the boys, *abakhwetha*, are gathered together at a place, *isikhwetha*, some distance from any homestead, where one or sometimes two huts (*ibhoma, iphempe, ithonto, isuthu*) of the old beehive style (*ungquphantsi*) are built for them, one to serve as a kitchen. A new development seen in 1955, and not seen in 1948, was flags of white cloth, on the roof of the huts or on poles arranged in a circle round the lodge. The lodges thus seen were quite visible and in some cases not far from dwellings, but there was a screen in front of the huts for privacy. Xhosa and Fingo women gather all the materials, and men build the hut. Bomvana and Mpondomise men and women share the work with the same division of labour as in ordinary hut-building. A small kraal may be built as well, facing the hut door. The whole lodge may be encircled by a fence, *intendelezo*. According to Cook, Bomvana boys are allowed to make themselves a rough bedstead of sticks (*iqonga*), 'when the fleas are bad', but only after their wounds are healed.

According to N. Morgan the instrument used for circumcision by the Xhosa at the beginning of the last century was invariably a sharp stone. There is no other record of this in the literature, and all other authorities, before and after Morgan and for all tribes, speak equally invariably of a spear blade (*umdlanga*, Xhosa, Mpondo) with a short wooden handle for convenience. Fynn states that the Ntusi (Mpondo) used to sharpen the blade to a saw edge to make the wound heal better. F. Brownlee was shown a Fingo instrument that was kept for that purpose only, and had been handed down for generations. Other tribes used to burn the instrument at the end of the ceremonies. Modern Xhosa, however, said that it was kept for future occasions. One Xhosa informant said that the blade was cleaned after the operations, and then used for cutting the meat for the group.

More and more people are now going to hospitals to be circumcised, but the tribal operation was still reported in 1970. Even where the full ceremonies have disappeared there are still occasional small lodges formed, where initiates gather, in the case of working men perhaps only for a week-end, go through a form of the rites and wear distinctive clothing.

Gitywa records the giving of pieces of anthill to Xhosa initiates to suck after the operation, as an anti-emetic.

After the operation Xhosa, Fingo and Bomvana used the leaves of *izichwe, isiqutsi* (*Helichrysum pedunculare*), to dress the wounds, and Xhosa also used the dried scale leaves *incwadi* (*Boophane disticha*). (The bulb of *Boophane disticha* is a well-known source of poison, but the dry scale leaves do not contain the toxin.)

Among Xhosa the leaves were bound on with a long strip of softly dressed sheepskin, and a similar strip went round the waist and was attached to the binding strip. The Tshezi used black braid for this purpose in the 1960s. Among Tshezi, initiates must not eat with the fingers, but with little sticks for meat and calabash spoons for maize.

At the end of the initiation period the hut, kraal, clothing, costume, and everything connected with the lodge is burnt.

In addition to new clothing and other gifts the initiated are given knobbed sticks that indicate their attainment of a new status.

Girls too have a ceremony of initiation (*intonjane*) into womanhood. It consists of a period of seclusion, behind a mat screen in the hut, where the girl sits on special rushes. Like the *khwetha* the *intonjane* may eat only with sticks. During this period the girl would bleach her skin with an infusion of herbs, according to Tshezi the roots of *tambookie* grass. The coming-out ceremony included the sacrificial slaughter of a beast or a goat. The ceremony used to be universally practised but is now falling into disuse.

Burial

The impression to be gained from a study of the literature on this subject, is that prior to about the middle of the eighteenth century the Xhosa, at least, buried all their dead, that for about a century after that the general practice in this area was to bury only chiefs and their families, infants and those who had been struck by lightning, and that by the latter part of the nineteenth century, burial of all dead had become general again, under pressure first from missionaries and later from the government.

The first period of universal burial is admittedly recorded only twice, by the survivors of the *Stavenisse* and by Beutler, and although confirmed by G. Thompson in 1821, the reports may not be correct, since there seems no reason for such a change. On the other hand, these observers may have been in an area where Khoi (Hottentot) influence was still strong, for the Khoikhoi buried their dead.

During the period when the common people were not buried, the practice was to take the person out into the veld, if possible before death, and to leave him to die there, perhaps with a few branches as a screen, in the certain knowledge that hyaenas and vultures would dispose of the body. Sometimes the sick person would get better and come home. According to Van der Kemp, if the sick person kept returning, but not recovering, he was eventually locked in his hut and the homestead abandoned. The idea was for other members of the community to avoid

the defilement of touching the dead, and of having to abandon the homestead because of a death in it.

Infants were buried in ant-bear holes, generally found in anthills. The hole was there, and it was necessary merely to put the body in and cover it up. Bhaca buried those killed by lightning on the spot where they were killed.

As early as 1832, however, Shrewsbury remarked that burial of all was becoming more widespread, and in 1833 N. Morgan stated that Xhosa adults of the common people were, like infants, buried in ant-bear holes. The steady decline in the numbers of scavenger animals must have played its part, in addition to the official pressures, in the move towards burial.

The Fingo who settled in the Cape Colony buried their dead. This may have been a Fingo custom, or insisted upon by the authorities.

The grave (Xhosa *idlaka*, *ingcwaba*; Mpondo *ithinta*) dug for chiefs and their families was a fairly deep round hole, with a recess, *igumbi*, in the wall at the bottom, big enough to take the body in a squatting position with the knees drawn up to the chin. Kay gives the standing position as an alternative. Ross states that even chiefs and their families were put in the grave before death, and later covered up, but this is not confirmed. According to Fletcher the Xhosa, about 1900, wrapped the body of a chief in a mat, together with his blankets. Chiefs were buried in their own cattle kraal, or just under its hedge, or outside it, in which case a new kraal would be built over the grave. F. Brownlee, however, describes a special site at the top of a hill for the grave of Chief Rarabe. At all events the area was fenced off, and thereafter avoided by humans, and a herd of cattle was put in so that all trace of the grave was soon obliterated. The cattle were in the charge of one or more watchmen, and were set aside not to be killed. Some say they stayed there for a year, others for the rest of their lives.

Members of the Xhosa and Mpondo chiefs' families were often buried in the floor of the hut in which they died, and the hut was then made to collapse over the grave.

Heads of homesteads were buried just outside the gate of the cattle kraal, and among Mpondo, Mpondomise and some Xesibe are still so buried.

According to Hammond-Tooke all members of a Bhaca homestead were formerly buried near the cattle kraal.

Nowadays everyone is allowed to die in the hut, and taken out for burial. Thembu in the Herschel district in 1961 said that the body was wrapped in the deceased's blankets. Seeds of pumpkin, maize and wheat were buried with it. The same type of grave as that described above is used very generally throughout, except that most people now use coffins, which are stocked by the traders.

At first any suitable spot was chosen and in the west of the area it seems that each homestead has its own place for burial, away from the huts. Xesibe and Bhaca have regular graveyards. A Mpondomise homestead visited in 1955, however, had a group of mounds within the homestead area, and this arrangement was said to be common practice. No one seemed to hesitate to walk over them, which is a very different state of affairs from that described in the early accounts.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

SOURCES

1752 Beutler p. 310 Xhosa: no musical instruments

'Musicaale instrumenten hebben of gebruyken se niet, als er bruyloft word gehouden of dat se onder malkanderen vrolijk sijn, dan singen of eerder brommen se en daarby in 't rond dansende stampen se hart met de voeten welk een en ander sulk een yselijk geluyt veroorsaakt alsof er een parthy Engelsche doggen met malkander doende waaren.'

1772–5 Thunberg (1793) p. 37 Xhosa: whistle

'When a Caffre has discovered a spot where several buffaloes has assembled, he blows a pipe, made of the thigh-bone of a sheep which is heard at a great distance.'

1776 Hallema (1932) p. 134 Xhosa: no musical instruments

'Musicale Instrumenten hebben wij bij hen niet gezien.'

1777–9 Paterson (1789) p. 94 Xhosa: whistle

'The men have great pride in their cattle; they cut their horns in such a way as to be able to turn them into any shape they please, and teach them to answer a whistle. Some of them use an instrument for this purpose, similar to a Boshman's pipe. When they wish their cattle to return home, they go a little way from the house and blow this small instrument, which is made of ivory or bone, and so constructed as to be heard at a great distance, and in this manner bring all their cattle home without any difficulty.'

1788 Von Winkelman (1788–9) p. 84 Xhosa: *gora*

'Ausser der so genannten Hungerflöte, fand ich unter den Kaffern dieses Distrikts keine musicalische Instrumente. Dieses Instrument ist unter den Hottentotten sehr im Gebrauch. Es besteht in einem Bogen mit einer Sehne oder Saite, die Ziemlich starck gespannt ist. An einem Ende ist ein Stück von einem Federnkiel mittelst eines Einschnitts, der dann eine Klappe vorstellt, angebracht. Diess nehmen sie in den Mund und erzwingen durch heftiges Einziehen der Luft, verschiedene nicht sehr misklingende doch klagende Töne, die beiden Nationen viel vergnügen machen.'

1797 Barrow (1806) p. 169 Xhosa: whistle

'Their skill in music is not above the level of that of the Hottentots. They have in fact no other instruments except the two in use among the latter, and a small whistle made of the bone of some animal, and used sometimes for giving the necessary instructions to their cattle when at a distance.'

1802–6 Alberti (1810*a*) pp. 165–166 Xhosa: *gora*

'Speeltuigen van eigene vinding ontmoet men bij de Kaffers niet. Het eenige, dat ik vond, is een dunne Stok, met eene Darmsnaar omtogen, gelijkende veel naar den eenvoudigen strijkstok eener viool. Aan het eene einde dezer darmsnaar is

eene half gespletene Penneschacht vast gemaakt, welke door twee gemaakte openingen gestoken wordt. Men houdt deze schacht vóór de geslotene tanden, en brengt alzoo, door eene meer of min geweldige uit- en inademing der lucht, enkele, ofschoon doffere en minder hoorbare, toonen van eenen zoo genoemden Waldhoorn voort. Zeldzaam, echter, ontmoette ik dit speeltuig bij de Kaffers, en dan zelfs werd het nog door eenen Gonaquees bespeeld. Daar nu dezen, bij de uitbreiding der Volkplanting, sedert geruimen tijd, hebben opgehouden, eene bijzondere Natie uit te maken, en zij grootstendeels onder de Kaffers, hunne Naburen, verstrooid zijn, is het waarschijnlijk, dat dit speeltuig aan de laatsten langs dezen weg is bekend geworden.'

(See also Alberti 1810*b* (English edition): 79–80.)

1803–6 Lichtenstein (1811) p. 464 Xhosa: music

Nothing more.

1813 Campbell, J. (1815) p. 368 Xhosa: *gora*, musical bow, whistle

'They likewise use instruments of music. One is a bow with a piece of quill fixed near one end of the string, on which they blow, which makes an agreeable sound. The women have a calabash hung to a bow string, on which they beat, and sing in harmony with the beating. The words they use are the names of friends, rivers, and places they can recollect; having no songs. They also make a kind of flute from the thigh bone of some animal, with which they give notice to each other of various affairs, such as when a meeting of the Kraal is desired.'

1819–29 Moodie, J. W. D. (1835) p. 251 Xhosa: drum

'The women were drawn up at a hundred yards distance; they sang, clapped their hands, beat a kind of rude drum made of a calabash, and showed every token of the most extravagant joy.'

1827 Hallbeck & Fritsch (1826) p. 303 Thembu: *gora*

'. . . ; another proposed to entertain us with music, and began to play upon his gurrha, an instrument with one string, upon which he blew, and produced four notes, without any changes;'

(1829) Rose pp. 141, 146 Xhosa: drums

p. 141 Xhosa: drums

Nothing more.

p. 146 Xhosa: drums

'. . . while the woman sang a monotonous air, and kept beating an extended ox-hide, which they stood round. We afterwards, in travelling on, met several of the whitewashed urchins, ...'

1820–56 Shaw, W. (1860) p. 457 Xhosa: drum

'The women at the kraals visited by the *abakweta* sing a monotonous song, in which various libidinous allusions, accompanied by indecent gestures, are occasionally intermingled. As an accompaniment to their wild kind of throat music, they beat time on shields or dry ox-hides with sticks.'

(1850*b*) Anon. [Salzmann] p. 163 Ndlambe: drum

'Das Orchester dieses Kafferntheaters bestand aus Frauen, die in dem Kälberkraal standen. Ihr Kapellmeister war ein nackter Kaffer, der mit einem Knüttel auf einer Kuhhaut, die diese Frauen straff hielten, den Takt schlug. Nach diesem Takte sangen die Frauen (jede was sie will,) und bewegten sich sanft hüpfend.'

(1850*c*) Anon. [Schultheiss] p. 242 Ndlambe: drum

Nothing more.

1851–2 King (1853) p. 63 Fingo: drum

'In a wide clear space a ring of some three score of these athletic forms, blankets and karosses thrown aside, began a war-dance to the strange chorus of their deep voices, accompanied by regular tapping on a shield of ox-hide.'

(1856) Fleming pp. 225, 275 'Kaffir': *gora*, drum

Nothing more.

(1858) Maclean pp. 89, 160 Thembu, Xhosa: drum

p. 89 Thembu: drum

'The ceremony of "ukwombela" is now commenced, the hide drums are violently beaten, the bundles of assegais are struck together, accompanied by the well known humming and clapping of hands by the women. Bye and bye, the priest rushes out of his hut, springs into the midst of the circle of human beings assembled, and commences jumping about in the most frantic manner, and performing all sorts of extraordinary gesticulations. This is called "ukuxentsa."'

p. 160 Xhosa, Thembu: drum

'During the [*khwetha*] dance, the females of the place, collected in a company, stand together at a short distance, beating time with sticks upon a shield, and accompanying it with a sort of chant abounding with licentious allusions.'

1863–6 Fritsch (1872) p. 70 Xhosa: whistles

'Ausser den Tabakspfeifen verfertigt der Kaffer auch andere Pfeifen um damit sein Vieh oder seine Hunde zu rufen, welche aus Röhrenknochen oder Elfenbein gemacht und in der Weise geblasen werden, wie man auf einem hohlen Schlüssel zu blasen pflegt; doch pfeift der Kaffer auch ohne Instrument unter alleiniger Benutzung der Finger mit auffallender Kraft, wozu die dicken, aufgeworfenen Lippen das Ihrige beitragen mögen.'

1845–89 Kropf (1889) p. 110 Xhosa: drum

'Der Tanz am Tage im Freien beim Viehkraal oder nahe beim Wohnhause wird in der Weise aufgeführt, dass auf der einen Seite die Frauen in Evas Kostüm zu ihrem Summen und Brummen mit Stöcken auf einem getrockneten Ochsenfell den Takt schlagen, auf der anderen die Jünglinge und Mädchen, jeder mit einem Spiesse in der Hand, Luftsprünge machen, ihre Glieder verzerren und Juchzer ausstossen.'

1872 Weitz (1873) p. 182 Hlubi: flute

(Saw youth in straw hat, riding an ox:) 'and playing his flute all the while to keep the animal in good humour.'

1883–8 Bachmann (1901) p. 166 Mpondo: musical bow

'Das Lugubu ist ungefähr das einzige Musikinstrument der Kaffern. Es sieht etwa aus wie ein Bogen zum Schiessen. Der Kaffer fasst es unten mit der linken Hand und setzt den aus einem Kalabas bestehenden Resonanzboden an seine nackte Brust. Mit einem Grashalmstück schlägt er die einzige Saite, die von Bast gefertigt ist. Der eine Ton wird nur dadurch variirt, dass die Saite mit dem linken Zeigefinger hin und wieder gegen den Bogen gedrückt wird, und dass die Oeffnung des Kalabas zuweilen mit der Brustwand geschlossen, zuweilen geöffnet wird. Der Rhytmus ist auch fast immer derselbe, indem in einem fort kurze schnelle Schläge gethan werden. Die Hauptsache dabei ist der Gesang. Derselbe ist zwar nicht Gesang nach europäischer Art, hat aber doch einen eigenen, unheimlichen, für den Kaffer vielleicht heimlichen Laut.'

(1896) Brownlee, C. p. 223 Xhosa: drum

'. . . men on arriving at the witch-doctor's place sat, as usual, at a distance from him, and were joined by two or three of his people, who, as is customary, had a dry ox-hide on which to drum.'

(1904) Kidd pl. 83 and legend Mpondo: *gora*

legend to pl. 83

'A Pondo playing an ugwali or gorah.

This instrument is made by stretching a piece of string of grass along a stick. A small piece of quill is fastened to the string at one end, and the breath is drawn in over the quill, causing it to vibrate and emit a weird sound.'

(1914) Schweiger pp. 62–63 Xhosa: drum

'Die Musik dazu wird von den Frauen besorgt, welche, von den Burschen etwas entfernt, fortwährend mit Stecken auf eine trockene Ochsenhaut schlagen und dadurch Töne hervorbringen, die dem Wirbeln einer grossen Trommel nicht unähnlich sind und auf eine ziemlich weite Entfernung hin vernommen werden können. Es sind sechs bis acht Weiber, welche unausgesetzt auf diese von anderen ausgespannt gehaltene Ochsenhaut schlagen. Dieses monotone Schlagen wird auch während der Nacht mit kurzen Unterbrechungen fortgesetzt. Die ganze Zeremonie hat den Namen *ukuyeyezela* oder *ukwenza ungqongqo*, d.h. Klopfen machen. . . .'

(1926) Vogel, P. p. 74 Xhosa: drum

Nothing more.

(1929) Nauhaus, C. p. 4 Xhosa: drum

Nothing more.

(1931) Cook p. 62 Bomvana: drum

'The music is provided by the married women. Each *itonto* has the skin of the beast killed in the *Umncamo* ceremony and this is pegged out and used as a drum.'

(1931) Plant pp. 97 ff. Cape Nguni: drum, flute, whistle, musical bows

'*The Drum. Ingqongqo*: The skin that is to be used as a drum is obtained from a bull killed for the abakweta dance. This bull is usually given by a leading man who has a son of his own amongst those who are passing through the initiation rites. The flesh of the bull slaughtered for this purpose is not eaten. Poles about six feet long are fixed in the ground in a circle; to these is attached the skin which is left exposed to the sun till it gets dry. While the skin is thus being prepared the boys of the circumcision school are busy decorating the special (qoqa) sticks to be used by the women while beating the drum. The skin is kept in the itonto, the grass-hut occupied by the "abakweta". When a circumcision dance is about to take place the women beat time on the skin with the sticks that have been prepared for the purpose. In beating the drum the women catch the skin with their left hands and beat it simultaneously with the sticks held in their right hands.

Ixilongo: The Ixilongo is usually made of a reed cut from the river. It may, however, be made of a branch of the umhleli tree or of a young shoot of the umsenge, the wood being extracted very carefully so that the bark may not crack. The player produces the music by blowing into one end and opening and closing the hole at the other end with one finger. According to tradition the ixilongo was first introduced by a shepherd whose cattle followed him to the field as soon as he blew it. Later it became part of the hunter's equipment. To-day it is used by boys only. The Pondo equivalent for ixilongo is umtshingi.

Isikunjane: The Isikunjane consists of a small tin containing a number of pebbles or pieces of a broken pot. Small holes are made on the under side of the tin and the mouth of the tin is closed to prevent the contents from jumping out. The owner then ties the tin with a strong string just below his knee, and by raising and lowering the knee in many fancy and peculiar styles he attempts to produce a kind of music. The music is accompanied by a kind of shouting, and, as the player dances about, the other boys follow the combined sound made by the shouting and the rattling of the stones in the tin.

The Isikunjane sometimes serves as the gathering-call for the sheep; at its sound the sheep collect, and make it easy for the herd to bring them home.

Impempe: Impempe now-a-days is applied nearly always to a kind of whistle which is sold by the traders, but it is also applied to a musical instrument made by the boys. A reed or stem of bamboo is cleared of all its pith then cut to about four inches in length. One end of the reed is sealed and the other left open; near the centre the reed is cut as deep as its radius. A piece of a calabash or the dry crust of a pumpkin is shaped like a half moon and fixed in the reed. Another reed is made similarly but shorter than the first to produce a different tone. Both are then attached by a string and the instruments are ready for use.

Uhadi: Uhadi is made of a pliable stick bent into a bow and retained in position either by hairs from a horse's tail or by a wire taken from the umliza sold in shops. A calabash is fastened at the middle of the stick and a small cloth is attached to the stick to prevent friction of the stick with the calabash. In playing the instrument the musician holds the calabash, whose open end is facing away from the stick, under his left arm; in his right hand he holds a stalk of umqungu grass with which he strikes the hair or stretched piece of wire. Different sounds are produced by raising or tightly pressing the calabash on the player's chest. The uhadi is mostly used by young people. It is played at night by one person when the others are in bed and the hearers immediately sing in accompaniment as quietly as they can. The natives believe that when the uhadi is played it soothes people to sleep. It is never accompanied by any dancing.

Inkingi: Inkingi is made of a long stick bent into the shape of a bow by means of strings or wire (umliza) fastened tightly from one end to the other. In place of string the hair from a horse's tail may be used. The player presses with a stem of the umqungu grass about a foot in length or with a small piece of horn on the horse-hair and sings. It resembles uhadi without a calabash. The name in use among the Pondomse for this instrument is umqange.'

(1932) Soga, J. H. p. 220 — Xhosa: drum

Nothing more.

1932 Hunter pp. 169, 325, 370 and note — Mpondo: instruments

p. 169 — Mpondo: drum

Nothing more.

p. 325 — Mpondo: drum

'The dance may be performed at any time, and during her initiation a novice does dance frequently, but since she depends on friends to clap for her (or beat a folded ox-hide) the times *par excellence* for dancing are when people are collected at her *umzi* for meat or beer.'

p. 370 — Mpondo: musical instruments

'The dried ox-hide beaten as a drum for the ritual dance of initiate diviners and girls being initiated, ankle rattles, and European-made concertinas and whistles used at pleasure dances, are the only musical instruments actually used as accompaniments to dances, but performers on any of the other instruments* made almost invariably sway the body in time to the music they produce. An old woman repeating on an *ugqumpu* songs which I was attempting to write down, never played a line without swaying her body appropriately.'

(Note *:) '. . . Instruments commonly played in Pondoland are the *ugqumpu* or *uhadi*, played mostly by women in the evenings when people are going to sleep, the *umqange*, played usually by children on the veld at home, and whistles, *umtʃhinge, impempe*, and a horn *ubokomela*. The *ugwali* was formerly played in Pondoland, but has now disappeared. Informants, in reply to my query why no one made it, said: "Concertinas and European-made whistles came and took its place", and "it made girls hysterical, starting them crying, so it was left".'

(1934) Kirby *passim* Cape Nguni: musical instruments

This is the standard work, which includes musicological aspects. Page numbers indicating the relevant passages follow the subheadings in the discussion (see pp. 836, 839, 840, 842, 844, 845).

(1939) Duggan-Cronin p. 30 Xhosa: drum

'A great feature was *umdudo*, a dance of the men to the accompaniment of the women's drumming on a dried bullock-hide; and after days or weeks, the cattle of *ikhazi* having been selected and handed over, the bride's escort departed.

This form of marriage still exists among the so-called Red Kafirs, who resist the new ways.'

1945 Makalima chapter 32 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: musical instruments

par. 11 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: origin of musical instruments

'*Zabolekwa kwabanye abantu*? Zonke ezintambula zavela nabantu, azi zange zibolekwe napina. Zidalwe nohlanga.'

[All these instruments came with the people. They were not borrowed anywhere. . . . They originated with the nation.]

par. 12 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: bows, *gora*, horn, rattle

'*Uhlobo lokwenziwa kwezizinto*:—

Umrube ukwenziwa kwawo, kutatwa uswazi lozingati nokuba luhlolo lugotywe kwenziwe isapeta esidityaniswe ngojiko. Umcinga wesiqungu ke wona, uti utatwe, kubetwe ngawo kolo jiko.

Uhadi lwenziwa ngombanga-ndlela nangesiduli, nangeselwa elivulwe umlomo wamkulu. Ligqojozwa apa ngapantsi, indawo yokufakwa entongeni, kwenziwe inkata yokuba lingati nca entongeni zelibe nokukala. Libetwe kwangomcinga womqungu nalo.

Ugwali lwenziwa ngengcongolo, kufakwe itshoba lehashe. Itshoba lehashe lifakwa engcongolweni kwelinye icala eyenziwe uhlangana oluncinci. Kwelinye icala elitshoba lifakwa elusibeni lweranisi olugqojoziweyo.

Inkinge yenziwa kwangengcongolo nayo, netshoba lehashe, kodwa ke yona akufakwa lusiba, iyaqhinwa macala onke.

Isigodlo senziwa ngopondo lwenkomo, isigodlo esidala senkunzi nokuba likwange, okanye yinkabi yenkomo. Isigodlo esi, siyavalwa kwelicala likulu, ngeceba leselwa. Kugqojozwa apa pakati indawo ekuvutelwa kuyo xa sikaliswayo.

Amagubu ukwenziwa kwawo, kutungwa ufele macala onke lube ngqukuva. Luti ke olufele lwenkomo lakoma lube godololo, ngqongqololo lulungelwe ukubeta lungonjwe lenze ingxolo.

Inkaca ngumti uyaxotyulwa intswazana ezi zawo zidityaniswe, zifakwe apa emanqineni. Ziti zakoma zikwahlaze zenze ingxolo xa umtu axhentsayo.

Isiwahlane kutatwa itoti kufakwe uhlalu namatye igqojozwe umtu ayibophelele emanqineni. Yenza ingxolo ke kwangolo hlobo xa umtu axentsayo.'

[The *umrube*. A switch of the *zingati* or the *uhlolo* is bent into a bow with ends connected by a thin twisted wire. A stalk of tambookie grass is used for playing with on the thin wire.

The *uhadi* is made of *umbangandlela* (a small tree with yellowish flower) and of *isiduli* (also a kind of tree) and a calabash with a large mouth opened on it. A hole is made underneath it through which a stick is put in. It is padded so that it does not touch the stick, and so that it may make a sound. It is played with a stalk of tambookie grass also.

The *ugwali* is made of a reed, horse-tail hair is inserted in the reed on the side where a hole has been made. On the other side the string is threaded through a hole made in a goose quill.

The *inkinge* is also made of a reed and horse-tail hair, but no quill is attached to it; it is fastened on both sides.

The *isigodlo* is made from a bovine horn, an old horn of a bull, castrated bull or ox. The horn is closed on the larger side by a piece of calabash. A hole is made in the middle of it where it is blown to produce a sound.

To make a drum, an oxhide is sewn on all sides, it is made to be round. When this hide is dry it becomes hard and ready to be beaten and it then produces a booming sound.

The *inkaca* is a tree from which shoots are stripped and put together and worn on the feet. When they are dry they rustle and make a noise when one dances.

For *isiwahlane* a small tin is filled with pebbles and gravel. It is pierced, and tied on a foot. It rattles when one dances.]

pars 13–15 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: bows, *gora*, horn, drum, rattle

(13) '*Zenziwa ngamadoda? Abafazi? nokuba ngabantwana? Umrube* wenziwa ngabantwana (amakwenkwe namantombazana). *Uhadi* lwenziwa ngamadoda kwana bafazi. *Ugwali* lwenziwa ngamadoda. *Inkinge* yenziwa ngamadoda. *Isigodlo* senziwa kwangamadoda. *Amagubu* enziwa ngamadoda nabafazi abangamagqira. *Inkaca* yenziwa ngamagqira (abantu abatwasayo) nokuba lulupina uhlobo, amabhinqa okanye amadoda. *Isiwahlane* senziwa ngabafana xa kugujwayo.'

[*Umrube* is made by children (boys and girls). The *uhadi* is made by men and women. The *ugwali* is made by men. The *inkinge* is made by men. The *isigodlo* is made by men. Drums (*amagubu*) are made by men and women who are diviners. The *inkaca* is made by diviners (both sexes) when being initiated. The *isiwahlane* is made by young men when they are dancing.]

(14) '*Indlela yokubeta*:— *Umrube* ubekwa emlonyeni ubanjwe ngesandla umtu ahlikihle ngomcinga ngesinye isandla. *Uhadi* lubekwa esifubeni, lubetwa ngeminwe. *Ugwali* lona luvutelwa ngomlomo, lutsalwe umoya ngomlomo. *Inkinge* ibanjwa ngesandla, ibekwe emlonyeni. *Isigodlo* sibanjwa ngesandla sivutelwe. *Igubu* lona ligangxwa apa esifubeni ngentambo yalo. *Inkaca* ayibanjwa, inxitywa emanqineni. *Isiwahlane* naso sibotshelelwa emanqineni.'

[The *umrube* is placed on the mouth and held with the hand. The other hand holds the stalk of grass which is drawn over the thin wire. The *uhadi* is placed on the breast and played with the fingers. The *ugwali* is blown upon through the mouth and breath is also inhaled over the quill through the mouth. The *inkinge* is held in the hand and held to the mouth. The *isigodlo* is held in the hand and is then blown. The *igubu* is hung from the neck by a string and hangs on the chest. The

inkaca is not held, it is worn round the ankles. The *isiwahlane* is also tied round the ankles.]

(15) *'Indlela zokuzibeta*:— *Umrube* ubetwa ngomcinga apo kolocingwana lawo. *Uhadi* xa lubetwayo lubetwa ngomcinga nalo. Alufakwa mlonyeni, kusuke kubekwe iselwa ebeleni. Umtu amane ekinqeza apa kolocingo lalo.

Ugwali xa lubetwayo lufakwa emlonyeni, aluvutelwa. Umtu uyalubizela xa alubetayo.

Inkinge ifakwa emlonyeni ibetwe ngosiba apa kulentambo yenziweyo ngetshoba.'

[The *umrube* is played with the stalk on the thin wire. The *uhadi* is also struck with the stalk of coarse grass. It is not put in the mouth, the calabash is placed on the breast and the player keeps on striking the wire.

The *ugwali* is held between the lips when being played. It is not blown upon. One inhales when playing it.

The *inkinge* is held to the mouth and is struck with a quill on the string which is made of tail hair.]

par. 16 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: drum, rattle

'*Zibetwa ngobani*? *Igubu* liyabetwa ngumfana, intombi, indoda nenkwenkwe xa ngaba utwasele ubugqira. *Inkaca* nayo ayiketi nawupina xa etwasele ubugqira.'

[The *igubu* is played by a young man, a girl, a man or a boy when being initiated as diviners. *Inkaca* is also played by anyone being thus initiated.]

par. 20 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: bows, *gora*

'*Ziyapelekwa ngomculo*? Ewe, kwezinye kuyavunywa ngumtu ngomlomo, kodwa inkinge, nomrube, nogwali azinakuvunyelwa zona, kuba zibetwa ngomlomo.'

[Some instruments are accompanied by singing but the *inkinge, umrube* and *ugwali* cannot be accompanied by singing because they are played by the mouth.]

par. 21 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: times for playing

'*Zidlalwa ngamaxesha atile*? Zidlalwa nje naninina kanti amagubu abetwa ngamagqira xa enentlombe. Isiwahlane sinxitywa xa kuko umjadu (umgubo).'

[They are played at any time but the *amagubu* (drums) are played by diviners when they are holding night parties (*iintlombe*). The rattles are worn when there is an *umjadu* (*umgubo*).]

par. 29 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: competitive playing

'*Kuyakutshiswana*? Ewe, kwantonjane kuyakutshiswana ngohadi, nangenkinge nangogwali.'

[At the *intonjane* dance there is great competition in the playing of *uhadi, inkinge* and *ugwali*.]

(1946) Burton, A. W. (corresp.) Xhosa: musical bow, horn, drum

'I am sending two photographs . . . of a Gaika girl . . . playing the *uhadi*. . . . To-day Natives favour a steel wire string called "Ujika", made by unravelling portion of a twisted wire bracelet. This string gives out a twangy note like that of a banjo or Hawaian guitar, and is more favoured than a gut string, being easier

to obtain. . . . The bow is held point upwards in front of the body, with string directed forwards. The hole in the gourd is placed gently against the bare skin of the breast, the pressure exerted on the gourd being eased at intervals. The third, fourth and fifth fingers of the left hand are passed round the lowest part of the wooden bow, away from the string. The thumb and forefinger of the left hand control the string, the forefinger being moved rapidly to and fro against the string as the latter is tapped higher up by the grass stick (beating stick, or Ncinga). The beating stick held in the right hand is tapped rapidly against the string as the latter is pressed upon by the left forefinger. . . . Xhosas and Fingoes do not use drums. They still use horns as "Isigodlo". At Kweta dances and raw Natives' weddings the women beat dried ox-hides known as "Mgqongqo".'

1949–55 Hammond-Tooke (1955*a*) p. 19 Bhaca: drum

'The diviners then began an *intlombe* (seance) which continued long into the night. There were about eighty people in the hut, including young men and girls and a few children. Five young people of both sexes sat in front of a rolled up cow-hide (*ikhawu*) and emphasized the rhythm of the dance by beating it with short sticks; the noise was deafening and the dust rose chokingly from the feet of the dancing diviners.'

1949–60 Hammond-Tooke (1962) p. 252 Bhaca: drum

Nothing more.

1958 Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (pers. comm.) Mpondo: friction drum

'I am writing to tell you about a musical instrument seen by the Chief Magistrate in the Flagstaff district a few days ago which I think is distinctly unusual for the Cape tribes. It was at a dance during an installation ceremony and was used, with a drum, to accompany the singers and clappers. He describes it as a four gallon petrol drum painted green with an ox hide stretched over the top and pegged down on the sides in the approved fashion. A long reed was fastened to this membrane on the inside, passing through the interior of the drum. It is played by applying euphorbia juice to the hands and rubbing them up and down the reed in a "milking" movement. Apparently this gives rise to a deep booming sound "like the lowest note on a double base".'

(1967) Broster pp. 21, 99, 100–101, opp. p. 83 Thembu: musical instruments

Nothing more.

1968 Holt (1969) pl. 2 and legend Tshezi: musical bow

'Playing the *inkinge* by placing one end of the bow in the mouth to steady it and tapping or drawing on the taut string with the stick.'

(1970) Elliott p. 71 Xhosa: rattles

'The most they [the boys] are likely to wear on an outing like this is a legging or two of Angora goat skin or of dry cocoons filled with pebbles to make them rattle.'

(1976) Davison pp. 83–84, 124 Xhosa: signal horn

Nothing more.

(Kirby) refers to Kirby 1934.

igubu 1. dried calabash, prepared for use as a musical instrument, connected by a bow to a single string, which is beaten and resounds in the calabash with a sound like gubu gubu, D X Xes (Kirby). String is of horsehair, X. 2. also calabash for drinking beer, Mp. 3. calabash for salt, Bh. 4. drum (i.e. European drum, as of Zionists), D X **1032** (556)

injikwe 1. bow of the *uhadi* (musical bow), D (Kirby). 2. not confirmed **1033**

inkinge 1. bow-like stringed instrument, held by the wooden portion in the mouth and played upon with the fingers. The string is made of thread (*usinga*), D Mp (X–, Mp–Kirby) (T–Makalima) (X–Plant). 2. string made of horse-tail hair, Bh **1034**

inqomfiya 1. (Em) = *uhadi* (musical bow), D. 2. not confirmed **1035**

isankuni same as *isikankuru* 1. nD. 2. imitation violin with tin as resonator, friction with small bow (Kirby: 242), widely known but not generally **1036**

ugumpu 1. nD (not Kirby). 2. musical bow with calabash resonator and wire string, Mp Bh. One old Mp said the string was cow tail **1037**

uhadi 1. bow-like stringed musical instrument; the string of horsehair is stretched on a wooden bow attached by its middle to a calabash which serves as a sound-box; the string is struck with a stalk of coarse grass (*umcinga*), D Bo Bh (Kirby) (Mp–Hunter 1936, –UCT) (T–Makalima) (Mpm–AM). 2. *thadi* musical instrument in form of a bow (X–Van der Kemp). 3. *ihadi* = *gora* (Lichtenstein 1811) **1038**

umqange 1. nD. 2. musical bow of long stick and wire on horsehair string, same as *inkinge*, Mp Mpm **1039**

umrubhe 1. musical instrument made by bending a piece of stick like a bow, and fastening together the ends with a plaited piece of thong or rush-string. The player then plays on it as on a violin by means of a small stick or rush which he holds at right angles to the bow-string, D X T and others. 2. made of reed, Bh **1040**

usinga thread made from *umsundulo*, the tendons found on the underside of an ox's shoulder-blade. It is used for sewing karosses; thread, in general, D, general **1041** (222, 246)

umcinga 1. straw or halm of grass, D. 2. stalk of coarse grass as beater of *uhadi*, D: 146 (Kirby) **1042**

isikankuru 1. nD. 2. musical bow, wooden stave, wire string, strung through one-gallon oil tin as resonator; played with a bow of horsehair, fixed to stave at one end and to player's fingers at the other, Hlu **1043**

ikhawu 1. small shield, = *ingweletshetshe* small shield, used to cover the face in hunting, D. 2. shield, any size, Mp Xes Bh. 3. shield of any size, oblong; known to X who, however, say it is a Zu word, and known to T who, however,

say their real word is *ikhaka*. 4. shield also used to beat upon like a drum, Bh (Kirby) **1044** (447)

ingqongqo dried bullock skin used as a drum by the women to accompany dancing, D, general **1045**

iqoqa 1. kind of assegai, the neck of which is filed in an ornamented manner; carved stick used by girls in dancing, D. 2. bangle of metal, worn by girls, Bo. 3. decorated stick with which women beat oxhide at *khwetha* dances (X–Plant, –Kirby) **1046** (865, 914)

ubokomela 1. reed pipe (Mp–TM). 2. horn (Mp–Hunter 1936). 3. not confirmed **1047** (1059)

ivenge 1. nD. 2. (= *umtshingi*) long conical flute of the Mpondo (Kirby). 3. another name for *umtshinge*, Mp **1048**

ixilongo (from *-xilonga* blow a bugle or trumpet, play on wind instrument) 1. hollow reed or the hollow pedicle of a pumpkin leaf; any wind instrument, a trumpet, D. 2. reed or wooden flute, *c.* 60 cm long, of boys; held vertically, T. 3. reed flute of Xhosa, also called *impempe* (Kirby). 4. reed flute, X. 5. flute made of reed, *umhlele* or *umsenge* wood and called *umtshinge* by Mp (X–Plant). 6. horn trumpet, Bh X **1049**

ingcongolo cane or reed, D (the whole plant, or just a piece or stem), general, and where specifically used, e.g. as tube of hemp pipe, whistle, flute, and in *inkinge* musical bow **1050** (980)

umtshinge 1. nD. 2. flute of boys, a long tube, thickness of finger, with only a hole at either end, blown through and note modulated by voice, Mp at Corana, who have seen it there. X informant says this is what they call *ixilongo* in Cofimvaba. 3. whistle (Mp–Hunter 1936) **1051**

imbande 1. shin bone (which the Bushmen use as a whistle), D X Mp. 2. pipe, flute, fife, D. 3. Xhosa whistle (Kirby). 4. *umbaandi* reed pipe (Lichtenstein 1811). 5. *umbaendi* whistle which the Bushmen wear on their necks (X–Van der Kemp) **1052**

impempe 1. toy whistle used by the boys in dancing, or in calling up companions to help at a fight; it produces a sound like that made by blowing into the barrel of a key, D. 2. metal (sergeant's) whistle, X (X–Plant). 3. reed whistle with two barrels, Mp (X–Plant). 4. Xhosa whistle or flute (Kirby). 5. whistle (Mp–Hunter 1936) **1053**

ugempe 1. nD. 2. flute of bamboo, one hole at one end, four others in a row at other end, Mp **1054**

inyembe 1. small arrow of the Korannas; whistle; barbed hook, D. 2. barbed spear, Xes Bh. 3. navy-blue bead (X–McLaren 1923: 21). 4. unknown to most people **1055** (389, 404, 780)

ugwali instrument made of fibres of sinew on a bow of wood with a quill, flattened on one side, to give greater elasticity; the sounds are made by the mouth vibrating on the catgut, D X Bh (Kirby) T and some Mp, other Mp = *ugwalo*.

(This is the Xhosa pronunciation of the Hottentot *gora*, by which term this instrument is usually referred to in the literature) **1056**

isigodlo 1. the horn of an animal when severed from the head (used as a powder flask or trumpet), D Mp T, general. 2. also used as part of hemp pipe, X Mp. 3. bowl of hemp pipe (Bo–Beukes). 4. whole hemp pipe (Mp–UCT). 5. also medicine flask, X **1057** (262, 438, 981)

uphondo 1. horn, tusk of elephant, D, general. 2. horn as trumpet (Mp–Lichtenstein 1811 *phôndo*). 3. *uphondo lokucima* (from *-cima* give an enema) enema horn, Mp. 4. *uphondo lweyeza* medicine horn, Bh, general **1058** (264, 999, 1016)

ubokomela 1. reed pipe (Mp–TM). 2. horn (Mp–Hunter 1936). 3. not confirmed **1059** (1047)

imbelempe 1. nD. 2. war horn, Bo **1060**

amahlahlazo 1. nD. 2. Mpondo dancing rattles woven of *ilala* palm (Kirby) X. 3. but Mp say they call them *amakhahlazo*, and not known to some very good Mp informants **1061**

inqashela (cl. 5, pl. *amanqashela*; Mp *inqatshela*) 1. piece of skin used as a legging; an ornament round the ankle, of beads (*amaso*) on string or wire, D X. 2. Xhosa dancing rattle of goatskin worn round ankle (Kirby). 3. anklet for dancing, Bo. 4. twisted brass-wire anklet, Mp **1062** (909)

inkaca, *inkahla* 1. nD. 2. twigs of tree worn as rattles round ankles (T–Makalima). 3. *inkahla* only, Mp **1063**

ingqwamba 1. nD. 2. strips of goatskin with long hair, tied below knee and on ankles, for dancing, T **1064**

isikhunjane 1. nD. 2. leg rattle of tin with pebbles inside, general **1065**

isiwahlane 1. nD. 2. ankle rattle of small tin with stones in it (T–Makalima), perhaps coined by him from *-wahlaza* rattle, as the chains worn as ornaments by women, or beads on a girl walking; jingle money in the pocket, D **1066**

uvuvu 1. nD. 2. another name for *uvungu*, spinning disc and bullroarer, Bh Mp **1067**

uvuluvulu 1. nD. 2. another name for *uvungu*, *uvuvu*, Mp **1068**

uvungu 1. nD. 2. spinning disc, a toy of boys and girls, Bh Mp. 3. bullroarer, a slat *c.* 4 × 30 cm at end of string, a toy of boys only, Mp **1069**

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS: DISCUSSION

Some early travellers were so unimpressed by the musical instruments of the Cape Nguni that they reported that there were none. Others recorded the *gora*, the bow and the whistle only. There is no reason to suppose that all the other instruments mentioned below have been acquired recently, but rather that there is a difference in interpretation of the term 'musical instrument'.

For a specialist description see Kirby 1934 (to which work all references to Kirby in this section apply).

BELLS

There is no reference to bells in the literature, nor are any known in collections. The only sort seen in 1948 were the small store-bought brass bells known to Xesibe as *amatongomane* and worn by Bhaca women, who call such a bell *ulongolongo* (Pl. 121: 7). Possibly, as suggested by informants, the other words that exist referred originally to the sound.

BOWS

(Kirby: 196–198, 201–204, 214–215, 217–225, 239–245)

Five types of musical bow have been recorded as in use among the Cape Nguni. Only one of them is mentioned in the early literature, and it and one other were seen during fieldwork in the period 1948–58.

The type that features in the early accounts, and is still known throughout the area, is the bow with a calabash resonator, *uhadi* (Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondomise, Mpondo, Bhaca), *igubu* (Xhosa, Xesibe) or *ugumpu* (Mpondo, Bhaca) (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974, pl. 26: 5; present paper, Pl. 120: 2, 4). It has a curved wooden stave (*injikwe*) cut off straight or slightly rounded at the end, except by the Mpondo, who point it. The stave is said to be made from a stem of *umbangandlala* (*Heteromorpha arborescens*) or nowadays from wattle. The string, *usinga*, which may be of sinew, horsehair, cow hair or brass or steel wire, sometimes obtained by unravelling a twisted wire bracelet, is bound round a circular groove at the lower end, and either similarly bound or passed through a V-notch at the upper end. According to Kirby the latter is the Xhosa form. The calabash (*uselwa*), with about a third cut off so as to leave a fairly wide opening, is attached by a cord or wire or a piece of cloth through its base to the lower end of the stave, and has a pad of grass, bark or cloth between it and the stave. The attachment may be passed through one hole in the calabash or through two and be held by a knot. Mpondo informants said a tin might be used instead of a calabash, but this was not seen, nor known elsewhere. The bow is held so that the mouth of the calabash rests lightly on the chest, and is lifted slightly from time to time to alter the resonance. The stave is held with the left hand, and the string stopped with two fingers. A grass or wheat stalk (*umcinga*) with which the string is tapped is held in the right hand.

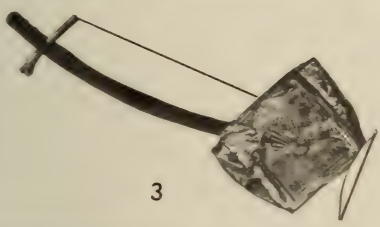
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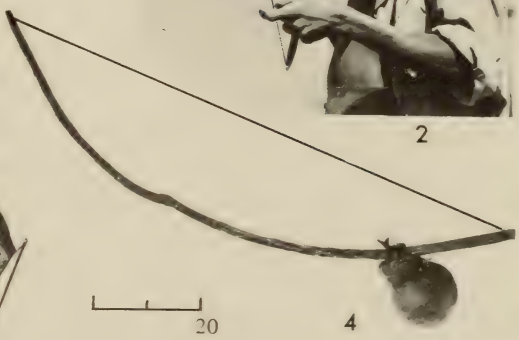
Musical bows.

1. Thembu girl playing *umrubhe*; Cofimvaba, 1948.
2. Mpondo playing *ugumpu*; Luqhoqhweni, Lusikisiki, 1948.
3. *ugumpu*, modern version with flattened-tin resonator, 709 mm, Mpondo; no further data (Alb. F71).
4. *uhadi*, musical bow, with calabash resonator, 1 027 mm, Mpondomise; no further data (Alb. F73).
5. Khonjwayo girl playing *umqange* or *inkinge*; Ntsimbini, Ngqeleni, 1958.
6. Khonjwayo man stringing his daughter's *inkinge*; Ntsimbini, Ngqeleni, 1958.


1


2


3



4


5


6

This instrument is used to accompany the voice, and is played mostly by women and girls, though men and boys do play it too, particularly in Pondoland. It is said to be played at night and to soothe people to sleep.

The same names, *uhadi* in the west and *ugumpu* in the east, are given to another type of bow, which bears a strong likeness to a Sotho and Tswana instrument, and may have reached the Cape Nguni via Lesotho. It consists of a straight, rather thick stave with a tuning peg at one end. From the end of the peg a wire string is stretched to the lower end of the stave. The resonator is a one-gallon paraffin tin, which may be cut down a little, and into which the lower end of the stave is placed. The string is bowed with a small bow of wood and cow-tail hair. According to Kirby it was not very popular in the Cape. He saw one amongst the Xhosa of Dordrecht and there is an example from Pondoland in the Albany Museum (Pl. 120: 3). Informants in 1948 and 1955 did not appear to know it, and none was seen. The instrument would seem scarcely to be established in the Transkei and Ciskei.

A third type of bow, the *inkinge*, which is known by that name to Xhosa, Thembu, Eastern Mpondo and Bhaca, but of which no specimen was seen, was said to consist of a very slightly curved stave of hollow reed or more rarely wood, with a string of sinew, tail hair or copper wire bound round it at each end. The stave is held in the mouth for resonance, and the string is plucked with a finger, or according to Kirby with a thin horn plectrum. Xhosa said it was played by girls. East Mpondo informants, while they admitted the word *inkinge*, gave the name *ugwalu* to a bow of the same description played with a friction bow.

A fourth type of bow is the *umrubhe* (Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondomise, Bhaca), *umqunga* (Mpondo according to Kirby), *umqange* (Mpondo), *inkinga* (Xhosa according to Plant and to A. W. Burton (corresp.)), *inkinge* (Xesibe) or *umqangala* (Hlubi according to G. Mzamane (pers comm.)). According to Makalima the *umrubhe* is made of wood and the *inkinge* of reed. Kirby describes two varieties: one has the stave in two parts—a long thick straight piece of wood with a pliable rod inserted in one end—and the other has a stave of a single curved piece of wood. Both may be strung with thong, rush, two-ply brass wire or fibre. The stave is held lightly in the mouth with the left hand, between the thumb and first finger of which it is stopped, and is bowed with a straight stick or piece of tambookie grass, which is held between stave and string. Mpondo cut the stick roughly flat on one side to provide the necessary friction. According to Kirby the two-piece stave is the Xhosa variety, *umrubhe*, and the one-piece stave is found only among the Mpondo, and called *umqunge* (other sources *umqange*). But the only sort seen in 1948, 1955, and 1958 in use by Xhosa, Thembu and Mpondo was the one-piece stave (Pl. 120: 1, 5, 6), as are museum specimens from Mpondomise and Thembu. It is a solo instrument and was played mainly by children and young people.

Finally Kirby described as in use among the Mpondo the *isankuni*, a short plain bow, the lower half of the stave of which is placed in a paraffin tin; the bow is then strung, so that the string at its lower end passes through a hole in the tin before being attached to the stave. This was seen only among Hlubi but Xesibe described

something like it as *ugwale*—the string, only, passing through the tin. Hlubi are said to call it *isikankuru*. The Hlubi example seen in 1961 was played with a string of horsehair, one end of which was attached to a short stick held in the right hand and the other end wound round the performer's fingers.

DRUMS

(Kirby: 19–25)

There appears until latterly to have been no conventional drum among the Cape Nguni and instead a shield, *ikhawu*, or a dry, stretched or folded oxhide, *ingqongqo*, was used for drumming.

The shield must have been used primarily for the war dances. King describes a Fingo war dance, with the warriors beating on their shields, presumably with their spears, to accompany the rhythm of the dance, and it is probable that warriors of other tribes did the same. Some authors describe women beating on shields with sticks to accompany the *khwetha* dancing, and according to Kirby the shield was still so used in 1932, also for the dancing at evening parties. Of informants in 1948 only the Bhaca knew this use of the shield. Thembu and Mpondo said it was no longer so used, and both described the *igubu*, noted below.

The *ingqongqo* is a whole oxhide that has been stretched to dry hard between long poles planted in a circle in the ground. When in use in the west, performers held it with their left hands by loops of hide at intervals round the skin, or, less commonly, it might be fastened on poles. The skin was beaten by women with sticks held in the performers' right hands (Pl. 121: 3). Only one author stated that the women held the skin while one man beat it. According to Plant and Kirby, special thin decorated sticks, *amaqoqa*, were used for beating, and the women sang at the same time. In the east, the dry skin was folded for beating. The *ingqongqo* was beaten for ordinary social dancing and on most occasions when there was dancing for a special purpose, particularly for the boys' dancing at the *khwetha* coming-out ceremonies (according to Plant and Cook, Xhosa and Bomvana used the skin of the beast killed on this occasion), and for the men's dance at a girl's initiation (*intonjane*) or at a wedding. It was also beaten as an accompaniment to the solo dancing of Mpondo and Bhaca apprentice diviners, as an accompaniment to the questions in the question-and-answer of some Xhosa medical consultations, and at smellings-out. According to Kirby the *ingqongqo*, in 1932, was used only at boys' initiation ceremonies, and its use was dying out, but in 1955 it was said still to be used at *khwetha* dances and it was still mentioned in the literature of the following twenty years.

To neither of these two drums is the word *igubu* applied, though Kropf translates it as, amongst other things, a drum.

It is not clear to what J. W. D. Moodie's reference to a 'kind of rude drum made of a calabash and called *igubu*' applied. Kirby (p. 19) suggests that what he saw was a copy of a Khoi drum. Makalima describes *amagubu* as instruments made by diviners, and played by them hung over the chest by a string round the neck,

when 'they are holding night parties', and this may refer to the modern drum. In 1955 Mpondo informants stated that members of the Apostolic Faith separatist sect, who previously used a shield for drumming at their services, now used a drum, *igubu*, made of the base of an aloe stem, with a skin 'wrapped round it'. This they beat with a knobbed stick.

Latterly a metal drum, cut down to an appropriate size, with a skin drawn over each open end and the skins laced to each other at their edges, has come into general use. A strap for hanging round the neck may be added. This is the modern *igubu*, and is used by diviners and separatist churches.

The isolated case of a friction-drum seen near Flagstaff in 1958 is another new feature. It is likely that the owner had returned from working on the mines where that type of drum was known (C. J. Shaw pers. comm.).

FLUTES, PIPES AND WHISTLES

(Kirby: 82, 88–90, 94, 108, 112–117, 130–131)

One flute and three types of whistles were known in this area.

The flute, *ixilongo* (Xhosa) or *umtshinge* (Mpondo), or *ugempe* (Mpondo, Xesibe) (Pl. 121: 4), may be made of a river reed, *ingcongolo*, or of the bark of the *umhlele (Ehretia hottentotica),* or *umsenge* (*Cussonia spicata*), from which latter the wood is carefully removed so as not to break the bark. One end is cut diagonally for the mouthpiece, the other is cut off at right angles and in playing is stopped with one finger. According to Plant it was once a hunter's instrument but latterly played only by boys. Only Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo and Xesibe informants knew it as described. The Transvaal Museum, however, had a specimen (now at the National Cultural History and Open-Air Museum) of a Mpondo reed pipe, *ubokomela*, a thick reed cut off straight at both ends but narrowed at one (Pl. 121: 2).

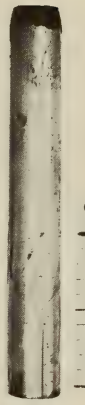
The earliest mention of a whistle, and indeed for a long time the only one, was the Xhosa *imbande*, a bone whistle a few inches long, taken from the shin bone, the name of which it retains. Ivory, reed or the thigh bone of a sheep are given as alternative materials. According to the literature it was used for calling cattle,

PLATE 121

Bells, bows, drums, flutes and trumpets.

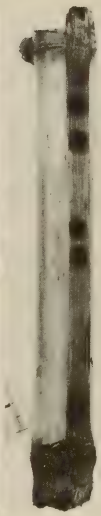
1. Mpondo playing *ugwali*, *c.* 700 mm; no locality, *c.* 1900 (Kidd 1904, pl. 83).
2. *ubokomela* (according to Museum register), reed flute, 259 mm, Mpondo; Lusikisiki, 1935 (TM 35/403).
3. Bomvana women beating dry cowhide as drum, *ingqongqo*, in male initiation rites; Elliotdale, 1958 (photo R. E. Carter, Umtata).
4. *ugempe*, flute, 325 mm, Mpondo; Lusikisiki, 1958 (SAM–8323).
5. *lesiba* (South Sotho word for the *gora*), 885 mm, Hlubi–Sotho; no further data (FH 112).
6. *imbelempe*, cow-horn war trumpet, 402 mm, Bomvana; Elliotdale, 1958 (EL 52).
7. *ulongolongo*, bells, on skirt of woman at dance, Bhaca; Lugangeni, Mt. Frere, 1948.
8. *isigodlo*, horn trumpet, 666 mm, Xhosa; no further data (FH 337).

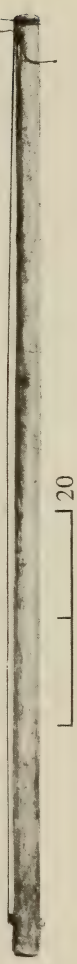

1



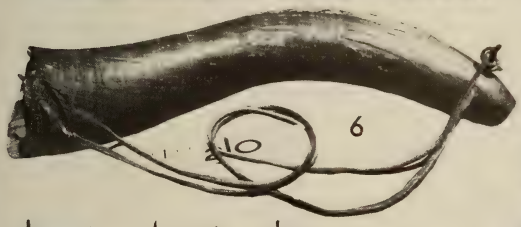
2


3


4



5



6


7


8

calling friends to help at a crisis in hunting, or signalling notice of various affairs, for example a gathering at a certain homestead. The record is only for the Xhosa, and the only description of the whistle is that it was 'similar to a Bushman pipe' (i.e. a simple length of bone).

The whistle used in 1948 by herds to call the cattle was a double-barrelled reed instrument, apparently based on the European police-type whistle. In the Xhosa variety two short pieces of reed of unequal length, each with a piece cut out of the side about 1,5 cm from one end and fitted with a fipple of calabash or melon rind, are first stuck together with wax so that the fipples are side by side, and then for greater security bound together with brass wire in two places (Pl. 122: 2, 4). The Xhosa call this *umkhombe* (according to Plant they call it *impempe* too). Various Mpondo informants knew this as *umtshingo* or *impempe* (Pl. 86: 2). Some knew only this type, but it is not clear whether they knew the double- or single-barrelled sort. According to Kirby, the Mpondo made a variant by inserting a single tube of grass into 'a hollow sphere' of clay, and called it *udongwe* (clay). Mpondo informants in 1955 knew this sort, and called it *impempe*. Bhaca informants knew only the former and called it *impempe*. A double-barrelled wooden whistle of the Bomvana, obtained in Mqanduli in 1967, is in East London Museum (EL Eth 5308).

The term *impempe* seems latterly to have been used by the Xhosa exclusively for the metal, sergeant's-type or 'penny' whistle that is obtained at the stores. Some informants knew it, however, as a single reed whistle, made like the separate barrels of *umkhombe*. According to Kirby, it was originally a single short piece of reed, stopped at one end by the node, and cut at right angles at the other, which was laid on the hollowed tongue.

GORAS

(Kirby: 183–184)

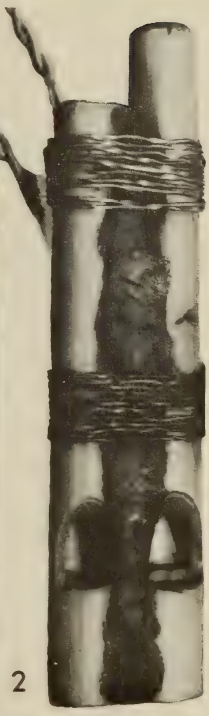
The *gora*, *ugwali* (Pl. 121: 1), consists of a straight wooden or reed stave, about 60 cm long. The twisted sinew string is wound round it at one end, and at the other fastened neatly to one end of an oval piece of quill. The other end of the quill is placed between a split peg, which is inserted into a hole in the top of the stave. The string lies taut along the stave and is vibrated by the player placing the quill between his lips and breathing sharply in and out or, according to Makalima, in

PLATE 122

Rattles and whistles.

1. Ankle-rattles of female *isanuse*, Gcaleka; Meadowlands, Johannesburg, 1968.
2. *umkhombe*, whistle, 100 mm, Xhosa; Qwaninga, Willowvale, 1948.
3. Palm-leaf rattles, 440 mm, ?Mpondo; no data (SAM–2873).
4. Xhosa youth blowing *umkhombe*; Bojeni, Willowvale, 1948.


1


2



3


4

only. This is a solo instrument played for the enjoyment of the player. All the records indicate that it was played only by men.

The *gora* is an instrument of the Khoikhoi (Hottentots), but has been adopted by other groups. According to Alberti it was played only by the Gonaqua Hottentots who had been absorbed by the Xhosa, but 25 years later it was noted among the Thembu, and the Mpondo certainly knew it too (Pl. 121: 1). Modern Xhosa knew it, but some said that it was no longer used, and the Thembu said the same. Modern Mpondo did not seem to know it, though according to Hunter it had been known but had gone out of use. The Hlubi use the *gora*, but probably from their contacts with the South Sotho, among whom it is common (Pl. 121: 5).

HORNS

(Kirby: 79)

In former times an antelope horn, *isigodlo* (Pl. 121: 8), was used by the Xhosa for signalling in war, or according to Kirby to summon people to the chief's place. Nowadays it is an ox-horn and is said to be used only by boys at play, or according to some informants by *abakhwetha* when they want food. The Bomvana also used a horn, *imbelempe* (Fenwick corresp.), *butya* (Kirby), for signalling in war, and it is still so used by uncircumcised youths in mock fights or faction fights. According to Kirby they also use it in the initiation ceremonies. Amongst them too the antelope horn has been replaced by an ox-horn (Pl. 121: 6). According to Hunter the Mpondo used a horn, *ubokomela*, but no details are given. (Compare flutes, etc., p. 840.)

Informants of the other groups did not know the horn, but Xesibe stated that it was now used at the beginning of the services of the Zionist sects. Bhaca said *ixilongo* was a horn trumpet.

Makalima states that the large end of the horn is closed with a round of calabash, and a mouthpiece is made in the side. The two museum specimens seen (Xhosa and Bomvana), however, were open at both ends, that at the tip being the mouthpiece. According to Kirby, the former is correct, and the latter is un-African and indicates a borrowing from European sources.

RATTLES

(Kirby: 6–8)

Despite the number of terms in the vocabulary, it is doubtful whether the use of rattles is very old. With the exception of *amanqashela* of the Xhosa, which as far as was seen were ornaments, not rattles, of the *imiguza* of the Xhosa, and of the *amakhahlazo* of the Mpondo, the words refer to modern things, and the two latter are not in the Dictionary. They are not mentioned in the early literature, and it may be that they are comparatively recent developments, possibly from ideas introduced by some of the immigrant groups.

Rattles are used as an accompaniment to the rhythm of a dance, and are worn on the dancer's person, either round waist, wrists or legs, below the knees, or round the ankles. Two sorts of rattle were used by the Xhosa: *imiguza*, a number of small dry gourds strung on *uluthi* and worn across the chest like a bandolier, or over the hips—the latter, and possibly both, by girls; and *isikunjane*, a small tin containing pebbles or potsherds, the top closed and with holes in the bottom; it is tied with string below the knee. According to Plant sheep may also respond to the sound of *isikunjane*.

Amanqashela were described to Kirby as leather dancing rattles, but informants now only know them as leather or skin or even brass-wire or grass anklets worn by dancers as ornaments.

The Thembu were said to have used two sorts of rattle: the above-mentioned small tin with stones in it, called *isiwahlane*; and an anklet, *inkaca*, made of twisted twigs of a tree, which rattle when the wearer dances. Similar anklets of twisted stems of *Tecomaria capensis* were worn by the Mpondo as ornaments, but they do rattle in the dance. According to Kirby, and there is a specimen in the South African Museum (SAM–2873), the Mpondo wore rattles, *amakhahlazo (amahlahlazo*, Kirby), made of a group of small containers of woven palm leaf, with pebbles inside (Pl. 122: 3). Kirby's specimens were tied round the ankles, but the museum specimen is in a bunch, and might have been worn below the knee or carried in the hand. Informants in 1955 knew the type of rattle, but said that it was not palm leaf (*ilala*) that was used, but 'strips of a tree', and that the name *amakhahlazo* was now given to the rattles made of crown-corks. The crown-cork rattles seen in East Pondoland were bunches of thongs with crown-corks strung on them, and in some cases fastened through holes in the bottom of a small tin. These were carried in the hand and shaken to the rhythm of the dance. Ankle rattles of crown-corks are said to be used too. Another ankle rattle seen in East Pondoland consisted of a number of small pieces of tin, each bent to form a container for a pebble, and strung in a row between two thongs, like the cocoon rattles of the Bushmen, and bound round the ankles. A Xhosa woman *isanuse*, living in Johannesburg, was wearing anklets of moth cocoons (Pl. 122: 1) but this does not seem to be characteristic of the Cape Nguni, although Elliott reports that he saw boys wearing them at dances and stick fights.

The impression gained is that there were two sorts of rattle—ankle ornaments, which made a pleasing sound in the dance and may have been chosen for that purpose but remained ornaments, and true rattles made from introduced materials, a recent idea possibly introduced by immigrant groups.

SPINNING DISCS

(Kirby: 72)

Kirby records the use of a spinning disc, *uvuvu*, by the Xhosa but gives no further information or description. Most informants did not know it and none was seen, but the Bhaca knew it as *uvungu* and some Mpondo knew *uvuluvulu*, which

they described as just a toy. Xesibe described it as a piece of wood on a string, which would seem to be a spinning disc.

RECENT TRENDS

Today gramophones, concertinas, guitars, jew's harps bought or home-made, radios and tape-recorders have filled the place of the old instruments.

TOYS AND GAMES

SOURCES

1782 Carter pp. 71–72 Xhosa: spear-throwing

'During their march through this nation [the Caffrees], they one day saw a great number of the natives, (Hymes believes near three hundred) exercising themselves on a fine gradual slope, in throwing the assaygay or lance. Being arranged in two lines on opposite sides of the lawn, one of the men rolled, with all his strength from the top of the descent, a wooden ball; and so expert were they, that in the passage, they would lodge their lances in it.'

1782 Hubberly p. 117 Gqunukhwebe: fencing game

'We often had dancing and cudgelling, which parties I sometimes joined . . . but not being accustomed to their mode of the game in holding the stick by each end, he hit me some hard blows over the head, ...'

1877–8 Norbury (1880) pp. 49–50 Xhosa: stick game

'The Kaffirs are warlike from their earliest years; even the young children practice throwing the assegai, by rolling a large bulb along the ground, and hurling sharply-pointed sticks at it when in motion; this is a favourite pastime with the boys when tending the cattle.'

(1919) Aitchison p. 678 Cape Nguni: games and toys

'*Sports and Pastimes*—The following are some of the pastimes indulged in by Native children.

Bird and rat hunting, the quarry being taken home, roasted over the coals, and eaten with great relish.

Tobogganing (the toboggan being constructed from the forked branch of a tree, to serve as runners).

Games of skill, e.g. *ukuhlaba intsema*. The root of a bulbiferous plant is used. The boys stand in a row about three or four yards apart, on an inclined plane. One of their number is told off to start the bulb, and as it passes down the line, sharpened sticks are thrown at it. The boy who succeeds in transfixing the bulb is given the highest place.

Tops are made from various bulbs through which a sharpened stick is thrust. These are spun by twirling the stick between the hands, and are allowed to revolve on a sheepskin prepared for the purpose. The little girls make dolls from clay and

dress them up in any rags that may be found lying about, and the boys make little models of oxen, etc., from clay.'

(1919) McLaren, J. pp. 441–442 Xhosa: clay figures

'The Xosas also moulded figures, or dolls, of clay, *izi-tomo*, resembling those of the earliest races of mankind, in which the most notable thing was the want of proportion in the size of the different parts of the body. The clay oxen that Xosa boys burn today show the same feature in the immense size of the horns.'

1925 Goodwin p. 19 Mpondo: toys, stick-fighting

'The girls have their dolls, little mealie cobs dressed in rags, ... The boys play more manly games. They mould clay oxen, and inspan them to sardine tins. They play at single sticks, with another stick held in the one hand as a ward. Now and then they practice spear throwing or throw their sticks.'

(1926*b*) Müller, F. p. 43 Hlubi: clay figures

'Das kleine Schulkind betätigt sich schon eifrig im Formen von Ochsen und Pferden in dem dunkelfarbigen, tonartigen Lehm, wie er überall bei uns vorkommt. Sind die Figuren auch sehr roh und in keiner Weise künstlerisch ausgedacht zu nennen, so zeigen sie doch alle die betreffende charakteristische Form des darzustellenden Tieres und beweisen somit, dass auch der kleine Kaffer und das kleine Kafferfräulein aufmerksame Beobachter der Natur sind.'

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 160–161 Mpondo: games, dolls, clay figures, string figures

'As in all societies games play a great part in education . . . boys hunt birds and rodents, ... A boy of 9 . . . can make several kinds of traps, and has learnt much about tracking. Fighting with sticks is as constant an occupation of the Pondo as is playing with a ball of the English. . . . Boys race, swim, wrestle, and practise throwing sticks. One stick is thrown in the air, and others try to hit it before it falls; a stick is driven upright into the ground, players stand fifty yards away and throw other sticks, trying to knock down the upright. . . . Other games are tobogganing down a steep grass slope, tying your head up in a blanket and rolling down a hill, swinging on monkey ropes, hand stands, somersaults, tig. . . .

Girls' duties are more arduous than those of boys, so their games are not so well developed, but even those who have live babies to care for play at building houses, make dolls out of clay or mealie cobs, and carry them about on their backs. A small girl will spend hours twisting a rag round a maize cob. When quite tiny, girls take stones and pretend to grind. . . . Both sexes model clay oxen, build kraals, and make wagons and sledges. Now clay motor-lorries are supplanting wagons. Both boys and girls make string figures (*mambece*) and play a form of chuckies.

European games are spreading fast.'

(1937) Soga, T. B. p. 158 Xhosa: girls' games

'Kudala ngokwetu ukwazi ebeqala ekupuceni, kumana kudlaliswa ngokwenziwa izindlwana, inqayana, nabantwana bomdongwe. . . .'

[In the olden times, as far as we know, little girls' first game was *ukuphuca* ('a game . . . played with little stones'—Kropf), and play also consisted in making miniature houses, earthen vessels, and clay dolls. . . .]

(1939) Duggan-Cronin legend to pl. 30 Thembu: clay oxen

'Herd-boys have a hard time in bad weather, but when the weather is fine they enjoy many amusements, while their charges are grazing or resting at midday. Of these, modelling clay oxen beside the rivers is one of the chief. The oxen are more sturdy than elegant.'

1945 Makalima chapter 33 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: games

par. 1 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: games for little children

'7. Ukuxonxa:—Ngumdlalo wamakwenkwe lo, kodwa abantwana abancinci ungafika nabo besenza amaqhophololwana enkomo, nabantu nonopopi abancinci abangachulezwanga pofu ukwenziwa.

8. Umatshawe kutatwa incence igotywe ngapambili apa. Iti ke ibekwe endaweni eyehlayo, enengca. Ke uti akwele ityilizwe kwanguye ngenyawo, ebambelele pantsi, ide isuke ibaleke kakulu iye kuma ezantsi. Benza ugqatso ngazo. Kubako nenkulu ekwelisa abantwana abaninzi. Kutiwa ukubizwa kwaleyo yibhasi.'

[7. *Ukuxonxa* (moulding clay): This is a pastime of boys, but you may find little children also making figurines of cattle, people, and little dolls, though somewhat crudely.

8. *Umatshawe*: A piece of corrugated iron is bent up at one end and placed on a sloping place where there is grass. A boy gets on it and pushes it with his feet while he supports himself on the ground. It eventually moves off with great speed until it rests at the bottom of the slope. They run races with it. They sometimes have a large one on which a number of children climb. That one is called the bus.]

par. 2 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: games for little girls

'*Izindlu zodaka* ziyasindwa, kwenziwe imizi. Kulemizike kuhlala onopopi, abenziwe ngemipa nokuba kungokuni neziziba. Kulendawo ibubuso kuba lilapu elimhlope, ngasemva kulendawo yenwele ibalelimnyama.'

[*Mud huts*: Their floors are smeared with cow-dung, homesteads are made. In these homesteads dolls are kept, made of maize cobs or wood and pieces of cloth. Where the face is, a white cloth is placed and at the back in the place where the hair is, a black cloth is placed.]

par. 3 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: games for little boys

'1. Umdongwe kuxonxwa inkomo, amahashe nenqwelo kwenziwe nengqatso ngalomahashe. Inkabi zitsala inqwelo, kubeko nabaqhubi. Kwenziwa nebroro emlanjeni.

2. *Utinti* wenziwa ngentonga. Kumiliselwa induku kwelinye icala. Kumanake kugityiselwa landuku, kusukwa ndaweni nye, ngabanye. Omnye akude ayichane, ziposwa ngapaya zonke induku, iti ke ngoku ibe yinto ebucekwa eti ke ngoku umtu ancindwe entloko. . . .

6. *Ukutiya* kutiywa ngezigu ebusika, kutiywe intaka ngeminyiki. Ezintaka ke zityiwa ngokuhlwa zonke emakaya. Imini le zembelwa apa ecaleni kwesigu.

7. *Amaqegu* xa koluswayo umtu uqhelisa itole libe liqegu lake. Eloqegu ke xa kugodukwa womane kwela kulo. Kuko amaxesha okuwabalekisa ugqatso lamaqegu.

8. *Owenduku* kuyagulwa, kumana kubizwana, badibane ke ngababini babetane. Uti oqondayo ukuba uyoyiswa ati, "Undikhupile" okanye "Masiyeke". Kude kuvele inkwenkwe ekutiwa yinkunzi ke eti iwatyutye iwabete onke nje ngokuba esiza kuyo.'

[1. Clay: Oxen, horses and wagons are moulded and a race is staged with these horses. The oxen draw the wagon and there are drivers as well. Bridges are made across the rivers also.

2. *Utinti* is made of a stick. A stick is planted in the ground on the one side. The stick is thrown at with sticks by the players from one spot, one by one until one of them hits it. That then is a tig game and one is then touched on the head. . . .

6. Trapping: This is done during winter, by means of stone fall-traps, using caterpillars as bait to catch birds. These are all eaten at home in the evenings. During the day they are buried next to the trap.

7. Pack- and riding oxen (*amaqegu*): When boys are herding cattle, they train calves whose horns have appeared to become their riding oxen. When they go home they ride them. There are times for racing them.

8. A game of sticks: Two challenge each other. They meet and hit each other with sticks. The one who feels that he is being worsted, says 'You have put me out' or 'Let us drop it'. Eventually the boy emerges who is called the bull, and goes through them hitting them all as they come towards him.]

par. 4 Fingo, Mpondomise, Thembu: games for young people

'6. *Imiteto yemidlalo*:— Abantwana abancinci badlala bodwa, intombi zidlala zodwa, amakwenkwe adlala odwa kanti nabafana badlala bodwa. . . .

9. *Imidlalo ayenziwa ngamaxesha atile?* Ewe, ako amaxesha atile angalungileyo ekudlaleni. Xa kuziliwe akudlalwa naxa kungcwatywa. . . .

12. *Ikona etatwa ngokuba inengqeqesho?* Ewe, imidlalo etile itatwa ngokuba inengqeqesho ebantwaneni. Imidlalo enje ngamaleqe amaqegu, ukudlala induku njalo-njalo. Wonke umtu, kufuneka ayidlale le midlalo ilunge ngengqeqesho enayo.'

[6. *Rules of the games:* Little children play on their own, girls play on their own, boys play on their own, yet young men also play on their own. . . .

9. Are there times when games are not played? Yes, certain times are not appropriate for games. During mourning periods and at the time of funerals there is no play. . . .

12. . . . Certain games are regarded as educative for children. Games such as cattle racing, fighting with sticks, etc., everybody should take part in these games for the sake of the training that is in them.]

(1953) Raum pp. 104ff., 163ff. Xhosa, Hlubi: rolling-target game

p. 106 Xhosa, Hlubi: target

'The Nguni target is not the woven disc or hoop but the bulbous root of

euphorbias and sansevieras. It is described as wheel-shaped or spherical and weighing up to eight pounds. They are dug out, cut into half, sometimes two or three for an afternoon's game.'

p. 108 Xhosa: spearing target

'Xhosa, Zulu and Natal tribes aim at spearing the target and show no refinement in counting hits.'

p. 109 Xhosa: contests

'The reports of the great number of players and onlookers in the Chaga and Xhosa games of the past show that the r.t.g. was a sports event. Its primary attraction, if viewed in this light, seems to be the testing of individual skill, the competition of teams and—in those instances where bolas are used—the handling of a missile which is not of immediate practical use.'

p. 165 Xhosa: human target

'(The employment of human beings as moving targets—whether for practice or magical purposes—is known elsewhere. Shepstone reported an incident in the forties of the last century, where a Xhosa girl was attacked by "wolves" and so badly lacerated that hope was given up to cure her. She was given the choice of two deaths: to go into the wilds or allow herself to be used as target by the boys of the neighbouring kraals plying their sharp sticks of about 5 feet length at her! . . .)'

p. 168 Hlubi: rolling target in weather magic

'*The R.T.G. in Weather Magic*. . . . This general principle is confirmed in the particular case of the South African Hlubi r.t.g. Here boys got the order from the chief to play the game in a drought or in, or before, the ploughing season. There is thus evidence enough for examining the connexion between r.t.g. and agricultural fertility magic.'

1949–62 Hammond-Tooke (1962) pp. 221–222 Bhaca: stick-fighting

'From a very early age the young herdboys of a district will fight those of other districts, and I have seen a yelling crowd gathered on the slopes above the Umzimvubu River, brandishing sticks and shouting battlecries to a similar group of another location on the other slope. Fighting with sticks is a favourite sport among young boys.'

1968 Holt (1969) pp. 85–87 Tshezi: toys, games

p. 85 Tshezi: clay models

'Much time is spent modelling in clay. Boys make models of oxen with wide up-sweeping horns and have sham fights with these; or they yoke them two by two in teams to draw model carts or sleighs. They make models of buses, like the railway buses they see on the road to Umtata, complete with passengers, and they make little roads on the veld for them to go along. Sometimes they go to the ponds and rivers and catch frogs, which they harness to their little models to pull them. They also dig replicas of dipping-tanks, in which they dip their clay oxen.'

p. 86 Tshezi: stick fights

'Stick-fights are common among them for amusement. A long stick is held in the left hand (which is tightly wrapped around with a blanket for protection), and

this is used to ward off blows. In the right hand is a shorter stick used as a weapon of attack. Sometimes bouts of friendly rivalry take place . . . but sometimes, too, these draw in older brothers and fathers . . . and end up as serious faction fights. . . .'

p. 87 Tshezi: stick fights

'However, happily, most stick-fights are in the nature of harmless amusements.'

p. 87 Tshezi: dolls

'Little girls too enjoy themselves making dolls (*onopopi*, from Afrikaans *poppie*, a little doll) of maize cobs, which they dress up with old rags, unless an obliging mother makes appropriate dresses for them. These dolls they often carry on their backs as if they were real babies. They make little houses for them and then play at house-keeping by grinding earth between two stones, pretending they are grinding maize to make beer for their dolls;. . . .'

(1970) Elliott pp. 64, 70–71 Xhosa: toys, games

p. 64 Xhosa: clay oxen

'Alternatively they will just as easily spend the whole day beside the river making clay oxen.'

pp. 70–71 Xhosa: stick-fighting

Nothing more.

TOYS AND GAMES: TERMS

isithomo 1. image carved in wood, or moulded in clay, doll, puppet, D. 2. figurine, any image, general **1070**

-xonxa form in clay, D (Makalima) **1071**

unopopi (from Afr. *poppie*) 1. nD. 2. doll, X (Bo–Holt), not general **1072**

amambece 1. nD. 2. string figures, T Mp **1074**

unyawo lwenkuku 'The Hen's Foot', a child's game played with string on fingers, D, not asked Transkei **1075**

iguni small flat stone used by girls in the game *unocweba* (kicking it from square to square marked on the ground), D X Mp **1076**

imbongisa cone-shaped fruit of *umbhongisa* (monkey apple, *Royena lycioides* DC.) used by children as a spinning top, D Mp **1077**

ingqalutye 1. ball or pebble used by children for throwing in the game *ukuphuca*, D. 2. made of clay, X. 3. small round pebble, Mp **1078**

inkwitshi 1. sling, made of stripped maize cob fastened on switch and hurled away, D. 2. stick with cob or clay on end for hurling at birds (X–McLaren 1915). 3. unknown, X Bo Mp **1079** (322)

isigcuntsa pin, thorn, piece of wire or small pointed stick, used in the play *uku-gcuntsa*, D **1080**

itshwili 1. nD. 2. rope for swinging, Mp. 3. not confirmed **1081**

ugquphu playing by jumping over a thong, skipping, D X T **1082**

ukhanju 1. nD. 2. javelin (pointed stick) for throwing at rolling target carved from a bulbous growth, Mp. 3. short wooden javelin, of boys, used to throw at melon or some other rolling target, T **1083**

-gcuntsa throw the *isigcuntsa* at the tuberous root of *isikholokotho* (*Sansevieria thyrsiflora* Thun.). By this method two boys determine which of them is to turn the cattle. The one who misses is defeated, D X **1084**

-phuca 'throwing up' game of children played with pebbles, general **1085**

umjingo 1. rope slung between poles for hanging clothes on; swing, D X Bo T Bh. 2. swing, of children, Xes Bh. (From *-jinga* hang, depend; swing backwards and forwards; dangle, D) **1086** (89)

amapheli, amaphelisi 1. nD. 2. plank used as toboggan to slide down steep slope (game of children), T **1087**

umtyibiliza (from *-tyibiliza* cause to slide) 1. nD. 2. incline made slippery by boys, to slide down in play, X Mp **1088**

unqiwu-nqiwu 1. nD. 2. see-saw (pole), Xes **1089**

uthinti 1. nD. 2. stick put up as target to throw at; game of boys doing so, T Mp **1090**

TOYS AND GAMES: DISCUSSION

Most of the information on material objects for play comes, as will be seen, from the terms listed above and from fieldwork. It is not a subject that has attracted much attention in the literature, particularly of the early days.

According to Makalima, groups stick together for play—small children, boys, girls, older girls, and young men. At certain times, for example periods of mourning, games should not be played.

FIGURE MODELLING—*ukuxonxa*

(Pl. 123)

The making of models and figurines, *izithomo*, of clay or other material is a favourite pastime with children of the Cape Nguni, as with those elsewhere in southern Africa. The clay used is found easily at the edge of streams and pools. Rarely the figures are fired, but generally simply dried in the sun. Children of both

PLATE 123

Clay-modelling.

1. Clay figures of oxen and herdsman, *c.* 60 mm, Mpondo; Ntontela, Lusikisiki, 1942 (Alb. C1304).
2. Mpondomise boy modelling clay oxen to play with; Tsolo, 1958.
3. Clay figure of ox, Mpondo; Ntontela, Lusikisiki, 1942 (Alb. C1304).
4. Clay figure of baboon, Mpondo; Ntontela, Lusikisiki, 1942 (Alb. C1304).
5. Clay oxen, Mpondomise; Tsolo, 1958.
6. Mpondomise boy modelling clay oxen to play with; Tsolo, 1958.
7. Clay figures of women, 130–140 mm, Mpondomise; Tsolo, 1945 (Alb. G112).



1



2



3



4



5



6



7

sexes do modelling and use the objects made in play. Boys and little children make oxen (Pl. 123: 2, 6), little kraals for them, and sometimes horses, wagons, motor-vehicles and human figures as well. The oxen are the most important. Those of the older boys are often very well done and tend to have a conventional style with a hump and wide horns (Pl. 123: 3). Girls make huts, human figures (Pl. 123: 7) and dolls.

DOLLS—*unopopi*

Little girls of all the tribes make dolls to play with, not only out of clay but also by dressing maize cobs in rags (Pl. 82: 3). Sometimes they give them faces of white rag, and hair of black. Clay dolls are also dressed. The dolls are carried on the back like babies. Some girls make huts, utensils and homesteads out of clay for their dolls to use. The use of a term taken from the Afrikaans *poppie* puts a date to the dolls that we know. If there was anything of the sort before, it has not left evidence in the vocabulary.

STRING FIGURES—*amambece*

(Pl. 124)

String figures are not mentioned in the literature, except for two of the terms given and Hunter's statement that they are made by both boys and girls. Informants at Langa did not know them, nor did Bomvana or Bhaca. All other informants knew them, however, and some small boys in Pondoland gave a demonstration. Some informants said they had been learnt at school.

GAMES

A game called *ukugcuntsa* that used to be played by Xhosa boys was for a group to stand in two rows and each boy to aim a sharp-pointed stick, *ukhanju*, at a large bulbous growth that was rolled down-hill between their ranks. The winner was the boy who succeeded in piercing the target (*ukuhlaba intsema*). The targets used were either the globose main stem of *Euphorbia bupleurifolia* (*intsema*), or the globose tuber of *Raphionacme purpurea*, or the tuberous root of *Sansevieria thyrsiflora* (*isikholokotha*). The game was still played until recently by older boys, using sharply pointed sticks. Raum, who calls it the 'rolling-target game', suggests that formerly it had social and ritual significance, and used to be played as a major sporting event, but modern informants did not know of this. The game is played in many parts of Africa. (For a full discussion see Raum (1953): 104–121, 163–180.)

PLATE 124

String figures (*amambece*), Mpondo; Libode, 1958.













Xhosa and Thembu informants gave the same name to the game of throwing an aloe thorn at the leaf of an aloe (Thembu) or cotyledon (Xhosa). The loser had to fetch back straying cattle.

Tops were made, according to Aitchison, by putting a sharp stick through a bulb, twirling it and allowing it to spin on a sheepskin. According to the Dictionary and to Mpondo informants, the cone-shaped fruit (*imbongisa*) of the monkey apple (*Royena lycioides*, now *R. pallens*) was used as a top. This fruit is hard-shelled and ovoid, but only 15 to 40 mm in diameter, and there is no mention of a stick. Xhosa and Thembu informants said that tops were a new thing learnt at school or bought from shops, but other Thembu said they used to be made of clay. Xesibe said they were made out of the *igeli* root.

The sticks that boys always carry, are used as weapons in the fencing game, *owenduku* (see Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981: 322), and also to throw at another stick (*uthinti*) stuck upright in the ground, or thrown into the air, as a target. Xhosa girls may have light stick fights too.

Boys and young children toboggan, *umatshawe*, down a grassy slope, *umtyibiliza*. According to Aitchison a forked log was formerly used. Wet rocks also make good slides, with or without a stone to sit on. (So far no ritual significance in connection with this latter practice has been discovered.) Nowadays planks (*amapheli*) or sheets of corrugated iron are the favourite vehicles, and the latter may take more than one person.

Several games are played with stones or pellets of dried clay. One (*-phuca*) is like five-stones, another (*unocweba*) like hopscotch.

Ropes of fibre or thong are used for skipping (*ugquphu*) or swinging (*umjingo*). Xesibe informants were the only ones to describe a see-saw made from a log, but Langa informants said they knew it.

The game of hurling a lump of clay, or a stripped mealie cob, from the end of a pliant stick (*isisaulo*) and aiming it at persons or things, is put to good use in some places for scaring birds from the ripening crops.

Boys go bird- and rat-hunting with bows and arrows, and trap with the flat stone fall-trap and other traps (see Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981: 355–360). When out herding, they ride calves and teach them to race.

Girls, particularly, play at grown-up occupations. In addition to carrying their dolls on their backs, they may be seen grinding with a small pair of stones, or smearing a small floor.

There seems to be a definite feeling that games are educative, and boys are expected at least to train calves as riding-oxen and to race cattle and fight with sticks, as a training for later life.

There are no adult games with fixed equipment, unless one includes the game played by hemp-smokers of spitting saliva and water through a tube to make patterns on the ground (see p. 748). For example, the men's board game, variously called *mancala, fuba, moruba* (Sotho), is not known to any of the Nguni, although generally known throughout the rest of Africa, including Namaqualand.

TRADE AND CURRENCY

SOURCES

1686 'Stavenisse' (Godée Molsbergen 1922) pp. 61, 64 Xhosa: trade, bride price

p. 61 Xhosa: trade

'Midderwyl dat sij dus gerustelijk leevden wierd haar bekend gemaakt dat alle jaaren op gewisse tijd en plaats een dag reisens van haar gelegen, somtijds 50 ook wel 100 Hottentots met wijf en kind kwaamen tegen koralen en kopere ringetjes dagha . . . verhandelen. . . .'

p. 64 Xhosa: bride price, iron, beads

'. . ., en koopt de Bruidigom sijn Bruijd van haar ouders, ten sulken prijs als hij best kan, te weeten voor seeker getal ossen, koeijen, iser, kooper, of koralen. . . . Het minnespel staat den jonge dogteren vrij, dien het geen schande is ook bij getrouwde mans te slaapen, mits datse daarvoor betaald werden, zijnde het ordinares loon van dien 3 isere vinger-ringetjes, of 10 à 12 gemeene coralen of iets anders daarse sin toe hebben.'

1686 'Stavenisse' (Bird 1888) p. 43 Xhosa: bride price

Same as above.

1687–8 'Centaurus' (Cape Archives) pp. 446, 447 Xhosa: bride price, trade

p. 446 Xhosa: bride price

'De veelheid van vrouwen, indien sij se maar konnen onderhouden, is bij haar in gebreuijck, en moeten de selven van d'ouders, voor beesten, assagaijen, ijser, en cöper koopen.'

p. 447 Xhosa: trading

'Niemand sal ook soo vermeeten sijn, van jeets aan een vreemdeling sonder toestemming van den Conincx te verruijlen.'

1777–9 Paterson (1789) p. 93 Xhosa: trade

'. . . beads and brass rings which they purchased from the Hottentots for tobacco and Dacka.'

1803 Janssens (Godée Molsbergen 1932) p. 157 Xhosa: barter

'De generaal ruylde voor de rariteit eenige van hunne assagaayen, een soort van werpspies tegens kopere plaaten en coraalen, waarop zy zeer verzot zijn, ...'

1802–6 Alberti (1810*a*) pp. 145–147 Xhosa: currency

p. 145 Xhosa: trade, cattle

'Algemeen heerscht bij de Kaffers eene hartstogtelike neiging tot den handel, waarvan de grond minder gelegen schijnt in het verlangen om sekere behoeften te vervullen, dan wel hoofdzakelijk in winzucht en verrijking. . . . Het vee is de voornaamste tak van handel, dien de Kaffers thans nog onder elkanderen drijven. In vorige tijden pleegden ook de Kapenaars veel vee tegen onbeduidende kleinigheden van hun interuilen;'

pp. 146–147 Xhosa: currency

'Eer de Kaffers met de Europeërs bekend werden schijnen de Werpspiesen bij uitzondering het gebrek aan geld vervuld en tevens tot dit oogmerk in den handel te hebben. Ook nog hieft dit zelfde geval plaats. Naderhand echter hebben rood en geel koper en de glaskoralen eene gelijke waarde ontfangen . . . intuschen is derzelve waarde door den steeds toenemende overvloed merklijk gedaald. . . . Alleenlijk behouden nog de Werpspiesen hare echte waardij, omdat derzelver vervaardiging, uit hoofde van het gebrek der daartoe noodige werktuigen, uitermate bezwaarlijk valt, en derzelver verlies bij de jagt en andere gelegenheden telkens wederom moet hersteld worden. Knoopen, ter gewone versieringe der Vrouwen-mantels, worden zeer hoog geschat, mits geheel van metaal en duurzaam in het gebruik; die, welke van binnen hout zijn en oogen hebben van darmsnaren, worden weinig geteld. In het algemeen hechten de Kaffers in hun oordeel zich aan het gene sterk, en maken weinig werks van alles, wat slechts kort van duur is. Ook daarom hebben de gladde Knoopen den voorrang boven alle anderen, wier oppervlakte gedreven of gestoken is; wordende zelfs de laatste soorten met den naam van *melaatsch* bestempeld.'

(See also Alberti 1810*b* (English edition): 71, 72.)

1809 Collins (Moodie, D. C. F. 1838) part V, p. 39 Xhosa: trade

'We were surprised on the following morning by the appearance of six Kaffers. They told us that they were proceeding from Gyka . . . to Opato . . . the Tambookie Chief . . . a few miles east of the Zomo. . . . The messengers informed us that the object of their journey was to exchange copper chains for cattle. This barter is conducted in a very gallant manner. The messengers deliver the compliments of their Chiefs, and throw the chains round the necks of the favorite ladies. They ask nothing in return, but when they choose to terminate their visit, which was this time to last a week or ten days, they are presented with the supposed value of their gifts. The amount seems, however, to be perfectly understood by both parties; for they said they should receive a cow for each chain. Three of these Kaffers were at Opato's, for the same purpose, at the time of Mr Stockenstrom's visit to that Chief above 18 months before.'

1819–20 Stocker p. 69 Xhosa: items of trade

'It was also agreed "that the Kaffers should (under Gaika's authority) come to Graham's Town, at two fixed periods in every year, with ivory, skins, baskets, and such other articles they had for barter, and receive in exchange iron, copper, copper and brass wire, tobacco, tinder boxes, with other articles most desired by them".'

c. 1824–5 Smith pp. 200–201, 379 Xhosa: trade

pp. 200–201 Xhosa: beads and buttons

'. . . The possession of several universal standards by which they calculate the value of commodities is also another mark that civilisation has made some progress. [Those] though they may be said to be universal are increased or diminished

considerably in consequence or estimation according to the caprice of the nation or individuals of the nation and are thereby a very fluctuating medium. They are beads and buttons. Those then are to be considered at present the instruments of commerce and almost anything else though received as present will not be received in exchange. Value of strings of beads and the colour form and descriptions of each of those articles is variously estimated or valued according to the particular notions prevailing at the moment and which are caused by caprice and not any real or supposed actual difference of value.'

p. 379 Xhosa: Fort Willshire Fair

'They generally speaking did not like the plan of payment by cloths and articles of that nature and one caffer when he was offered a blanket along with some beads gave the buyer to understand that by putting a handful more of the former he might take back the latter [*sic*]. Their object is to purchase cattle and with the adjoining tribes clothing is of no value and consequently what is an article of currency with them becomes the main object of the caffer. Under those circumstances it would be better either to allow cows to be paid for ivory or else till such a time as they had acquired sufficient beads and buttons let those only be the articles of barter. Another great reason for making them so anxious for beads is that they can purchase a wife with them but no father will think of giving away his daughter for a suit of clothes or even receiving them in part payment.'

1820–31 Steedman (1835) **1** pp. 4–10, 17; **2** p. 280 Xhosa, Mpondo: trade

1 pp. 4–10 Xhosa: Fort Willshire Fair

A full account.

p. 7 Xhosa: beads

Nothing more.

p. 9 Xhosa: beads at fair

'Gaika . . . soon appeared for his accustomed tribute, ... Every look . . . of this arbitrary chieftain was narrowly scrutinized . . . , and as each string of *tamboos* [*ithambo*—small white bead, D] (the beads most valuable in their estimation) disappeared . . . their features bespoke their rage.'

p. 17 Xhosa: importance of beads

'Such is the avidity with which the natives of Cafferland importune those who visit their *umzis* or villages, for presents of beads, and so great is the value attached by them to these articles, which answer, in fact, all the purposes of a metallic currency in civilized nations, that a traveller must never fail to provide himself with a considerable quantity if he is desirous of prosecuting his researches into their country without obstacle or inconvenience, or if he expects to obtain among their dwellings the necessary comforts of food and shelter.'

2 p. 280 Mpondo: trade

'. . . a party of Bushmen, living . . . close to the Zimvoobo. They . . . [shoot] elephants, the flesh of which they eat, and exchange the ivory with Faku's people for corn and tobacco.'

1825 Phillips (1827) pp. 28, 204–208 Xhosa: trade with colonists

p. 28 Xhosa: commodities

'They bring in ivory, hides, gum, elephants' tusks, mats and baskets, to a very considerable amount.'

pp. 204–208 Xhosa: Fort Willshire Fair

Nothing more.

1827 Shrewsbury (1869) pp. 259, 269 Xhosa: church collection, currency

p. 259 Xhosa: church collection, currency

'At the close [of the meeting] each contributed in beads or buttons, the circulating medium of this land, what he could afford.'

p. 269 Xhosa: church collection, currency

'We had . . . this morning our first public collection, which amounted to one hundred strings of beads, thirteen ear-beads and two buttons, or about six shillings and four pence. . . .

The two buttons were given by two Kafirs who, having nothing else to give, each one cut a button off from his kaross.'

1827 Hallbeck & Fritsch (1826) pp. 304 Thembu, Xhosa: buttons, beads

Nothing more.

1825–9 Kay (1833) pp. 31, 66–67, 120, 374 Xhosa, Mpondo: trade, currency

p. 31 Xhosa: trade fair

'On the opposite bank were assembled about two hundred natives; who, upon the signal being given, instantly plunged into the river in crowds, without betraying any symptom of fear whatever. Few if any of them came empty handed: some brought baskets filled with milk, others large sacks of corn; scores of women came with pumpkins upon their heads, or otherwise laden with bundles of Indian corn, just as it had been plucked from the stalk. The articles given by the soldiers, in exchange for these things, were various coloured beads, buttons, brass wire, and old pieces of iron. This market was held every Monday morning, for the exclusive benefit of the garrison; and no barter whatever for ivory or cattle was allowed. The whole was conducted with as much order as circumstances would admit; and the moment all the various commodities were disposed of, the bugle was again blown, and the noisy throng jovially retired to the opposite side of the stream; where they immediately sat down in groups, to re-count and examine the amount of their gains.'

pp. 66–67 Xhosa: Fort Willshire Fair

'Soon after our return to the colony, a proclamation was issued by his Excellency the Governor, authorizing all persons of approved character, and duly licensed, to trade with the natives, who were therein declared to be at liberty to visit Fort Wiltshire [*sic*] weekly, with ivory, hides, and any other articles they might have for sale. It however enjoined certain restrictions and prohibitions, designed to guard the rights of the Kaffer, and likewise to preserve peace amongst the colonists. Various precautions also were taken to prevent quarrels, and misun-

derstandings, which were naturally expected to arise between buyer and seller, on so novel an occasion.

To this market the trader was allowed to take beads and buttons, hatchets and agricultural implements, together with various descriptions of coarse wearing apparel, blankets, etc. But he was positively forbidden to vend either wine or spirits, arms or ammunition; things that have proved so destructive amongst the American Indians, as well as other barbarous nations. Numbers eagerly engaged in this new traffic, and the mart soon became a place of great resort. The different clans, far and near, flocked to it in multitudes, and frequently presented scenes both ludicrous and interesting. The quantity of ivory brought down in the course of a few months furnished demonstrative evidence that the country beyond was by no means so poor as many had been disposed to think. It was at first apprehended that the door being thrown open for a free trade in cattle would be the means of rendering the Kaffer still more predatory and mischievous; that disposing of his oxen and kine at the market, he would inevitably reduce himself to the necessity of stealing more. This supposition, however, was founded in utter ignorance of that ardent attachment which he ever evinces towards his herds; and which at all times renders him loath to part even with a single head. He rarely disposes of a good cow at any price; but almost always selects for the market such as are no longer likely to be useful to him, in consequence of age, or some other defect.'

p. 120 Xhosa: cattle, beads, metal

'Large herds of cattle are accounted the greatest and most valuable riches that man can possess; and the increase of his stock, together with the various means by which that increase may be most fully ensured, is the subject of daily study with every native from the time that he is at all capable of engaging in the affairs of life, to the very last moment of his earthly career. This, in short, is the end of all his exertions, and the grand object of all his arts. His very heart and soul are in his herd; every head is as familiar to his eye as the very countenances of his children. He is scarcely ever seen shedding tears, excepting when the Chief lays violent hands upon some part of his horned family; this pierces him to the heart, and produces more real grief than would be evinced over the loss either of wife or child.

Beads, brass-wire, and gilt buttons, rank next in point of value. These, in fact, answer the two grand purposes to which gold and silver are applied in Europe, viz., trade and aggrandisement. They constitute the bullion of the country: and the sole medium of exchange, with the exception of a spear which is occasionally given in part of payment. In former days the returns consisted of cattle only; but since the door has been thrown open for export to the colony, ivory and hides also have become staple commodities. For the elephant's tusk they had formerly no other use than that of cutting it up into rings for bracelets; but, now that they have a regular market, that class of ornaments has in a great measure disappeared. As we have already remarked respecting their ruling propensity, the grand end in every thing seems to be the augmentation of their stock: hence they will seldom receive any article, however valuable in our estimation, for their staple commodities, that will not in some way or other enable them to make an accession to their herd.'

p. 374 Mpondo: copper rings

'Necklaces, ivory, and copper rings (of enormous size and thickness) constitute their principal and almost only ornaments. The latter, of which I have several specimens in my possession, are obtained from the tribes to the eastward, in exchange for corn and maize.'

1829 'An Economist' (1830) pp. 257–259 Xhosa: trade

'. . . early in 1822. . . . Regulations were formed for a trade between "the Caffer people and the Officers of the Colonial Government", for Red Clay, an article in some demand by the former, for the purpose of personal decoration, and which was abundant within the old boundary. The fair was ordered to be held every full moon, at the Clay Pits, on the western side of the Great Fish-river. . . .'

p. 258 Xhosa: trade

'The "Government" Fair soon ceased to be visited by Caffers. . . .'

p. 259 Xhosa: Fort Willshire Fair

'. . . the . . . measure of a Caffer Fair was ordered to be established by Proclamation bearing date the 23rd July, 1824, ...

Ivory and hides, for which were exchanged beads, buttons, and brass wire, were the principle articles of barter, and within the short period of 22 months, 112943 lbs. of the first mentioned articles, and 46575 hides . . . passed through. . . .'

1829 Bain pp. 95, 96, 104, 119–120 Xhosa, Bomvana, Mpondo, Xesibe: barter

p. 95 Bomvana: barter cattle for beads

'In the afternoon I took a ride to a kraal & procured one cow for beads.'

p. 96 Bomvana: barter cattle for beads

Nothing more.

p. 104 note 54 Mpondo, Xhosa: trade

'Faco's country may be considered the Granary of the eastern parts of Caffreland as they, the Amapondo, annually supply the inhabitants with great quantities of Maize and Caffre corn for which they receive in return hides, beads and cattle.'

pp. 119–120 Xesibe: ivory for beads

'I received a message from Mr. B. requesting me to come to the waggons without delay, as he could not supply the natives with beads fast enough in exchange for ivory. . . . I soon reached the waggons & found them surrounded with ivory & all our cows already disposed of . . . we both set to work to make up beads into saleable bunches & for some time could not supply them quick enough. We even purchased a number of small teeth for loose beads. . . . The teeth came on nearly as fast as the preceding day & our stock of cows being exhausted we sold an old bull & several very poor oxen &, had we had a few more head of cattle to spare, we could have filled our waggons without going any further, but they are loath to sell a large tooth without a cow, the balance they take in beads. . . .'

1829 Holman (1834) pp. 273–274 Xhosa: trade fair

p. 273 Xhosa: trade fair

'I was invited to remain at the Fort the following day, to be present at the Caffre fair, which is held on every Wednesday, when the average attendance of Caffres amounts to about 1000; the articles they bring are horns, hides, skins of various animals, and samboks (riding whips cut out of the hides of the hippopotami and rhinoceros), mats and baskets of rushes, earthen pots, wild honey in comb, and (when plentiful) maize and millet; these they exchange chiefly for beads and buttons, but they are rapidly acquiring a taste for more useful articles, namely, implements of husbandry, tin pots, clothing, handkerchiefs, &c.'

pp. 273–274 Xhosa: trade fair

'At 11 o'clock on Wednesday morning a flag is hoisted from the Fort, and almost immediately after, straggling groups of Caffres may be seen advancing from the mountain tops, the women bearing on their head the merchandise for the fair, consisting of hides, horns, mats, milk, and green forage, and accompanied by their husbands. On arriving at the market the hides are ranged in front, the horns immediately behind them, then the mats, milk, and green forage. The average number of hides appears to be about eight hundred, and from one to two thousand horns. . . . In exchange for these articles, the Caffre trader offers beads, buttons, brass wire, and common handkerchiefs:'

c. 1831–2 Smith pp. 11–12 Xhosa: articles of trade

' . . . bartering for corn and milk. Yellow ball buttons and thick brass wire were the articles which procured us most readily the supplies we required. Some desired beads, but they were so particular as to their tints and shapes, that it was scarcely possible to please them; and hence we found all but those which were in exact accordance with the fashion of the moment, of but little value . . . the buttons and wire . . . are the staple articles for barter throughout all Cafferland.'

(1832*a*) Anon. p. 150 Xhosa: chief's revenue

'Every kraal has a captain. . . . His revenue consists in contributions or exactions of cattle, with a quantity of corn, all elephant's teeth, panthers' skins, and cranes' feathers.'

1834 Godlonton (1835–6) pp. 140–141 Xhosa: fashions in trade goods

'The Kafir people are in their taste for ornaments extremely capricious. Fashion with them is a matter of high moment, but then it is more than ordinarily variable; their humour is so fickle, that an article of dress sought after with the greatest avidity to-day, and prized at the highest value, is to-morrow spurned at, or thrown aside with perfect indifference as utterly worthless. Thus it happened among the traders; he who chanced to hit the prevailing taste, commanded the market for the time being; valuable produce poured in upon him from every quarter; and almost any price was given by him for a supply of the precious article then in demand. Under such circumstances eighty Rixdollars, (£6) per lb., have been given, and given eagerly, for beads, the prime cost of which might be about nine-pence or one shilling. The cupidity of the traders, however, soon brought

down its own punishment. It was very clear that this fictitious value could not be maintained, unless by a monopoly of the article in request; and hence, by endeavouring to effect this object, without calculating sufficiently on the caprice of the natives, a great proportion of the traders were in a moment plunged into difficulties, and the successful exertions of many previous months lost, by some sudden whim respecting the colour or shape of a paltry ornament.'

(1835) Anon. p. 28 Xhosa: fairs on frontier

Nothing more.

1820–56 Shaw, W. (1860) pp. 361–362 Xhosa: beads, buttons, brass wire

'The intrinsic worth of the articles necessarily given by us in exchange (like bank notes) was indeed small; but their relative value at the time and for many years afterwards was very great. We paid the daily wages of a Kaffir in beads, buttons, or brass wire, giving him the choice of these articles on an adjusted scale as to quantity and value. But he felt himself to be liberally rewarded for his labour, because, after providing himself with food, his wages would leave him a surplus by which he could in one month purchase from his countrymen an ox; Indeed, although at this time the cost to us for the labour of a Kaffir—such as it was—certainly did not exceed threepence a day, yet we could have had any number of Kaffir labourers, as soon as they discovered that it was a ready road to wealth. . . . The beads, buttons, and brass wire maintained their value in the country for years, because they were required and considered essential as an ornamental part of the dress of the people, more especially that of the females; and no marriage could be celebrated in the country without the interchange of large quantities of these commodities.'

1839 Backhouse (1844) p. 250 Xhosa: wages

'. . . our extra guides signified that they wished to return, and we paid the head-man, according to agreement, with a knife and a piece of tobacco. We gave the other a dozen buttons, which in Caffraria are equal in value to three pence, he having come of his own accord.'

1830–61 Boyce (1861) p. 213 Mpondo: currency

'Our currency was a mixed one of flat and round gilt buttons, and strings of beads, of various sizes and colours, copper wire, tinderboxes, knives, hatchets, and bar-iron. Native labour was obtained at the rate of about *threepence* a day, payable in the aforesaid currency.'

1846 Napier (1850) p. 130 Cape Nguni: cattle

Nothing more.

c. 1875 Stanford **1** p. 47 Xhosa, Thembu: cowrie shells

'Before their contact with our civilisation barter was the only form of trade known to them, except that near the coast there seems to have been a fixed value for cowrie shells' (Note: '. . . The Xhosa names are *InGqoqo* and *inGcaca*') 'in the number of small stock paid for them. These shells were highly prized for decorative

purposes; they were worn as necklets and were also much admired on the full dress mantles worn by the women on festive occasions.'

(1902) Young p. 26 Cape Nguni: currency

'English money was introduced into Kafirland in 1829. Previous to that year all wages were paid in beads, buttons and brass wire, British money being at that time of no use to the natives. . . .'

(1912) Ayliff & Whiteside p. 19 Fingo: barter

'In order to acquire cattle, the Fingoes grew tobacco, and prepared it with great care. They packed it in small rush baskets which they hid in their huts until a favourable opportunity to sell it was found. Under the pretence of visiting a relative . . . they would form a party and start like so many pedlars carrying small baskets of tobacco on their heads. When they arrived at their journey's end, they bartered the tobacco for cattle. . . .'

(1919) Kingon pp. 151–154 Cape Nguni: trade

Summary of the development of barter and trade between the colonists and the frontier tribes.

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 133–134 Mpondo: trade

'Formerly each umzi produced most of the goods necessary for its own consumption. Even specialists had their cattle and fields and produced their own food, and there was very little production of surplus grain for exchange. There was a little exchange in pottery, ironwork, bone and woodwork, and basketwork, but the quantity of goods exchanged was never great. There were no markets—a person requiring spears or pottery went direct to the home of the smith or potteress and there bought, or ordered to be made, what he or she required—and no standardized medium of exchange. Grain, spears, goats, and cattle were all used in exchange for each other, and for other goods, and for payment of diviners and herbalists. Whether there was a stabilized relative value before contact it is difficult to determine, but such evidence as there is suggests that there was. Pots were sold for their fill in grain. Ten spears were given for a young beast. Ten goats for a beast.

Kay mentions that the Pondo got copper rings from the tribes to the east of them in exchange for grain and corn, and Boyce that they exchanged maize and tobacco for elephant ivory with Bushmen. Pondo on the coast now (and probably formerly) trade a rare shell (*iyila*) with Xhosa, who prize it as an ornament, also shark skin which Xhosa use as medicine for fields. Rushes and palm leaves for basketwork are sold in districts where they are scarce. Fines for offences against neighbours and against the chief were levied in cattle or goats, death dues paid to the chief also in stock, and gifts of first-fruits given to him. This occasioned some circulation of goods, but the main cause of circulation was the custom of *ukulobola* (the giving of cattle by the groom's group to the bride's group upon the occasion of marriage) and the giving of clothing and household utensils by the bride's group to the groom's group.'

1937 Cornner, F. (corresp.) Mpondomise: spears, bangles

'I enquired what was their method of barter, and I am told assegais and bracelets. In the old days these articles were made by a so called professional native blacksmith who had an antiquated kind of forge. The bracelets were made of iron.'

(1948) Long p. 78 Fort Willshire Fair

General discussion of the Fair.

(1949) Duggan-Cronin p. 14 Mpondo, Mpondomise: trade

'Traditionally there was a little trade in hoes and spears, copper ornaments, and possibly also in salt, but its bulk was small. With the arrival of the Europeans, however, the economy changed very fast, and by the middle of the nineteenth century traders were doing a lively business in Mpondo and Mpondomise country, selling blankets, hoes, axes and guns, in exchange for ivory, horn, hides, and skins, and cattle. To-day no kraal is self-supporting. Most of them produce the bulk of their own food (though the area is not wholly self-supporting even in grain), but are dependent upon the earnings of one or more members working in towns for their clothes, household utensils, tools, and the money to pay taxes, school fees, and medical expenses.'

(1978) Beinart pp. 3–6 Mpondo: barter, exports, hut tax

p. 3 Mpondo: barter

'. . . barter between Mpondo and itinerant European traders in which ivory, horns, hides, and cattle were exchanged for blankets, beads, hoes, picks and guns took place with increasing regularity from the 1830s onwards.'

p. 4 Mpondo: exports

'The British resident in Pondoland commented in 1880 that "mealies and Kafir-corn" were "usually exported in large quantities". . . . Thus during the 1870s and 1880s the nature of exports from Pondoland changed. Formerly, ivory and skins had been major items of export. . . . There was also a large export of cattle from Pondoland . . . "the old established trade in Pondo cattle" was "the chief line of business between this district and the colony".'

p. 5 Mpondo: cattle

'Cattle were, if anything, the currency of the area before the arrival of cash; they were used in a variety of exchanges and performed the function of the general equivalent. The evidence of the nineteenth century shows clearly that many animals were traded when it was profitable to do so. . . . The Mpondo did not export themselves, but sold all surplus produce to European traders settled in the area.'

p. 6 Mpondo: hut tax

'From 1895 onwards, every homestead head was responsible for the payment of a hut tax of "ten shillings per hut per annum".'

TRADE AND CURRENCY: TERMS

There is no vocabulary for currency, because there were no items of pure currency.

TRADE AND CURRENCY: DISCUSSION

The Cape Nguni did not have a true currency, though there was a short period when beads and buttons did come to have almost that status.

When they entered their present home, the Cape Nguni were at the subsistence level of economy; that is, for the most part each family supplied its own needs, but there was a good deal of exchange of goods by simple barter. It seems likely that there was a fixed value in these exchanges, for example, Döhne gives as the price of two brass ring girdles among the Xhosa, one cow, and Hunter gives as the price of a pot in Pondoland, its fill of grain. The latter is an old and widespread rate for barter.

From the meagre records it is evident that in addition to domestic exchange and barter, trading by barter with neighbouring peoples, Bantu-speakers and Khoisan, was well established before written records began. The Xhosa particularly are said to have been keen traders, and the Mpondo to have exported grain to all the surrounding areas, and even through that medium to have bought ivory from the Bushmen.

The universal unit of wealth that circulated internally amongst the Cape Nguni, from early to modern times, was cattle. Cattle were the major item in *lobola* (the cattle due by the bridegroom's family to the bride's family to seal the marriage contract), anything else being part of an exchange of gifts. Major fines to the chief or fees to doctors or important specialists were paid in cattle. Cattle cannot, however, be rated as currency, because while sometimes used for purchases it was only of the more important and valuable articles—above all metal goods. And it was accepted in payment not with a view to being able to buy something else with it, which is the basis of true currency, but for its own value as an enlargement of the herd. In poor families, and increasingly in later years, goats have taken the place of cattle in many instances.

For ordinary trading the most important items for several centuries were beads and metals, the latter particularly when made up into spearheads or other objects of use or ornament, such as brass wire, arm-rings or buttons. According to Alberti, spearheads were the oldest of these mediums, and maintained their value because they were difficult to make, and because, later on, the market tended to become flooded with the other items. Beads and metals were not home products, but themselves obtained by barter, first in small quantities from peoples to the north-east, who must have had the beads from traders on the East Coast. Later these commodities were obtained in larger quantities from Europeans in the west, at first through Khoi (Hottentot) middlemen. Beads were sought primarily for use and ornament, but for a period of time that it has not been possible to determine, they reached the stature of a currency in that a man would take more than he needed

for his own use, because he could always dispose of them to someone else at a stable value, either for goods or for services rendered, the ultimate aim, however, being to have enough over to buy cattle. These commodities are first mentioned by survivors of the *Stavenisse* as forming part of *lobola*, but they were not true *lobola* items but additional gifts, albeit obligatory. They were also mentioned later for payment of small fines or fees, and even for church collection. In the seventeenth century beads and metals were scarce. A century later, when Von Winkelman was travelling in the area, beads had become more common, from trade with the frontier Europeans, and he remarks sadly that an ox cost two or three pounds of beads, and they must be white beads, compared with the good old days when an ox was to be had for one pound of beads!

It has been suggested by informants that shells, some of which were prized as ornaments, became at one time a true currency, but there is no evidence to suggest that they were ever more than an item of trade.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, trade between black and white on the frontier, which had been carried on in a small way since the seventeenth century, gained increasing tempo. The Europeans were primarily interested in ivory, with hides, horn and gum as second strings, and, for the garrisons, a certain amount of garden produce. In exchange were taken, practically exclusively, beads, buttons and brass wire, though later tobacco, cloth and clothing were accepted. So much were the beads in demand and so firm was their value, that early missionaries in the territory used them for payment of wages. The fact that sudden changes of fashion in beads made the trade a rather hazardous one for the European trader, did not alter their importance in internal trade.

Between 1822 and 1830, for the protection of both sides, trading was restricted to organized fairs, notably that at Fort Willshire, which started operating in 1824. The sources have been quoted here rather fully because they give a vivid picture of a colourful institution. After 1830 there was a change in policy and traders were permitted to go where they liked, and soon ranged over the whole territory. Later they established trading posts—the trading stores found all over the territories today. By that time, the Mpondo, although sharing the general Cape Nguni attitude towards cattle, were trading substantially in cattle, through the traders.

Baskets and pots could until very lately still be exchanged for their fill in grain and in 1961 in the Herschel district grain was still accepted for goats. But for cattle money has to be paid. A diviner's fee is still generally paid in stock, but otherwise money is universally used.

The change-over to the present money economy took place gradually, during the nineteenth century. Money is said to have been introduced for payment of wages as early as 1829, but did not gain much ground among the Xhosa until the Cattle-Killing of 1857, when, having destroyed their stock and grain, people had to go to work to earn money to buy food. The process was accelerated by the imposition of money taxes by the Government from 1884 onwards. (The Fingo imposed a tax on themselves in 1874 to finance a specific project.) To pay them, men had to go off to work away from home to earn money, and have done so to

an increasing extent since then. The establishment of trading stores created a demand for store-bought goods, which though originally luxuries have become necessities. Though the traders have always accepted certain goods and produce as payment, this is no longer enough, and money is needed.

For a fuller account of Xhosa trading practice see Peires 1981: 95–108, and for that of the Mpondo, Beinart 1982.

TRANSPORT

SOURCES

1797 Barrow (1806) p. 164 — Xhosa: no boats

'The whole extent of their coast, which is washed by the sea and intersected by the mouths of several large rivers, does not possess a single boat, nor canoe, nor any thing that resembles a floating vessel. The short space of time, perhaps, which they have occupied that part of Africa they now inhabit, has not yet sufficiently familiarized them to the nature of deep waters, to entrust themselves upon a frail bark.'

1803 Howen — Xhosa: pack- and riding-oxen

Painting of family on move.

1802–6 Alberti (1810*a*) p. 109 — Xhosa: pack- and riding-oxen

'In het algemeen bedient men zich van enkele Stieren, om het huisraad en andere noodwendigheden bij eenen togt mede te voeren. . . . Zoodanige Stieren worden ook dikwijls bereden, en dragen hunne ruiters, zelfs in den galop, met alle mogelijke zekerheid.'

(See also Alberti 1810*b* (English edition): 55.)

1804–5 Daniell (1820) pl. 5 — 'Kaffir': pack-ox

Figure.

1813 Campbell, J. (1815) pp. 367, 370 — Xhosa: rafts, oxen

p. 367 — Xhosa: rafts

'They have no canoes or boats, even to cross a river by; this they perform by tying reeds together, on which they are floated over.'

p. 370 — Xhosa: pack-oxen

'The riches of a Caffre chiefly consist in his cattle, of which he is extravagantly fond. He keeps them as carefully as the miser does his gold. He never uses them as beasts of burden, except when he is removing from one place to another along with his Kraal, and then they carry the milk bags, or skin bags which contain milk.'

1819–29 Moodie, J. W. D. (1835) p. 241 — Xhosa: no boats

Nothing more.

c. 1824–5 Smith pp. 59, 356 Xhosa: pack-ox, no rafts

p. 59 Xhosa: pack-ox

'The kaffirs in the present day use pack oxen both to ride upon and to carry articles of burden. Gaika came riding on a pack-ox to see Mr. Barrow in 1797.'

p. 356 Xhosa: no rafts

'The caffirs are not in the habit of using any reeds or other articles for transporting themselves across rivers.'

1825 Phillips (1827) p. 198 Xhosa: horses

'. . . their horses were not very gaily caparisoned, having only a loose piece of cow's hide for their saddles.'

1815–37 Shaw, B. (1840) p. 59 Xhosa: raft

Nothing more (taken from Campbell, J. 1815: 367).

1829 Holman (1834) p. 268 Xhosa: no boats

Nothing more.

1839 Backhouse (1844) p. 238 Xhosa: crossing a river

'These Alligators, which are 14 feet long and 4½ feet round, are much dreaded by the natives, who, when they wish to ford the rivers, where these animals abound, are said to throw Calabashes into them. The Calabashes being hard, light and round, the Alligators follow them down the river, trying in vain to seize them; and the people avail themselves of the opportunity of crossing while the Alligators are thus occupied.'

(1850*a*) Anon. p. 116 Xhosa: litter

'Als ich die Kay passirte, da kamen sechs junge Kaffern vorsichtig durch den Fluss geschritten. Die kamen fern von jenseit der Kay und zogen diesseit der Kay ins Britische Kafferland. Auf ihren Schultern trugen sie eine Trage von Baumzweigen zusammengebunden. Darauf sass ein altes Mütterchen, der sie von Büschen auch eine Art Schirm gemacht hatten, so dass sie hübsch im Schatten sass, denn der Tag war drückend heiss. Mit dieser Last zogen sie fröhlich ihre Strasse.'

c. 1850 C. B. (?Charles Bell) Xhosa: riding-ox, horse

Figure.

(1851) J. W(alker) pl. 14 'Kaffir': riding-ox

Figure.

(1853) Fleming p. 102 'Kaffir': riding-oxen

'In addition to the uses, to which oxen are put in England, the Kaffirs add one more, as they ride them like horses. The rapidity, at which they gallop them, is astonishing, as well as the distances which they will thus travel.'

(1858) Anon. p. 40 Xhosa: fear of sea

'Diebstahl und Raub, die altbekannten Vorläufer der Kriege mit den //Osa, begannen bereits, als der wackere Gouverneur vom Cap, Sir Grey, im Lande erschien. Er machte bekannt, dass jeder Dieb, dessen Schuld erwiesen sei, über

das Meer nach der Capstadt transportirt werden solle; Die Strafe war hart, denn nichts fürchtet der //Osa mehr, als eine Fahrt auf dem Meere;'

(1867) Taylor p. 106 Xhosa: riding-ox

Nothing more.

1872 Weitz (1873) pp. 182–183 Hlubi: riding-oxen

p. 182 Hlubi: riding-ox

(Saw youth in straw hat, riding an ox:) 'and playing his flute all the while to keep the animal in good humour.'

p. 183 Hlubi: riding-oxen

Chose young oxen.

1932 Hunter (1936) pp. 96, 101, 373 and note Mpondo: transport

p. 96 Mpondo: no boats

'The people living on the coast gather shell-fish, and spear other fish in rock-pools and lagoons. They have no canoes of any kind, nor any tradition of having had them.'

p. 101 Mpondo: sledges

'. . . sledges for drawing grain. The base of the sledge is a forked tree-trunk. Wickerwork sides are built on to it in the same technique as the old doors and meat-trays.'

p. 373 Mpondo: ferrymen

'. . . there was comparatively little travel:' (Note:) 'Nevertheless there were professional ferrymen. Strong swimmers living near large rivers took travellers across, the traveller holding on to the middle of a piece of wood and a ferryman holding each end. The old ferryman on the umZimvubu near Ntontela has been replaced by a rowing-boat owned by a European.'

1945 Makalima chapter 5 Thembu: pack-ox

par. 38: 'Ukuqeqeshwa kwenkomo: Inkomo xa kuko imijadu ziyaleqwa ngamadoda azi bete. Ziya qeqeshwa kulonto zise ncinci inkabi. Ziyenziwa amaqegu zikwelwe kanti nombona ututwa ngazo emasimini. Nempahla yonke iyatutwa ngala maqegu. Ziyaqeqeshwa ukuba zize edyokweni, umtu ebambe idyokwe.'

[Training of cattle: when there are *imijadu* (some kind of festivities, not clear what is meant) cattle are raced by men, who beat them (to urge them on). Oxen are trained for this when still young. They are used as pack-animals and ridden, but maize is also carried by them from the lands. All kinds of luggage or burdens are transported by these pack-oxen. They are trained to come in under the yoke whilst it is being held up for them.]

(1949) Duggan-Cronin pl. 49 and legend Mpondo: sledge

legend to pl. 49

'In Pondoland roads are few, and ploughs are taken to and from the fields in home-made sledges.'

(1954) Duggan-Cronin pl. 186 and legend Hlubi, Bhaca, Xesibe: sledge
legend to pl. 186

'The sledge (*isileyi*) is the main method of transport among Hlubi, Baca and Xesibe. It is made from a forked tree trunk or two heavy logs bolted together. It is dragged over the ground by oxen and is partly responsible for the execrable state of most Transkei roads.'

1949–62 Hammond-Tooke (1962) pp. 24, 143, 184, 312, pl. 19 Bhaca: horses, sledges

p. 24 Bhaca: riding- and racing-horses

'Horses are bred for riding and racing. . . . Race-horses are seldom ridden and are kept for the horse races. . . . '

p. 184 Bhaca: riding-horses

'During the morning more men arrive from the outlying areas. They come on horseback and on foot. . . . '

pl. 19 Bhaca: army on horseback

' . . . the army greets the chief.'

p. 312 Bhaca: horsemen at first-fruits ceremony

Nothing more.

p. 143 Bhaca: sledges

'The sledges used for transporting the mealies and pumpkins from the fields require heavy labour to make and not every *umti* possesses one, or the number of oxen necessary to drag the heavy structure. Neighbours will thus combine in bringing home the harvest.'

TRANSPORT: TERMS

iqegu pack-ox or ox used for riding, D **1091** (348)

inqaluka 1. pack saddle, D. 2. thong round belly of beast for rider to hold on to, Bo Mp. 3. mostly unknown **1092** (349)

ingqalo 1. thong by which rider is secured from falling off a bullock when training it, D X Bh Mp. 2. nose-strap (synonym *umkhala*) passed through nose of beast; bridle; beadwork strap round head and under chin, T, general **1093** (350)

umkhala 1. nose-strap for cattle, D. 2. bridle, D, general **1094** (347, 387)

ithala shelf or loft for storing provisions, D, general. (Such a shelf may be a groove in wall plaster, or wickerwork attached to it, or a wicker door on poles, also in lands. Anything of this kind may be used as a stretcher or bier and would then be called by this term, but *ithala* does not mean stretcher, bier) **1095** (87, 533)

isileyi sleigh (from Dutch *slee*), D, general **1096** (333)

umthantatho (from verb step from stone to stone) any contrivance for crossing a river, hence a bridge; the plural is used for stepping-stones in a river, D, not general **1097**

iphenyane 1. small boat, canoe, D. 2. raft, X. 3. not known, Mp **1098**
isibhexo piece of wood to stir round food; oar, D Mp **1099**
isihlenga 1. float made of reeds, a raft, D. 2. not confirmed. 3. beer-skimmer, Mp, known to T who regard it as Mp and Bh. (From *-hlenga* assort, leave out, separate good from bad) **1100** (602)
umkhombe, umkhumbi 1. wooden trough, hollowed out longitudinally in the upper side of a log of wood, used for various purposes; manger, canoe, boat, ship, D X Mp and others. 2. obsolete since beginning of nineteenth century in sense of 'boat, ship', X, and not confirmed now **1101** (355, 531)

TRANSPORT: DISCUSSION

There are traces of very few material aids to travel or transport in the early days. The considerable distances travelled by the Cape Nguni, both before and after their arrival in the eastern Cape, were accomplished on foot.

PACK-OXEN, ETC.

In early times the ox was the major means of transport throughout the area, both for riding and for carrying burdens (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981, pl. 36: 1, 2). For riding, a thong (*inqaluka*) was passed round the belly as a girth, for the rider to hold on to if necessary. A thong bridle (*umkhala, ingqalo*) or one of plaited grass or tail hair was attached to a peg put through the cartilage of the beast's nose, or was itself passed through. Informants said that the bridle might also be tied round the horns. No saddle was used. (See Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981: 262.)

When serving as a pack-ox (*iqegu*), an ox was also fitted with a girth and bridle. It was led by the bridle, and the milk-sacks, mats, baskets, and other burdens were attached by thongs to the girth. Nowadays oxen are no longer used as pack animals, but do draw the sledges with produce from the fields.

Early in the nineteenth century horses were being ridden near the frontier and about the middle of the century had begun to supersede the ox for riding. Though oxen are still very occasionally ridden at the present day, the horse is the usual riding animal throughout the area except where there is horse-sickness and people do not trouble to have the horses treated. A bit and bridle of European style are used, with a sheep- or oxhide as a saddle, and stirrups, though these were not used at first. Oxhides as saddles were mentioned as early as 1825. Fingo riders were seen using a highly ornamented saddle-cloth. In 1955 Xesibe boys were said still to use the girth (*inqaluka*). In many places donkeys are ridden too.

BIERS, LITTERS AND SLEDGES

The use of litters and biers must have been known in emergency, but does not appear to have been common practice. There is only one reference to a litter, when an old woman had to be carried. There are no references in the literature to the use of a bier, which was perhaps rendered unnecessary by the way of disposing of the dead. Modern Xhosa informants described the use of a rough bier to carry the dead, and other informants agreed. This consisted of two poles with slats across.

The word *ithala* refers more to this type of construction than to the use to which it was put.

A modern development is the use of a sledge (*isileyi*) (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974, pl. 25: 3) for the transport of agricultural produce from the fields. These sledges are made with a forked tree branch as the base, on to which wicker sides are built, and a wicker or slat floor added. They are drawn by oxen by means of a chain attached to a wooden yoke with wooden skeys (see Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981: 238). Sledges may also be used to carry the sick.

BRIDGES

Though the country abounds in rivers and streams, there is no record of bridges ever having been made. Streams were crossed by stepping-stones (*imithantatho*), and rivers by fording or swimming at customary fords (*izibuko*).

CANOES, BOATS, RAFTS

Despite the above vocabulary, early recorders are agreed in stating definitely that the Xhosa had no boats or canoes. It may be that words for similarly shaped objects have been used for the canoes and rafts of other people (note particularly *isibexo* and *umkhombe*). According to a Berlin missionary, the fear of the Xhosa of going on the sea was such that a threat by the Government of deportation to Cape Town *by sea* was a strong deterrent to crime.

For crossing rivers, some said the Xhosa made a rough raft of reeds tied together (*isihlenga* or *iphenyane*), though Smith denies this. One Xhosa informant maintained that rafts were still used at the mouth of the Qora River in 1948, but it was not possible to obtain confirmation of this.

Thembu described how people were pulled by strong swimmers across the Bashee River, holding on to a rope.

Of the Mpondo, Hunter reports that they have no tradition of ever having had canoes, but there were professional ferrymen, strong swimmers who took travellers across large rivers. The traveller held the centre of a log, and a ferryman each end. Some of the Mpondo informants said that people mostly swim across rivers, but sometimes two swimmers use a log as a float.

Backhouse reports that in order to distract the attention of crocodiles that might be lurking at the ford of a river, the Xhosa were said to throw a calabash into the water, with the object of sending the crocodile down stream after it, while the individual or party swam across. This sounds an exceedingly foolhardy procedure and is not confirmed! In any case according to zoological records, crocodiles, though known, were very rare west of Natal.

MODERN TRANSPORT

Recent increasing sophistication has not entirely replaced the riding of horses and the use of sledges, although the latter are frowned on and in some areas even forbidden because of their promotion of soil erosion. Today modern transport, both private and public, is very nearly universal, and there is a modern road system with bridged rivers.

ART

SOURCES

1802–6 Alberti (1810*a*) pp. 87–88 Xhosa: lack of pictorial art

'Van den lust voor Teeken- of Schilderkunst, hetzij tot louter tijdverdrijf, of met oogmerk om vorige gebeurtenissen of personen door afbeelding, ter bewaringe van derzelver aandenken, voor te stellen, is geen het minste spoor te vinden. Even min ontmoet men eenig begrip, in zijn geheel door afgesprokene of bepaalde beelden uitgedrukt. Alle voortplanting van aandenken geschiedt door vertellingen, en alzoo door mondelinge overlevering, welke zich nimmer tot ver afgelegene tijden uitstrekt.'

(See also Alberti 1810*b* (English edition): 45.)

1863–6 Fritsch, G. (1872) p: 73 Xhosa: decoration

'Es ist bewunderungswürdig, zu sehen, was die Eingeborenen auch in Fabrikation geschnitzter Gegenstände durch Ausdauer leisten; denn die Aufgabe, ein solides Stück Elfenbein mit der weichen *Assegai*-Klinge allmälig auszuhöhlen, um daraus eine Schnupftabacksdose oder dergleichen darzustellen, würde wohl die Geduld der meisten europäischen Arbeiter auf eine allzu schwere Probe stellen. Gerade solche geschnitzte Sachen mannigfacher Art werden sehr viel von den Kaffern gefertigt und gehören wesentlich zu den Zierrathen des Hausgeräthes.

Ausser den bereits erwähnten geschnitzten Schnupftabackslöffeln werden verschiedene Holzlöffel von sehr wechselnder Grösse und Gestalt zu häuslichen Zwecken benutzt, welche durchschnittlich zwar keine grosse Eleganz der Form und Arbeit zeigen, aber doch unstreitig eine gewisse künstlerische Auffassung erkennen lassen.

Die Phantasie des Kaffern gefällt sich im Grotesken und wählt als Motive für die Ornamentik gern Thierformen, entweder solche des Viehes oder des Wildes, wodurch das Ansehen der Geräthe ein sehr wunderliches wird.'

1919 McLaren, J. p. 448 Xhosa: decoration

'Among the fine arts the Xosas have nothing in the way of painting to be compared with that of the Bushmen, yet they are not without some artistic sense. They decorate, *tshizatshiza*, the outside and sometimes the inside of their huts with patterns of lines, circles, and chevrons. Such drawings are called *iza-zobe*, and to draw a pattern is *zoba*. They decorate their persons not with proper tatooing, but with patterns made by raising lines of incisions (keloids) on the skin, *uku-vamba*; these are sometimes elaborate. Their most artistic work is shown in their carvings on wood, *uku-rola* or *uku-gingqa*, and their notchings and cross-hatchings, *uku-qoqa*. These are mostly done on walking and dancing sticks. Some of them are adepts at inlaying, *uku-tyida*, with lead, iron, brass, or ivory. This is done both on sticks and on pipe-bowls.'

(1926*b*) Müller, F. pp. 43–44 Hlubi: decoration of hut walls

'In halber Höhe der Innenwand seiner Hütte läuft gewöhnlich ein Streifen der die dunkel, einförmig verputzte untere Hälfte von der mit wunderlichen Figuren in bunten Farben geschmückten oberen Hälfte trennt. Auf dieser oberen Fläche nun tummelt sich der kaffrische Kunstsinn. Wunderliche Figuren sieht das Auge des Besuchers. Die leuchtendste Farbe, die angewendet wird, ist das im Winkel gekaufte Waschblau. Dazu kommen braune und rote Erden, auch weisser Ton, und damit stellen sie nun schlangenähnlich gewundene Blumenranken, Eidechsen, wunderlich geformte Pflanzen, auch teuflische Fratzen dar, die ebenfalls eine gewisse Beobachtung der Natur verraten. Die Künstler sind die Töchter des Hauses. . . . Da so mancher Sohn unserer Hlubis, Heide oder Christ, unser Mvenyane-Seminar besucht, so finden sich in manchen Häusern auch andere Bilder an den Wänden, denen man sofort die höhere zeichnerische Bildung ansieht, die den Zöglingen in Mvenyane zuteil wird. Es sind aber keine Gemälde in unserem Sinne, keine zusammengesetzten Landschaften, sondern wieder nur Pferd, Rind, Schaf, Schwein, das die Künstler ohne inneren Zusammenhang nebeneinander an die Wand stellen. Hier vermisst man auch oft die Herausarbeitung der charakteristischen Eigentümlichkeiten des jeweiligen Tieres, die auf Beobachtung der Natur schliessen liesse. Die Gestalten sehen meist aus, als ob sie nur nach steifen Schulvorlagen angefertigt wären. Trotz der zeichnerischen Fertigkeit, die aus ihnen spricht, sind mir persönlich die originellen Phantastereien ihrer Schwestern lieber. Denn da spricht die Natur, die offenbar auch dem Kafferkind ihre Rätsel aufgibt.'

(1931) Cook pp. 59–60, 161 Bomvana, Xhosa: paint

pp. 59–60 Bomvana, Xhosa: painting of initiates

'The elaborate decoration of the kwetas is known as *uku cokoza*. This custom is held to be a very old one by the Bomvana but the Ngqika of Kentani told me that the old men remember when first the Gcaleka of Willowvale adopted this custom and later the Ngqika themselves adopted it. White residents in these districts inclined to the view that it has been brought back from the Johannesburg Mines. . . . The attendants then proceed to paint the boys with blue (washing blue is used), red ochre and a black paint made usually of charred Mimosa wood. This is called *Umsizi*.

Each boy is painted slightly differently. . . . The best dancer in each *itonto* is known as *ingwe yesixolo*—the red tiger. He is painted with very large black spots all over the body. At the elbows is a thin red band. From half way to the elbow to the wrist is painted red dotted with blue spots. Round the stomach is a broad red band which is joined to the shoulders by broad red bands both from front and back. All this red area is dotted with blue. Knee caps are red dotted with blue. From the calf to the ankle is red speckled with blue.

This is a description which is by no means always followed. The red tiger is always the best dancer—selected by the *kankata*—and there is always red in his make up although minor details vary.

The next dancer in order of merit is the "female red tiger". He has big black spots all over his body except for a red band from half way between the elbow and wrist to the wrist spotted with blue. . . . Usually the rest of the dancers are plain leopards. They have smaller black spots than the red tigers and these are painted all over their bodies.'

p. 161 Bomvana: hut walls

'The outside walls of the huts are very seldom decorated in any way, and where this does occur is attributable to European influence.'

(1935) Shaw, E. M. pl. 27 Xhosa, Thembu: snuff-boxes

Figures of carved, modelled and branded snuff-boxes.

(1938*b*) Shaw, E. M. pls 87, 88, 91–98 Cape Nguni: pipes

Figures of carved stone pipe-bowls and carved and inlaid wooden pipes.

1961 De Lange pp. 86, 88, 90, figs 2, 3 Cape Nguni: dolls, love charm

p. 86 Cape Nguni: dolls

'The keeping and making of symbolic dolls is a tradition conceived, organised and perpetuated by the women-folk alone, ... '

p. 88 Cape Nguni: girls' dolls

'The young girl's dolls are not often made nowadays. . . . These are the little dolls which young girls wear round their necks, which could be called "love-dolls", as their first function is to attract a husband, . . . though with the object of having children.'

p. 90 Cape Nguni: love dolls

'The Love-Dolls in the East London Museum are all covered with beads, the oldest one dating back to 1907. . . . These love-dolls take various forms. Sometimes there are two dolls together, representing a man and a woman, instead of a single doll. The dolls may be symbols of human beings, so abstract as to be almost unrecognisable. Others are so carefully made that they are marvels of nimble fingerwork and detail and are true masterpieces in beadwork.'

fig. 2 Xhosa: abstract love charm

fig. 3 Xhosa: pair of naturalistic figures

Figures.

1962 De Lange pp. 85–86, 90, 94 Xhosa: cosmetics, cicatrization

pp. 85–86

'Cosmetics are typically employed by girls and young matrons. . . . The sources of the cosmetics are coloured mineral substances and various vegetable products. To a small extent animal fats are also employed. Some of these cosmetics are native to certain localities, and enjoy only a local appeal, while others are general and can be procured at any trading station. Considerable distances are travelled in order to procure the necessary commodity. The colours used by the Xhosa are tones of red, yellow, white and occasionally blue and black. The use of these cosmetics is not indiscriminate. Custom dictates to some extent when cosmetics must be used, what colours to apply, and what design to adopt. However,

when custom is not involved individual preference may be indulged. The Xhosa are a conservative people and tradition determines the form of cosmetic ornamentation to an extent; on the other hand the young people are keen to try new products and often introduce new fashions in cosmetics. The new fashions sometimes modify the old practices, even where ritual is involved.

Where cosmetics are worn for ritual purposes, their significance may be as an emblem denoting a particular ritual state, and the colour may have a symbolic meaning.

The various cosmetics are not strictly allotted to different age groups, although cosmetics favoured by the young people would not generally find favour with the older folk, who adhere to the traditional forms.'

p. 90 Xhosa: cicatrization

'The pattern favoured by the Xhosa . . . is in general after this fashion. A double row of markings runs downwards between the breasts from the collarbone to the navel, and under the breasts one or more double rows of markings run at right angles to the perpendicular rows to left and right, or sometimes only to one side. Short diagonal rows running from the perpendicular to the horizontal rows are usual. This design may be elaborated upon, and it sometimes happens that the scarification is continued over the shoulder blades. . . . Elongated horizontal markings lying parallel one beneath the other, placed between the collarbone and the breasts, are also encountered, although this latter design seems to be practised more by the Mfengu.'

p. 94 Xhosa: facial designs

'But from the youngest to the oldest, male and female, any of the cosmetics mentioned may be used in any pattern that takes their fancy. Some of these will be described, to show the type of appearance considered beautiful.

A. Small white patterns on each cheek; a spot surrounded by one or more concentric circles of tiny dots; four spots on each cheek in a diamond-shaped formation, or a circle with a cross in the centre; a motif like the five in a set of dominoes.
B. The whole face is covered with red *ichitywa* or brown or yellow *isibindi*. In addition, there may be a spot of white on each cheek and a blue spot on the forehead and chin.
C. A white spot on each cheek, with an alternative addition of a white spot on the forehead.
D. White covering of the face up to the eyebrows, including the eye regions or excluding them.
E. Red or yellow ochre round the eye regions.
F. A covering of white all over the face, or daubs of white paint on any part of the face.
G. White paint over the ears, sometimes also around the neck and over the chin.
H. A facial covering of yellow ochre powder.'

p. 94 Xhosa: symbolism of facial paint

'It will be seen that these fanciful designs in many cases correspond to the designs used in ritual make-up. It is difficult to draw a line between normal and ritual uses of paint. For example, while the *intonjane* dancers habitually paint white designs on their cheeks, is this ritual make-up or is it merely used to look decorative? The Xhosa women incline to the latter view, but one feels that a tradition in this case has been established, for the other types of decorating the face are not met with for this dance. These elaborate designs are met with at feasts, usually worn by the married women, the colours tastefully chosen to match their robes and brightly-coloured scarves (*ifokwane*) which they combine in fanciful and elaborate ways with their dark-coloured turbans. . . . Although the cosmetics of the Xhosa cannot be strictly divided into ritual and non-ritual categories, there is nevertheless broadly speaking these two classes where colouring matter is concerned. White is considered the colour for use when religion is involved, while the reds, including the yellows, are regarded as the colours for festivities and normal social life.

Red is the colour beloved of the Xhosa. It expresses their vanity and show of good spirits . . . the significance of red lies in its normality.'

1970 Elliott Xhosa: beadwork

Many illustrations of beadwork.

(1971) Gitywa pp. 117, 124–125 Xhosa: beadwork

p. 117 Xhosa: no message in beads

'Ornamental beadwork normally passes from the woman to the man as a love token, but unlike among the Zulu and the Swazi, the beadwork exchanged in the love life of the Xhosa has no coded messages, the interpretation of which is based on colour combinations which have to be decoded by the recipient. The entire bead ornament is the love token, with traditionally blended colours for the specific age groups.'

pp. 124–125 Xhosa: design

'No preliminary designs are made for the beadwork; the patterns are worked out directly on to the bead ornament. This gives the craftswoman more feeling for harmony between the material and the design she has in mind. Within the limits of traditional acceptance, the woman expresses herself in the pattern, form and colour of the beadwork which must be pleasing to her to make it a worthy present to pass on to a loved one.

The designs worked on to the bead ornaments are based on the principle of rhythm which involves:

(i) the repetition of a single motif, especially the chevron with its many variations and the triangle; the straight line; and superimposed colour bands. The line and/or band design occur in both the horizontal and vertical context.

(ii) The alternation of two or more motifs, and

(iii) the alternation of two or more sizes of the same pattern or colours.

Colours that contrast well give the designs a bold relief'

1972 Bigalke p. 73 Ndlambe: colour combinations

'During the course of collecting specimens for East London Museum, it became clear that certain colour conventions in beadwork were or are characteristically worn by people of certain age-groups. Black and white, or black, white and saxe blue or turquoise are the bead colours worn by senior men and women at the present time. It was possible to obtain a little information about the relative age of some of the specimens. From this, the type of bead used and the evidence of wear, a tentative conclusion appears possible, namely that for this country, at least, black and white or black, white and saxe blue are the "traditional" colours of the beadwork of older people.'

(1976) Broster p. 32 and plates Qwathi: beadwork

p. 32 Qwathi: significance of colour

'Throughout life beads are always in fashion, planned with tremendous attention to detail, with imaginative styling and flattery and their glamour is undeniable. From birth to old age the symbolic beadwork blends subtly into the social structure. No phase of life is omitted. Whereas blue, being the colour of youth is emphasised in teenage beadwork, young adults make use of navy and white contrasted with red and blue. Edgings of large black pearl-like beads replace the cerise wool pompoms of the teenagers. In addition young men proudly flaunt yellow and green beads of fertility and new life. In matching the yellow of the maize seed and the green of its first leaf these colours imitate nature.'

plates Qwathi: beadwork

Plates have good illustrations of beadwork.

ART: TERMS

ukutyida to inlay lead or other metal or ivory in wood or stone, especially pipe-bowls, D (X–McLaren 1915) X (African Explosives) **1102** (988)

umxholo 1. the end of an *induku* (club) notched in a fine lozenge pattern to give a better grip to the hand when it is used for striking, D (X–M. Courtenay-Latimer corresp.) X Mp. 2. not known, Bo Mp **1103**

uqoqo 1. pierced or filigree work, notched edge (*ukuqoqa* to carve, notch or file, to beautify so that it looks chequered), D. 2. hooked or notched, Mp. 3. not X. 4. notching and cross-hatching (X–McLaren 1915). 5. (Fgo–M. Courtenay-Latimer corresp.). 6. also *isiqoqo*, D **1104**

isicina 1. the different coloured patterns in beadwork, D (X–M. Courtenay-Latimer corresp.). 2. tattooing, X. 3. not known, Mp **1105**

ukutshiza to make stripes of red ochre on the body, D **1106**

izazobe 1. paintings made with ochre on the face or on a wall, D X (X–McLaren 1915). 2. not Mp. 3. (Fgo–M. Courtenay-Latimer corresp.) **1107**

ukutshizatshiza 1. to paint small regular stripes of various colours on an object, D. 2. to make patterns on walls (X–McLaren 1915) **1108**

ukucokoza 1. nD. 2. body decoration of the *khwetha* (Bo–Cook 1931) **1109**

umchokose white spots on the skin, D **1110**
urolo a carving, graving, D X (X–McLaren 1915) (Fgo–M. Courtenay-Latimer corresp.) 2. not Mp **1111**
ukuqingqa to carve roughly a figure in stone or wood, D (X–McLaren 1919) **1112**

ART: DISCUSSION

It is characteristic of the Cape Nguni that they did not make figures of supernatural forces, ancestors or totems, nor masks, nor significant markings on divining instruments or ritual objects. This reflects social and spiritual practices different from those of other peoples in southern Africa and elsewhere. It also reflects the fact that the Cape Nguni had not been settled in the area where the earliest historical records place them, long enough to develop a continuity of art forms. Most of the artistic production recorded here was stimulated by new materials that came into the area in considerable quantity from the early eighteenth century onwards.

With the exception of toys made by children, the art of the Cape Nguni is purely decorative, and objects of art made are primarily objects of use. Examples may thus be found in practically every chapter of this study. It is in decoration that the Cape Nguni give rein to the universal human urge to create something beautiful. Since, in general, nearly everyone in former times made something for the use of members of the group, so everyone had a chance of satisfying this urge and developing any latent artistic talent. Obviously some would have more talent than others and tend to specialize and receive custom.

If, as might be, certain designs became characteristic of certain families, there is no record of it, nor has the present study produced evidence of such a thing. It is recorded of the Ndlambe, however, that certain colour combinations were used in the beadwork of certain groups, thus indicating, like their general dress, their age and status.

The possibility of symbolism in designs is not ruled out, but has not so far been sufficiently studied. There is no 'language of colours', and the vocabulary does not include names for particular motifs or patterns.

TOOLS AND MEDIA

The tools used were a spear blade for carving, a red-hot iron for branding, an awl for stitching and for fine incised work, any suitable object for incising or impressing clay, and the hands for weaving basketwork and for painting the face or the hut wall. Nowadays a knife is used for carving, and, in addition to the hand, a paint-brush or a piece of cloth or sheepskin, sometimes tied on a handle, is used for colouring walls.

Media were wood for utensils, weapons, pipes; grasses, sedges, reeds and fibre for basketwork; beads for beadwork ornaments and decoration of clothing; buttons and braids for decoration of clothing; ochres for the face and for hut walls, now

augmented for the latter purpose by store-bought colour-washes; clay for pottery and toy-figure modelling, and mixed with skin scrapings for snuff-box modelling; lead for inlaying pipes; horn, bone and ivory for small and generally precious implements and utensils; and stone for the bowls of water pipes.

DECORATION

Carved

Carving was used to decorate objects of wood, stone, bone, horn and ivory. It took two forms—conventional patterns in low relief, or figures in high relief.

A conventional pattern, *uqoqo*, was composed of lines, geometrically arranged, either thinly incised, especially when cross-hatched, or carved in the form of deep V-shaped grooves and ridges. Such patterns were used for decorating the shafts of clubs, especially at the grip to prevent slipping (Pl. 112: 2), and to a lesser extent spears, spoon-handles, snuff-spoons (Pl. 116: 5, 7) and snuff-boxes, pipes (Pl. 113: 2, 9), wooden utensils (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981, pl. 38), of which latter, however, there are few surviving specimens.

Mpondo, Xesibe and Bhaca decorated their pottery with incised, grooved or stamped conventional linear patters (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974, pls 21, 22).

Figures, mostly animal but some human (Pl. 114: 3), were used especially for pipes, for the heads of sticks and for horn snuff-boxes. A favourite decoration on sticks was a snake (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981, pl. 43: 9) or sometimes a crossing spiral of two snakes, which sometimes became conventionalized without the heads of the snakes.

Designs were inlaid, *ukutyida*, on pipe bowls (Pl. 114: 1, 4, 6), and according to McLaren on sticks as well, but this latter is not confirmed. Only the lead inlay has been seen but the Dictionary mentions ivory and brass as well.

Woven

Patterns woven into the fabric are seen in basketwork and beadwork.

In basketwork, lines, squares, triangles, diamonds and rectangles are produced in the fabric, whether by a change of stroke or stitch or by the introduction of strands of a different colour, or of a different material, for example bark or horsehair (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981, pls 54, 57, 58).

In beadwork, bands of the same geometrical figures and particularly diamonds and chevrons are produced by changes in the colour of the beads (Pl. 100: 1, 5). Overall designs are made by a repetition of the motifs (Pl. 107: 2, 5). Stylized human figures are also produced occasionally (Pl. 106). This is perhaps the most spectacular manifestation of artistic talent among the Cape Nguni. In the early days on the frontier, and today in the east, the preference seems to have been for a two-colour scheme, in the latter case light blue and white. But the Xhosa and others in the west soon developed a liking for several colours together in one article, and that taste they have maintained to the present day.

Branded

Branding was used on the surface of wood and calabashes. Either the whole surface of the wooden article was covered, or patterns were branded on it, as on calabashes. The branding was done to a smooth black in the case of wood, and a rich brown in the case of calabashes (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981, pl. 63: 4; present paper, Pl. 115: 1). On wood, branding was often used in conjunction with carved groove-and-ridge patterns. On calabash surfaces the same series of conventional patterns, and latterly a few naturalistic ones, were branded.

Modelled

Bomvana decorated their pottery with notches round the rim or with small bosses (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1974, pl. 20). Bhaca decorated theirs with conventional patterns of raised lumps, in the Natal fashion.

Painted

Painted decoration occurs on the human body or on the walls of huts.

The paints used for both are red and yellow ochre, white clay, black soot or paint made of charred mimosa wood (Bomvana), and nowadays for hut walls washing blue, whitewash or colour-wash from the stores. They are applied with the hand on the face, and with hand or a brush on walls.

The habit of painting designs on the face for ordinary wear or party wear is only found among the Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana and may well be a Khoi (Hottentot) borrowing. It is mostly practised by girls and young married women, but there is no rule about this, and men may use face paint though they seldom do. It may be no more than a lighter circle round mouth and eyes or daubs of white on the face, but the whole face may be covered with red, brown, yellow or white. Sometimes patterns made up of white spots are painted on the cheeks.

More elaborate body-painting, *ukucokoza*, is found on *abakhwetha*, where the full initiation ceremonies are still practised (Pl. 94: 6). For their dances, the boys are painted from head to foot before putting on their palm-leaf dress. They are done all over in white first, and then may have spots and circles and bands of different colours on top of the white. The Xhosa and Fingo stick to black spots on the white, but the Bomvana have quite elaborate polychrome styles. It is not known how old this tradition is.

The painting of hut walls would appear to have come in only since the adoption of rondavel-type huts. There is one reference to decoration by the Fingo of the plastered inner wall of the beehive hut, but this is not very conclusive. Nowadays some of the Xhosa, Fingo, Mpondo, Xesibe, Bhaca and most of the Thembu decorate the outside of their huts by painting a dado just under the eaves, down the sides of the door, and round the windows if any, with white lime, whitewash, white clay, or sometimes simply with a lighter clay wash (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1972, pls 3: 1; 7: 3; 8: 2). The Bomvana according to Cook do not paint their huts, but during this survey many Bomvana huts were seen with a line of lighter clay and orange ochre round the wall just below the roof.

No decoration was seen on the inside walls of the huts but, according to F. Müller, the Hlubi decorate the top half of the inner wall with all sorts of conventional and naturalistic designs and figures. This may be a borrowing from the South Sotho, whose influence is noticeable in the north.

Patterning

A style of wall decoration favoured by some is to cover the whole outer wall with shell-like whorls made by swivelling the out-spread hand in an added top surface of very wet plaster.

Applied

The oldest types of applied or added decoration must be the threading of strips of a different-coloured hide through slits in the hide shield (Shaw & Van Warmelo 1981, pl. 45), and the adding of leopard-skin lappets to a cloak worn by chiefs (Pl. 71: 2).

Later, in addition to actual ornaments, much use has been made of beads, buttons and braid, and latterly, with the introduction of sewing machines, of stitching, to ornament items of clothing (Pls 81, 83). Beads are very often used for ornamenting pipes (Pl. 114: 5), snuff-boxes and sticks (Pl. 108: 1–5).

Cicatrization

Many Xhosa and Thembu men and women have linear patterns cicatrized on the face and torso. The keloids run in vertical and horizontal lines (Pl. 108: 9).

CARVING AND PLASTIC ART

Wood

No well-authenticated instance of the carving of wooden figures is known other than as decoration to some article to which they are attached. Notwithstanding, the terms exist.

Clay

The only instances of figure-modelling in clay were the toys (Pl. 123) made by children—cattle and human figures, and latterly, wagons and motor-cars—and the snuff-boxes (Pl. 115: 4, 5) of clay and skin-scrapings, some of which were made in the shape of animal or human figures. This latter technique is no longer known.

Horn

Horn used for snuff-boxes, spoons, snuff-spoons and parts of a pipe was carved into an agreeable shape, and sometimes into a human or animal form (Pl. 116: 6).

Beadwork

De Lange describes small representations of human figures, modelled either entirely of beadwork or on a wooden or cloth base. They were worn attached to a necklet.

Stone

Stone was used for the bowls of water-pipes. Certain of these have simple engraved patterns. Others are highly ornamental and sophisticated—such of these as have been seen in museum collections did not, however, have indisputable authentication.

PAINTING

Apart from the decoration already described, there was no painting.

The examples outlined above show that the art is spontaneous, in that no fixed pattern is worked out beforehand, but the pattern is developed as the work proceeds. An innate sense of form is evident in many things, from the plan of a homestead to the curve of a spoon. An appreciation of colour and composition is reflected in the beadwork, where repetition of motifs into a certain pattern indicates the feeling for rhythm. The manner in which these aspects are exploited determines the quality of the work of each individual.

Opportunities for artistic expression are available to both sexes, perhaps more to women, in beadwork, basketwork, pottery, the painting of walls and the decorating of clothing. But carving and branding are men's talents, and the modelling of clay figures is done more by boys than by girls.

Today, the opportunities for artistic self-expression are much reduced in that so many articles in daily use are bought from stores.

SUMMARY

The dress and personal belongings of the Cape Nguni and the material side of certain of their general activities reflect very strongly the changing circumstances of the last 200 years. So much is this the case that the word 'traditional' refers now to artefacts quite different from those of the earlier times.

PERSONAL

Up to at least the latter part of the eighteenth century, the clothing of both sexes was made of the skin or skin products of cattle or game. With the exception of a heavy cloak, that of the Xhosa, Thembu, Bomvana, Mpondo and Mpondomise was scanty—a penis-sheath for men, nothing for boys, and a fringed apron for women and girls. Men went bare-headed, with built-up or otherwise fancy hair-styles, and married women wore a leather head-cloth. Sandals might be worn on a journey.

The immigrant groups who moved into the area from the east in the early part of the nineteenth century were wearing garments typical of Natal—a loin-dress over the penis-sheath for men and a one- or three-piece skirt over the fringe apron for women. The Fingo soon adopted styles similar to the contemporary styles of

their Xhosa and Thembu hosts and neighbours, but Xesibe and Bhaca kept their own styles.

From early in the eighteenth century traders appeared on the western frontier, with woollen and cotton blankets and later other materials to sell. These soon found favour for wraps and other garments. The basic garments, penis-sheath and apron, for men and women respectively, and the additional breast-cloth for women were retained until the beginning of this survey, but, no doubt partly as a result of missionary and official pressure and partly through the lure of fashion, other garments of imported materials were put over them, a loin-cloth for men and a skirt for women. New 'traditional' styles were evolved that remain in vogue in some areas, or for some occasions, to the present day.

Xesibe and Bhaca also changed to imported materials, but of a different sort from those of the western groups. The Xesibe favoured plain cotton material, which they dyed dark brown or black, and Bhaca favoured striped salempore cloth. Probably their source of supply was from Natal.

A significant feature that still gives some indications of relationships, but would have done more so had there been more exact recording in earlier years, is hair-style. It would seem that men of all the Cape Nguni had some form of the ring or cap style of hair built up with clay and wax, with a variety of treatment of the remaining hair, a fashion that probably died out of each group through being shaved off in mourning and never resumed. After that it seems to have been a matter of individual taste, with the younger men tending to fancy styles and ornamentation and the older men wearing the hair plain.

Young Xhosa women went bareheaded with the hair in tight curls all over the head. Married Xhosa and Thembu women, however, kept their hair short and wore a skin head-cloth or an elaborate high cap of beaded skin. In later years, when cloth had replaced skin, elaborate and named ways of tying the head-cloth have become an art form. Mpondo, Mpondomise, Xesibe and Bhaca women, however, wore the hair in ringlets, shoulder length or, in the case of the Mpondo, longer, either with a thick fringe in front or held away from the face with a roll of plain or beaded cloth.

Mourning practices throughout the Cape Nguni were similar as far as dress is concerned, that is shaving of heads, destruction of widow's clothing, and new un-ochred clothing for the mourners.

Recent studies have given details of the way in which dress reflected the status of the individual. Very little of such information is available in the early studies, but the relationship between dress and status must surely have existed.

In addition to such fairly subtle indications of the status of ordinary people, certain persons wore specific costume on certain occasions. In the case of chiefs and members of the royal family it was the wearing of leopard-skin garments that distinguished them.

Xhosa, Bomvana and Thembu warriors wore no special garment for fighting but certain individuals wore the head-dress of crane wings. Mpondo warriors and those of the various Fingo groups wore kilts of strips of monkey or wild-cat skin made into 'tails'. In addition they had similar fringes round the neck, and feathers

and other ornaments in the hair, but do not appear to have worn the crane wings.

Diviners too wore the kilt of 'tails' and many other things round neck and arms. Especially characteristic was the tall cap of baboon skin and one or more inflated gall-bladders attached to the hair. This costume was much the same throughout the area.

Two types of dress were worn by *abakhwetha* where the full circumcision ceremonies were still practised. During the period of seclusion they wore a cloak of sheepskin, or latterly a blanket, completely whitened with clay, as were their bodies. For the dancing that terminated the initiation period, they wore a short stiff kilt of palm-leaf folioles, with head-piece, veil and neck-piece of the same but finer material. The initiation ceremonies have mostly been abandoned but many young men go to hospitals to be circumcised.

Girls' initiation has always been an individual affair, and for the closing celebration best clothes would be worn.

Special dress for bride and bridegroom is recorded only for the Xhosa, but must have been used by others too. Guests at this and other ceremonies wore their best clothes and in particular the long skin skirts for women and the skin dancing cape for men.

In addition to costume, chiefs had two distinguishing marks that were not worn—the elephant tail suspended from a tall pole at the chief's homestead, and the leopard or lion tail, drawn over a stick and carried as a warrant by messengers of the chief or placed on the roof of his hut to distinguish it.

Ornaments were and still are worn wherever they could be attached or hung. At first they were made from natural resources, for example shells, seeds, feathers and plaited grass. But gradually, as trade connections grew, other objects became available, and in particular metal and beads. Some of the early types of ornament from natural materials have remained in vogue, particularly those that have magical or medical properties. Of the new materials, beads in particular became the dominant form of ornament.

As with clothing, ornament indicates status, either in the ordinary course of life, or of distinguished people. Notable among the latter were the necklace of red beads of the reigning Xhosa chief, and the ivory arm-band worn on the upper arm by Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana chiefs and those to whom they gave it as a mark of favour.

In addition to these ornaments, physical decoration was practised. In the west it took the form of cicatrization on the torso, among Mpondo tattooed lines on the face, and among Bhaca scarification on the face, said to promote health.

Apart from clothing and ornament, personal possessions of individuals were few. Toilet articles included a soft skin attached to a woman's cloak and used to wipe sweat. Men, on the other hand, had a metal spatula for the same purpose, worn hung from the neck. These have both been superseded by the modern handkerchief. Xhosa women wore, also attached to the cloak, a tortoise-shell that contained ochre or powdered aromatic herbs. Its stopper was a piece of soft skin, with which the powder was applied to face and body.

Cosmetics in the form of powdered ochre of different colours, certain dried and powdered plants, and butter or other fats, were used by all at some stage of life, to protect the skin, ornament the person, or indicate special personal conditions. Again the pattern of who wears what on which occasion shows up. White in particular indicates everywhere a state separate from normal. Red on the other hand is said among Xhosa and Thembu to be the colour of normality. It was, nevertheless, abandoned by Mpondo in mourning and not resumed, except by young people.

Whereas all toilet and personal items used to be either attached to the person or clothing or carried in a bag made of the skin of a small animal, latterly cloth bags, much ornamented, have been made and used in addition, and are themselves part of dress.

Also carried in bags of several kinds are the pipes, snuff-boxes and smoking equipment. Hemp (*Cannabis sativa*) and tobacco, in that chronological order, were well established as part of Cape Nguni culture, at the time of the earliest written records. Hemp came through Arab and Indian sources and tobacco much later from Portuguese sources, by what routes can only be guessed. Hemp needed little cultivation once established and was prepared simply by drying. Tobacco, on the other hand, introduced a completely foreign method of cultivation and preparation.

Hemp was smoked through water and hemp-smoking was a group activity, of men only, with the pipe passed round. According to the early authors tobacco was similarly smoked at first. The water-pipe was in three parts, bowl, stem and container for water. Later, tobacco-smoking, through pipes copied quite early from the European clay pipes, became more of an individual activity, but the pipe would be shared in company with any who were without.

Tobacco is both smoked and snuffed by women and men. Smoking seems to have been the more common in the west, with wooden pipes becoming an art form, and snuff-taking the more common in the east, where snuff-boxes and snuff-spoons were decorative. Tobacco has become strongly integrated into social custom, and here again, as with clothing and ornament, social usage dictates the style and size of an individual's pipe. Less information is available about snuff-taking in this regard, but it was reported that among the Mpondo it too is governed by social usage.

GENERAL

The practitioners of medicine, divination and magic are in many cases the same persons and their paraphernalia are likewise often the same.

One of the most important activities is divination, which is used for diagnosis of the causes of illness or misfortune. The Cape Nguni method is by 'smelling-out', or by listening to the voices of the ancestors, who will understand the situation and indicate the remedy. Sometimes material aids will be used, sometimes not, and sometimes trance. A recent addition to material aids is a set of divining bones. This is in fact unworkable among the Nguni because totemic groups, on which divination

by throwing the bones is based, do not exist among them. Nevertheless, the practice, which was borrowed from the South Sotho, has become increasingly used.

There were few actual instruments for medical practice—an awl, a lancet, and a spear blade for incisions, a horn cup for drawing blood, and a forked stick for stirring medicines.

Medicines, on the other hand, were numerous and included talismans to promote good fortune and charms to guard against evils both for individuals and property, as well as herbs of observed therapeutic value. They were kept, and often supplied to the patient, in small horns or calabashes.

Certain practices promoted good, from the simple throwing of a stone on to a cairn while passing, to bring good luck to the individual, to the elaborate ceremonies of the first fruits, and the ceremonies of initiation into manhood and womanhood, which were of social significance.

Universal burial, as practised today, dates from early in the nineteenth century. Before that, all except chiefs and perhaps heads of families were taken out, often before death, to the veld where scavenger animals would dispose of the corpse and the family would avoid the defilement of death.

Singing and dancing often accompanied ceremonial occasions and were group activities, but instrumental music was performed solo. The most important instruments were the five types of musical bow and the *gora*. Less important and used mainly by boys, often for signalling, were a flute and three sorts of whistle. A horn was used for signalling matters of general importance. An oxhide, either held out tautly or folded to a thick square, was used as a drum to beat the rhythm of a dance on some occasions.

Few material objects were used in children's games, and there were virtually none for adults.

Boys played a game that is known in other parts of Africa—that of throwing sharpened sticks at a target set rolling down a slope. Smaller boys threw aloe thorns at an aloe leaf. In each case the winner was the one who pierced the target most successfully.

Another formal game for boys was fighting with the sticks that all boys carry. They were also expected to train calves for riding and to race cattle. Tobogganing, especially latterly on sheets of corrugated iron, and throwing lumps of clay at each other from pliant sticks, are other occupations. There is no word for tops, which may be a recent introduction.

A favourite occupation of boys is modelling in clay. The best-known figures are cattle, the classic style of which depicts the wide-horned, hump-backed oxen not seen in this part of the country.

Little girls play at housekeeping, copying their mothers' occupations. They make and play with dolls, but the name given to them, which comes from the Dutch, suggests that this is a newly learnt thing.

The Cape Nguni did not have a fixed unit of currency and trade was carried on by exchange and barter. A great deal of trade is said to have been carried on in this way, both internally and externally. Contact with other peoples, however,

introduced other items, and beads and buttons particularly, obtained mainly from the west, almost reached the status of currency. A change-over to a money economy took place gradually during the nineteenth century, and while there may still be some exchange of goods, money is now universally used.

The main means of travel, before modern vehicles became available, was on foot, with oxen used as pack animals to transport goods. They were also used for riding and racing. About the middle of the nineteenth century horses began to take the place of the oxen as riding animals, and oxen were trained to draw sledges to bring goods from the fields. No boats or rafts were used but there are records of strong swimmers taking travellers across rivers, holding on to a log or rope.

In many of the articles described in the foregoing, aspects of artistic expression may be found, particularly in wood-carving and beadwork. Works of art as such, however, do not have any part in the culture of the Cape Nguni.

It is in the descriptions of clothing that the early records do give an indication of difference in style between different major groups, in that the Xhosa and Thembu in the west differed from those of the east. The difference was that Xhosa and Thembu wore scanty basic clothing and rather full cloaks while people of the eastern tribes wore skirts, differing from tribe to tribe, and less full cloaks. The most westerly of the Xhosa men also wore an apron. The difference is maintained in the modern 'traditional' clothing, where different ways of using the new materials have been used to create different styles. In ornament, both physical and other, there were, recently at all events, very distinct differences, again between west and east. The same may be said of costume—warriors, from the Mpondo eastward, wore a kilt of 'tails', whereas the western tribes did not. Diviners' costume seems, however, to have been much the same throughout, that is, a kilt of 'tails', with individual additions, and recently the universal use of white clothing and ornament.

As far as internal borrowings are concerned, the Fingo who settled among Xhosa and Thembu adopted to a large extent their style of the new cloth dress, with their own modifications. Tobacco seems to have spread from west to east. But the picture is blurred by the fact that up to the time of European settlement the groups were somewhat more isolated than they became later, so that borrowings of the new things took place more rapidly than did those of the old. A borrowing that was recent in 1955 is that some Bhaca were sending their sons to Hlubi circumcision lodges.

The most visible influences on Cape Nguni culture since their arrival in the present Transkei and Ciskei are those from outside, at first through trade, which must have been carried on for a long time either direct or through middlemen over some distance. From the Khoi (Hottentot) neighbours in the west, Xhosa may have adopted certain items of dress and toilet, and it is possible that their habit and that of the Thembu of elaborate facial painting may have been learnt from Khoikhoi too. It has been suggested that the cutting off of a finger joint was copied from the Bushmen. It is certain that they obtained copper from the annual trade meeting with Khoikhoi, who got it from the Cape. From Khoikhoi too came the musical

instrument, the *gora*. There are records too of meetings for trade with Sotho traders from the north, who brought iron and copper. An important fairly recent borrowing from the South Sotho was divination with sets of divining bones.

It was, however, from European sources that the greatest influences from outside have come, first through shipwrecks along the coast, and some trade from Delagoa Bay, but most of all from the settlement at the Cape after the middle of the seventeenth century. This has influenced practically every facet of life. The most spectacular and immediately visible changes have been in dress and ornament, from rather plain to very much ornamented skin clothing, to plain cloth clothing, to the colourful and stylish dress and ornament that passes for traditional today. And of course the final change to western dress.

Beads even became absorbed into the social and ritual system.

Of the narcotics, neither hemp nor tobacco is indigenous in southern Africa, but came from eastern and western sources at a time before the written records. Tobacco at least, like beads, has become part of social and ritual life. And when an increase in supplies of tobacco became available from the Cape, the Xhosa and Thembu developed almost a cult of the pipe.

In the sphere of transport there was the introduction of horses, sledges, roads and all modern transport, while the whole economy has changed from barter and exchange of goods to the monetary system introduced by Europeans.

Even the field of artistic expression has been influenced and stimulated by the introduction of new materials—carving of wooden pipes, painting of clay walls, ornamentation of clothing, and so on.

Evidence of the strength of pastoralism lies in the importance of cattle in religious and ritual practice as well as in the economy, in the use of skin, whether of cattle or game, for clothing and many other objects, in the use of oxen for riding or as pack animals, and to a certain extent in the predominance of cattle in children's modelling. On the other hand, the importance of agriculture is stressed through the formerly general celebrations of the first fruits of the agricultural year.

CONCLUSION

As has been stated in the summaries to each part of this volume, it is difficult to make pronouncements on the total aspect of Cape Nguni material culture because of the sparsity of early records. There are many ways in which Cape Nguni culture appears to diverge from the general Nguni pattern to which it belongs, but these may be the result not only of changes in their own material culture, but also of changes in that of other Nguni with which we now compare it. It is difficult to judge by the recent, or comparatively recent, information now at our disposal.

Even as late as the earliest written records the various groups that are distinguished culturally as the Cape Nguni were still very much separated. Survivors of shipwrecks speak of 'deserts' between them. It is reasonable to suppose, therefore, that there were differences at least in the detail of their material culture. The records give little indication of this.

Among the characteristics that mark the Nguniness of the Cape Nguni are the language, spoken from south to north and now standardized as Xhosa and Zulu and containing Khoi rather than Bushman clicks; the individual, isolated and unfortified circular homesteads, which reflect the system of right- and left-hand houses and where the central feature is the cattle kraal, as befits its ritual status; beehive-style huts unlike the cone and cylinder style prevalent in most of southern Africa and in recent historic times the norm among the Nguni; the very great social, economic and ritual importance of cattle; spears, very large shields and clubs as the only weapons, and the absence of bows and arrows, battle-axes and knives; divination through trance and not through divining bones based on a totemic system that does not exist here; the lack of that very African instrument, the drum, and of the elsewhere widespread *mancala* game; and the lack of a monumental ritual art.

Among the items that seem to mark the Cape Nguni as a cultural entity within the Nguni are certain terms in the language that are unrelated even to those in other Nguni dialects; a simpler—maybe the original—form of the Nguni homestead and hut; a sparseness and lack of elaboration of clothing until the new materials became available when, contrarily, clothing became more voluminous and elaborate than that of any other Nguni, except, as far as elaboration goes, the Southern Transvaal Ndebele women; the thinly tapered spear butt, which facilitated a spiral vibrating throw; a lack of the art of smelting even such surface iron-ore as was available; and certain items of religious practice.

The early sources used in this account have not been as full as one would wish and show only the items that first struck observers most obviously. The extent to which the descriptions were of the Xhosa is noticeable. Fortunately, by about the middle of the nineteenth century, not only were the authors going further afield, but there was a gradual increase in investigation. From the picture of material culture that emerges from the records and from our own investigations it would seem that one can postulate a cultural entity for the Cape Nguni within the main Nguni culture, and, within that, closer relationships between the Xhosa, Thembu and Bomvana on the one hand, and between Mpondo, Mpondomise and Xesibe on the other. While the main groups of refugees from the Shakan wars became, as far as material culture is concerned, more or less assimilated where they settled, the Bhaca remain Natal, rather than Cape, Nguni.

Whatever the influences that moulded the Cape Nguni prior to their entry into Transkei and Ciskei, some notable influences have affected them since their arrival there. These are the cooler, less wooded environment, without major iron deposits; the previous inhabitants whom, on present evidence, we can only believe to have been Khoikhoi and Bushmen; Sotho traders, especially in metals, from the north; and most of all Europeans, through shipwrecks on the coast, through trade from Delagoa Bay and through settlers advancing from the Cape. Throughout, the Cape Nguni have shown a remarkable ability to incorporate new materials and commodities into their own culture, even into social and religious practices.

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CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF SOURCES

1552 Anonymous ['*S. João*']
1554 Perestrello, M. de M.
1593 Lavanha, J. B. (1597)
1622 Almada, F. V. d' (1625)
1635 Cabreyra, J. de
1647 Feyo, B. T. (1650)
1679 Schreyer, J.
1686–7 'Stavenisse'
1687–8 'Centaurus'
1688 'Noord'
(1686–8 *see also* Moodie, D. C. F. (1838); Sutherland, J. (1845); Bird, J. (1888))
1752 Beutler, A. F.
1770–3 Thunberg, C. P. (1793)
1772–6 Sparrman, A. (1785)
1776 Swellengrebel, H.
Hallema, A. (1932)
1776–7 Schumacher, J. (paintings in private collection)
Schumacher, J. S. (1951)
1777–9 Paterson, W. (1789)
1778 Van Plettenberg, J.
(1782) Sonnerat, P.
1782 Carter, G.
Dalrymple, A. (1785)
Hubberly, W.
Le Vaillant, F. (1797–98)
1776–95 Gordon, R. J. [?sketches by J. Schumacher]
1788 Von Winkelman, F. (1788–9)
1790–1 Van Reenen, J. *in* Riou, E. (1792); Kirby, P. R. (1958)
1792 Best, C. C.
1791–7 De Jong, C. (1802)
1796 Stout, W. (*c.* 1810)
1797 Anonymous [Baviaanskloof (Genadendal)]
Barrow, J. (1806)
1796–1801 Renshaw, R. (1804)
1800 Van der Kemp, J. T. (1804)
1800–1 Yonge, G. (1968)
1802–3 De Mist, A. V. (1835)
1803 Howen, O. de
Janssens, J. W.
Paravicini di Capelli, W. B. E.
Van Reenen, D. G.
1802–6 Alberti, L. (1810*a*, 1810*b*)
1803–6 Lichtenstein, H. (1808)
Lichtenstein, H. (1811)
1804–5 Daniell, S. (1820)
1809 Collins, R. (1835)
1810 Read, J. (1813)
1806–15 Carmichael, D. (1831)
1811 Anonymous [Baviaanskloof (Genadendal)]
1812 Officer, 21st Lt. Dragoons (1822)
1813 Campbell, J. (1815)
1815–6 Latrobe, C. I. (1818)
1819–20 Stocker, I.
1820 Anonymous
1821–4 Thompson, G. (1827)
1819–29 Moodie, J. W. D. (1835)
1824 Ross (Mrs)
Shaw, W.
c. 1824–5 Smith, A.
(1825) Whitworth,—.
1825 Phillips, T. (1827)
1820–31 Steedman, A. (1835)
1815–37 Shaw, B. (1840)
1826 Shrewsbury, J. V. (1869)
1825–9 Kay, S. (1829)
Kay, S. (1833)
1827 Dundas (Maj.)
Hallbeck, H. P. & Fritsch, J. G. (1826)
(1828) Van Kampen, N. G.
(1829) Rose, G.
1829 'An Economist' (1830)
Bain, A. G.
Boniface, C. E.
Holman, J. (1834)
Shaw, W.
Young,—.
1822–37 Fynn, H. F. (1950)
1830 Anonymous (1829) [Enon]
1831 Halter, A.
c. 1831–2 Smith, A.
Drège, C. F.
(1832) Anonymous (1832*a*)
Anonymous (1832*b*) [Shrewsbury]
Ayliff, J.
Boyce, W. B.
1832 Bonatz, A. (1831)
Genth, W. C. (1831)
(1833) Morgan, N.
1833 Fritsch, J., Hoffman, J. F. & Bonatz, A. (1834)
1833–4 Anonymous
1834 Bonatz, A. (1834*a*)
Bonatz, A. (1834*b*)
Gardiner, A. F. (1836)
Palmer, S. (1835)
1834–5 Godlonton, R. (1835–6)
(1835) Anonymous
Ayliff, J.
1833–7 England, R.
1835 Alexander, J. E. (1835)
Alexander, J. E. (1837)
Bisset, C.

1835 *(cont.)* Cameron, J. (1836)
(1836) Martin, R. M.
1836 Butler, H. (1841)
1837 Döhne, J. L.
1837–8 Bunbury, C. J. F. (1848)
(1838) Moodie, D. C. F.
1820–56 Shaw, W. (1860)
1838 Anonymous (1839)
Dugmore, H. D. (1839)
(1839) Adams, W.
1838–40 Backhouse, J. &
Tylor, C. (1862)
1839 Backhouse, J. (1844)
Hallbeck, H. P. (1862)
1836–44 Döhne, J. L. (1844)
1840 Schultheiss, J.
(1841) Read, J.
1841 Bonatz, A.
c. 1840–6 Duff, G.
1843 Schultheiss, J.
1842–7 Ward, H. (1848)
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(1845) Sutherland, J.
1835–55 Ayliff, J.
1830–61 Boyce, W. B. (1861)
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1838–54 Schultheiss, J. (1854)
1846 Napier, E. E. (1850)
Smyth,—.
1845–8 Munro, W. (1887)
1842–53 Baines, T.
1847–8 Angas, G. F. (1849)
(1848) Anonymous
1848 Freeman, J. (1851)
Great Britain. Imperial Blue Book
1848–52 Baines, T. (1848–52*a*)
Baines, T. (1848–52*b*)
1837–63 I'Ons, F.
I'Ons, F. *in* Redgrave, J. J. & Bradlow, E. (1958)
c. 1850 C. B. (?Charles Bell) (?1850)
1850 Anonymous (1850*a*)
Anonymous (1850*b*) [Salzmann,—.]
Anonymous (1850*c*) [Schultheiss, J.]
(1851) W(alker), J.
1851 Bell, C. H. (1851*a*)
Bell, C. H. (1851*b*)
Darell, H. F. C. (1852)
1851–2 King, W. R. (1853)
1851–4 Graham, L. &
Robinson, H. (1854)
(1853) Fleming, F.
Kretzschmar, E.
Merriman, N. J.
1851–5 Brown, G. (1855)
1854 Kolbing, C. R.
1848–62 Lucas, T. J. (1861)
1855 Lindsey, R. &
Lindsey, S. (1886)
(1856) Fleming, F.
1856 Kropf, A.
Warner, J. C. (1859)
Wilmot, R.
(1857) Livingstone, D.
(1858) Anonymous
Drayson, A. W.
Maclean, J.
1859 Anonymous
Anonymous (1861*a*) [Goshen]
1861 Anonymous (1861*b*)
Kühn (Brother)
1862 Anonymous
Bauer, R. &
Hartman, H. (1861)
1860–6 Wilson, E. (1866)
1863–6 Fritsch, G. (1872)
(1865) Bowler, T. W.
1866–7 Wangemann, T. (1868)
(1867) Taylor, W.
1845–89 Kropf, A. (1889*a*)
Kropf, A. (1889*b*)
(1868) Wood, J. G.
1869 Anonymous (1868) [Goshen]
Anonymous (1869*a*)
Anonymous (1869*b*)
Bauer, R. (1868)
(1871) Griesbach, C.L.
1860–82 Stow, G. (1905)
1871 Bauer, R.
Meyer, H.
1872 Chalmers, J. A.
Weitz, T. (1873)
(1873) Brownlee, C.
1873 Johl,—. (1875)
1858–89 Stanford, W.
(1874) Körner, F.
1875 Anonymous
1872–9 Durnford, A. W. (1882)
1874–8 Cunynghame, A. T. (1880)
1876 Weitz, T.
Witcher, Dyer & Dyer
(1877) Cripps, G. St. V.
1877 Auld, G. M. (1924)
Padel, O. (1876)
1877–8 Norbury, H. F. (1880)
1877–9 Ex C.M.R. [Granville, A. K.] (1881)
1878 Streatfeild, F. N. (1879)
(1879) Moister, W.
1880 Hastings, H. (1879)
(1881) Nauhaus, C. T.
Theal, G. M.
1875–87 MacDonald, J. (1890*a*)
MacDonald, J. (1890*b*)
(1882) Nauhaus, C. T.

(1882) *(cont.)* Sampson, V.
(1883) Cape of Good Hope
1883 Joest, W. (1885)
(1884) Schröder, W. H.
1883–8 Bachmann, F. (1901)
(1886) Roskell, A. H.
(1887) Matthiae, E.
(1888) [Bird, J.]
Moodie, D. C. F.
c. 1888 Bodley, J. E. C. (1891)
1879–1902 Schiel, A. (1902)
(1891) Schunke, H. C.
(1893) Bartels, M.
1893 Buchner, C.
(1894) Ratzel, F.
(1895) Smith, Andrew of St. Cyrus
(1896) Brownlee, C.
(1897) Theal, G. M.
(1898) Blink, H.
(1900) Anonymous
Lowndes, E. E. K.
[(1898–1902) Theal, G. M.]
1900 R., J. de N.
1901 Scully, W. C.
(1902) Eve, E.
Fletcher, J.
[Theal, G. M.]
Young, R.
(1903) Bartels, M.
(1904) Kidd, D.
(1906) Hewatt, M. L.
Müller, A.
Whiteside, J.
(1907) Sim, T. R.
(1910) Schneider, H. G.
Theal, G. M.
1910 Friedlander, V. (1911)
(1911) Schachtzabel, A.
(1912) Ayliff, J. & Whiteside, J.
Ellenberger, D. F. & MacGregor, J. C.
(1914) Schweiger, P. A.
(1915) Kropf, A. (Godfrey, R. *ed.*)
McLaren, J.
(1916) Kingon, J. R. L.
(1917) Aitchison, S. G. G.
(1919) Aitchison, S. G. G.
Kingon, J. R. L.
McLaren, J.
(1920) Kingon, J. R. L.
1921 Tooke, W. H.
[(1922) Godée Molsbergen, E. C.]
(1923) McLaren, J.
1924 Brownlee, W. T. (1924–5)
Hartmann, A.
1925 Brownlee, W. T. (1924–6)
Cingo, W. D.
Goodwin, A. J. H.
Thompson, H. Q. F.
(1926) Du Toit, A. L.
Müller, F. (1926*a*)
Müller, F. (1926*b*)
Schapera, I.
Vogel, P.
1926 (?Godfrey, R.)
(1927) Cook, P. A. W.
Poto Ndamase, V.
Soga, J. H.
Vogel, J.
1927 Anonymous
Davies, C. S.
(1928) Brownlee, F.
Wagner, P. A.
1928 Anonymous
Godfrey, R.
(1929) Bryant, A. T.
Kawa, R. T.
Nauhaus, C.
1929 (Magistrate, *Nqamakwe*) (corresp. in private collection)
(1930) Schapera, I.
Soga, J. H.
(1931) Coertze, P. J.
Cook, P. A. W.
Plant, R. W.
1931 Hall, W. E.
(1932) Brunotti,—.
Dornan, S. S.
[Godée Molsbergen, E. C.]
Laidler, P. W.
Maingard, L. F.
Soga, J. H.
Thompson, F. R. B.
Watt, J. M. & Breyer-Brandwijk, M. G.
1932 Godfrey, R. (1932*a*)
Godfrey, R. (1932*b*)
Hunter, M. (1932)
Hunter, M. (1936)
(1933) Anonymous
1918–48 Hamilton-Welsh, E. *in* Louw, J. (1964)
1933 Kohler, M.
Pim, H. (1934)
(1934) Anonymous
Balfour, H.
Kirby, P. R.
Laidler, P. W.
(1935) Shaw, E. M.
1936–7 Cornner, F. (corresp.)
(1937) Duggan-Cronin, A. M.
Soga, T. B.
Van Warmelo, N. J.
1937 Dyer, R. A.
(1938) Laidler, P. W. (1938*a*)
Laidler, P. W. (1938*b*)
Shaw, E. M. (1938*a*)

(1938) *(cont.)* Shaw, E. M. (1938*b*)
(1939) Duggan-Cronin, A. M.
Goodwin, A. J. H.
1939 Clarke, (Mrs) F. (corresp.)
Fox, F. W.
1941 Blohm, W. (corresp.)
(1943) Schofield, J. F.
(1944) Fazan, S. H.
1944 Brownlee, F.
(1945) Tylden, G.
1945 Makalima, J.
1946 Burton, A. W. (corresp.)
[(1947) Long, U. *comp.*]
(1948) Anonymous [*Natural History*]
Long, U.
Schofield, J. F.
1948 American Museum of Natural History (corresp.)
1945–52 Walton, J. *in* Wilson, M. (*ed.*) *et al.* (1952)
(1949) Duggan-Cronin, A. M.
Tyrrell, B.
Walton, J.
1949 Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (1953)
Latimer, M. Courtenay- (corresp.)
1949–51 Walton, J. (corresp.)
(1951) Bourquin, W.
1951 Barker, J. (corresp.)
Kain, D. N. E.
(1952) McCarthy, F. D.
Transvaal Museum
1949–55 Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (1955*a*)
Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (1955*b*)
Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (1958*a*)
1952 Weir, E. A.
Wilson, M. *et al.*
(1953) [Kirby, P. R. *ed.*]
Raum, O. F.
1953 Anonymous
(1954) Duggan-Cronin, A. M.
Hewitt, J. J.
Kirby, P. R.
Walton, J.
[(1955) Kirby, P. R. *ed.*]
1955 Sinclair, U.
Walker, T. (pers. comm.)
1949–62 Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (1962)
(1956) Van der Sleen, W. G. N.
Walton, J. (1956*a*)
Walton, J. (1956*b*)
1955–7 Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (1957*a*)
1955–7 *(cont.)* Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (1957*b*)
1956 Skead, J. (corresp.)
(1957) Gowie, M.
1956–8 Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (1958*b*)
(1958) Doke, C. M. *et al.*
MacLaren, P. I. R.
[Redgrave, J. J. & Bradlow, E.]
1958 Hammond-Tooke, W. D. (pers. comm.)
Morgan, M. N.
(1959) Murdock. G. P.
Wilson, M.
1959 Fenwick,—. (corresp.)
(1960) Axelson, E.
Nienaber, G. S.
1960 Campbell, A. C. (1965)
(1961) De Lange, M.
1961 Prinsloo, J. H. (pers. comm.)
Shaw, C. J. (corresp.)
1962 Anonymous
Birch, D.
De Lange, M. (1963)
Velcich, G.
(1963) Fehr, W.
Hammond-Tooke, W. D.
Thelejane, T. S.
1963 De Jager, E. G.
De Jager, E. G. & Gitywa, V. Z.
(1964) De Jager, E. G.
Louw, J.
1965 Van Warmelo, N. J.
1966 Stagg, M.
Jansen, G. J.
(1967) Broster, J. A.
Lawton, A. C.
1968 Tyrrell, B.
(1969) Holt, B.
Reed, J. E.
Wilson, M. & Thompson, L. *eds.*
1969 Hammond-Tooke, W. D.
(1970) Elliott, A.
Gitywa, V. Z.
(1971) Gitywa, V. Z.
1971 Quickelberge, C. D.
(1972) Shaw, E. M. & Van Warmelo, N. J.
1972 Bigalke, E.
(1973) Mertens, A. & Broster, J.
1973 Bigalke, E.
(1974) Shaw, E. M. & Van Warmelo, N. J.
1974 Kruger, D.
(1976) Böhme, H. E.
Broster, J. A.

(1976) *(cont.)* Davison, P. J.
Gitywa, V. Z.
(1977) Sobahle, W. M. K.
(1978) Beinart, W.
(1981) Hooper, L.
Peires, J. B.
(1981) *(cont.)* Shaw, E. M. &
Van Warmelo, N. J.
(1982) Auret, C. & Maggs, T.
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Broster, J. A.
1985 Anonymous (pers. comm.)

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